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A Papuan language of the Solomon Islands

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Pacific Linguistics 540

A grammar of Bilua

A Papuan language of the Solomon Islands

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Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
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Published by Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Australia

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First published 2003

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry:

Obata, Kazuko.
A grammar of Bilua : a Papuan language of the Solomon Islands.

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 85883 531 2.

1. Bilua language - Grammar. I. Title.

499.12

Copyedited by Basil Wilson
Typeset by Margaret Forster
Cover design by Emily Brissenden
Printed and bound by Ciril's Printers, Fyshwick, Canberra

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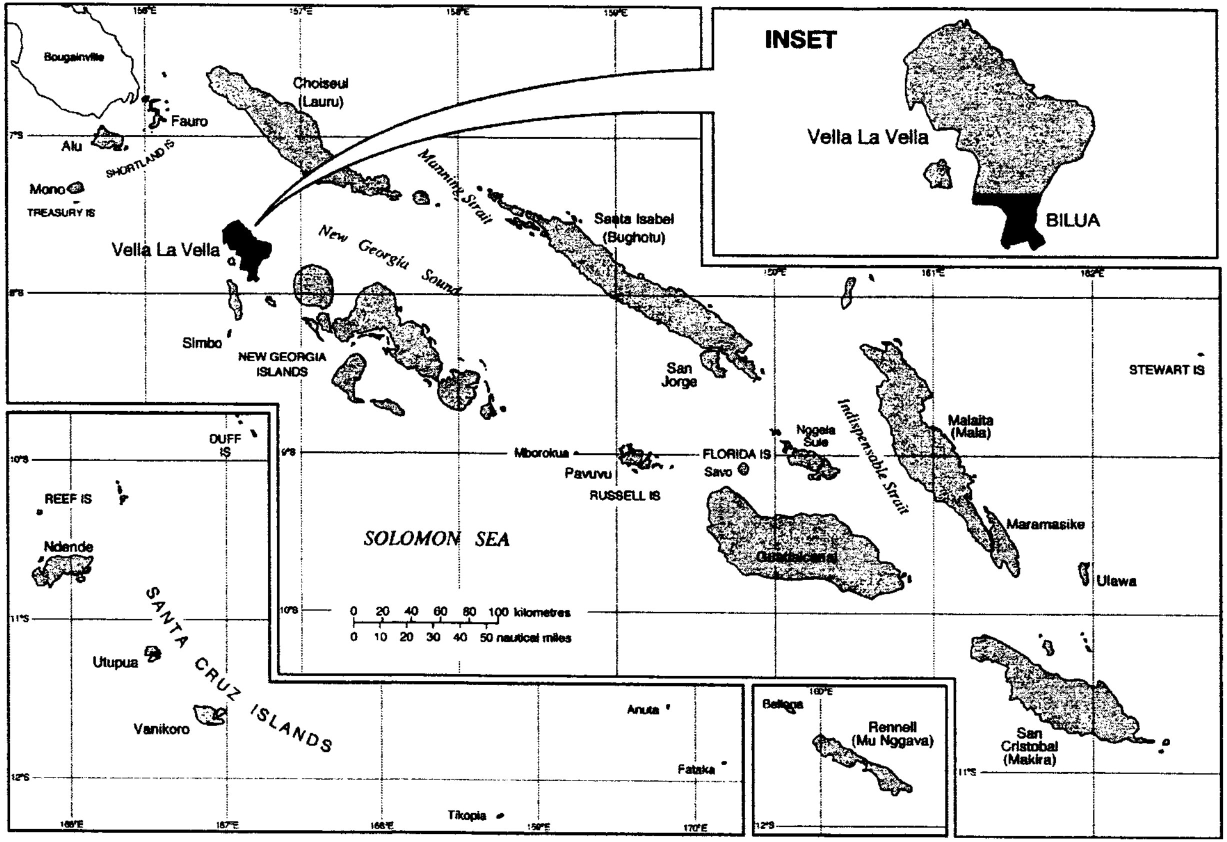
INSET
Vella La Vella
BILUA
Bougainville
Fauro
Alu
SHORTLAND IS
Mono
TREASURY IS
Vella La Vella
Simbo
NEW GEORGIA ISLANDS
Choiseul (Lauru)
Manning Strait
New Georgia Sound
Santa Isabel (Bughotu)
San Jorge
Malaita (Mala)
Indispensable Strait
Nggela Sule
FLORIDA IS
Savo
Mborokua
Pavuvu
RUSSELL IS
Guadalcanal
Maramasike
Ulawa
STEWART IS
SOLOMON SEA
0 20 40 60 80 100 kilometres
0 10 20 30 40 50 nautical miles
DUFF IS
REEF IS
Ndende
SANTA CRUZ ISLANDS
Utupua
Vanikoro
Anuta
Fataka
Tikopia
Bellona
Rennell (Mu Nggava)
San Cristobal (Makira)
156°E
157°E
158°E
159°E
160°E
161°E
162°E
166°E
167°E
168°E
169°E
170°E
7°S
8°S
9°S
10°S
11°S
12°S

Map 1: The island of Vella La Vella and the Solomon Islands

Acknowledgements

The present paper is not just my own creation, for a number of people have contributed to its fruition. Without a doubt, the people to whom I owe most gratitude are the speakers of Bilua, in particular my two primary informants, Nelson Ivulu and Ilai Volosi. I am most grateful to them for sharing their knowledge of Bilua language and culture with me. They also ensured that I would feel safe and comfortable during my fieldwork; many thanks also to their both immediate and extended families, especially Hazel Ivulu and Hilder Volosi, for their hospitality and assistance. It was a great advantage to me in my research to stay with local families where I had constant contact with the Bilua language as well as life on Vella La Vella, the home of the Bilua language. In every village I visited, I enjoyed a warm welcome and hospitality. In particular, the Riqeo family in Maravari, who were the very first family I stayed with on Vella La Vella, were always very hospitable to me. I was most pleased to meet Ole Gina in Pazaju, who had been to Japan and Australia among other countries. It was a rare opportunity for me to share overseas experience with someone from the Solomon Islands. Thanks also to Nerida Naqe, a schoolteacher in Gizo, for showing her interest in my work and for discussions we had.

I also would like to thank Alistair Martin, who, as a *vaka maba* ('ship person' i.e. 'white person') living in the Solomon Islands, understood the difficulties of living in a different environment and offered me comfortable accommodation and enjoyable company when I stayed in Gizo for occasional breaks from village life.

At The Australian National University, where I undertook a PhD program in linguistics, I benefited from the help of a number of staff members of the Department of Linguistics (Faculties), the Department of Linguistics (Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies), and the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (the latter has been located at La Trobe University since December 1999). My first main supervisor, Sasha Aikhenvald, was always encouraging, showing interest in my research. I appreciated her comments, based on her wide knowledge of the languages of the world. Malcolm Ross, my second supervisor, gave me insightful advice from his Oceanic background. To Harold Koch, who became my first supervisor after the departure of Sasha, thanks are due for reading the whole draft of my paper and for the generous amount of time he spent in discussions with me. Thanks also to my adviser, Masayuki Onishi, for carefully reading and giving comments on some of the chapters.

I also would like to extend my gratitude to Bob Dixon for introducing me to Descriptive Grammar. It was his Basic Linguistic Theory course, which he delivered at the Australian Linguistic Institute held at the ANU in 1996, that inspired me to write a grammar of a previously undescribed language. After attending his course, to my own

great surprise, I decided to change the object of my research from my native language Japanese to Bilua, a language of which I had no previous knowledge. I am also grateful to him for providing me with an office in the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology. At the centre I met many outstanding linguists who came from all over the world as visiting scholars or research fellows, and I was especially fortunate to meet Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Randy LaPolla, Gerrit Dimmendaal, Carl Rubino, and Geoffrey Haig.

I also would like to thank Sue Holzknecht, then at the Study Skills Centre. I was fortunate to have someone who has a linguistics background to help me with my English. She was also able to give me appropriate advice when I was stressed from my study, having done a PhD program herself.

Being a fieldworker, I benefited from the company of students who had conducted fieldwork: Lea Brown, Alec Coupe, Michael Dunn, Beth Evans, Catriona Hyslop, Eva Lindström, and Angela Terrill. It was always enjoyable and inspiring to share their fieldwork experience.

On the financial side, the receipt of an Australian Postgraduate Research Award was greatly appreciated.

I owe very much to my friends and parents for their support and encouragement over the last few years. I would like to thank especially Kristina Crnagoj, Danny Farrow, Alec Coupe, Pavitra Gurung, Carl Rubino, Jeff, Lisa, and Elen Klein, and Cate Turk. I am most grateful to Robert Ackland for his patience and understanding.

Abbreviations and conventions

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ABL	ablative postposition
AdjP	adjectival phrase
BEN	benefactive postposition
COLL	collective marker
COM	comitative postposition
CompP	complement phrase
CONT	continuity marker
D.EXT	distal existential marker
DU	dual
EXC	exclusive
EXT	non-specific locational existential marker
F	feminine
FOC	focus marker
FUT	future tense marker
HIST	historical tense marker
IMP	imperative mood marker
IMPL	implicative marker
INC	inclusive
INTRG	interrogative marker
INDEF	indefinite
INTS	intensifying coordinator
INTJ	interjection
IRR	irrealis marker
INTR	intransitive verb
LIG	ligature
LOC	locative postposition
M	masculine
MES	measure pronoun
NEG	negation marker
NONF	non-feminine
NONM	non-masculine
NOM	nominal derivational enclitic
NP	noun phrase
NRFUT	near future
MP	modifier phrase
O	object clitic
PL	plural
PL.M	plural marker
POSS	possessor-raising marker
PP	postpositional phrase
PRES	present tense marker
PRIV	privative postposition
PROS	prospective marker
PROX	proximate
PURP	purposive subordinator
RCP	recent past tense marker
RECP	reciprocal marker
REDUP	reduplication
REL	relative clause marker
RMP	remote past tense marker
s.b.	somebody
SEQ	sequential coordinator
SG	singular
SIML	similative
SIT	situation-change marker
s.th.	something
TEMP	temporal
TOP	topic marker
TR	transitive verb
VAL	valency-increasing marker
VOC	vocative
VP	Verb Phrase

Clitics and affixes are marked with preceding or following = and - respectively.

Square brackets [ ] used in English translations indicate that this part of the translation does not correspond exactly to the Bilua example(s).

When an example is from a conversation or an elicitation, no text, page, or sentence numbers are given.

When an example from a transcribed text is used, the text, page, and sentence numbers are given in brackets after the English translation. Two of the transcribed texts are presented in Appendix 3. When an example is only a part of a sentence, this is indicated by '...' or ',' in both the Bilua sentence and its English translations. For example,

...qe=pai=k=a	*ko=a*	*qusini*	*ni*	*bita,*
1DU.EXC=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	rope	and	string.bag

'...we finished [making] the rope and string bag,' (2-3-15)

However, in Chapter 2, 'phonology and morphophonology', '...' and ',' are used only in the English translations.

Ungrammatical examples are marked with an asterisk.

1 *Introduction*

1.1 The Bilua language and its location

Bilua is the language spoken on Vella La Vella island in the Western Province of the Solomon Islands. According to the census conducted in 1976 (Solomon Islands Statistics Division 1980), there are about 85 vernacular languages indigenous to the Solomon Islands. The majority of these are Austronesian languages, but among them are four Papuan languages (or seven, depending on whether the Reefs–Santa Cruz family is included or not—see §1.2 below). Bilua is one of these four languages, but the languages spoken in the surrounding islands are all Austronesian.

Vella La Vella island is divided into five areas: Bilua, Kurikuri, Java, Dovere, and Joria, according to different dialects spoken in each area. The dialect spoken in the Bilua area is regarded as the standard one by local people, and thus the language is called Bilua. It appears that this is because the Methodist missionaries who arrived and settled in the Bilua area in the early 20th century decided that the language spoken in the Bilua area was the language of the island. The grammar of Bilua presented in this work is based on the language spoken in the Bilua area. Note that there are no exact dialect boundaries, but generally the Bilua area is considered to extend from Supato village to the Eleteve village (see Map 1).[1] Bilua is also spoken in the Saeragi village in the neighbouring Gizo Island. A legend tells that people from the Bilua area of Vella La Vella moved to Saeragi and thus they speak the dialect spoken in the Bilua area. Altogether there are about 8000–9000 speakers of Bilua including children.

The author has not done a study of the different dialects, but differences between Bilua and other dialects have been noticed in terms of vocabulary and verbal inflection. For example, *sopu* 'hill' and *soqoilo* 'to run away', and a future tense marker *vou* in the Bilua dialect correspond to *taba*, *toalizo* and *kou* respectively in the Java dialect. There are no phonological differences among the different dialects.

In the past, the Austronesian language Roviana was used as a lingua franca in the region and so older people in Vella La Vella speak Roviana as well. However, the role of Roviana has been taken over by Solomon Islands Pidgin, the common language in the Solomon Islands. Solomon Islands Pidgin is used at Primary schools as well as at church ceremonies, which are central to the lives of people in Vella La Vella. There is a high rate of intermarriage between Vella La Vella people and people from other islands. Mixed couples communicate in Pidgin, Bilua, or one of the other Solomons languages. Pidgin words are mixed into Bilua and sometimes people switch from one language to another in their speech. Thus, the Bilua language is changing because of the influence of Pidgin, and, although the population of Vella La Vella is increasing rapidly, it can be said that Bilua is endangered.

---

[1] On the map of Vella La Vella produced by the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands in 1972, Vella La Vella is divided into seven areas: Bilua, Siromai, Java, Dovele, Irigila, Jorio, and Supato.

1.2 Previous work and Papuan languages in the Solomon Islands

Previous work on Bilua is very limited. Ray (1928) presented a small word list in Bilua, while Capell (1969) and Todd (1975) each presented some grammatical features in Bilua in a comparative study on four Papuan languages spoken in the Solomon Islands: Bilua, Baniata, Lavukaleve, and Savosavo. None of these works, however, presents a full grammar of Bilua. On the basis of the work above, Greenberg (1971) categorises these four languages together as the Central Solomon (non-Austronesian) languages of Indo-Pacific, while Wurm (1982) categorises them as the Central Solomons family of the East Papuan phylum. In addition to these works, George Milner did some research on Bilua in the early fifties but has not published his results. The New Testament has been translated into Bilua by a group of local people led by Phil Pike from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and the Bilua version of Bible was published in 1992.[2] There is a small English-to-Bilua school dictionary compiled by Pike but he has not written any linguistic papers on the language.

Capell (1969) presents a comparison among the four Papuan languages—Bilua, Baniata, Lavukaleve and Savosavo—in terms of noun classes and verbal inflection. In his paper he argues that there are two noun classes in Bilua, masculine and non-masculine, which are marked by the particles *vo* and *ko* respectively. He says further that this contrast recurs with adjectives and verbs as a morphological contrast; for example, adjectives modifying a noun from the masculine class and the non-masculine class have a suffix *-ala* and *-ama* respectively.

The present study finds that this contrast is not demonstrated by the data. A noun such as *maba* 'person' can have both male and female referents and it can occur with both *vo* and *ko*. The contrast is therefore not a simple matter of masculine versus non-masculine noun classes in opposition (see §1.4 below).

Capell (1969) describes the noun classification as a characteristic of the four Papuan languages listed above and notes that this is also found in the languages of southern Bougainville, as well as in the 'Melanesian languages' of Malaita. He leaves the conclusion on their genetic relationship, however, to a further study of these languages.

Greenberg (1971:816) proposes a genetic relationship among Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo, and Baniata and refers to them as the Central Solomon languages. His study and proposal are based on some resemblance among pronouns and fifty-two other words of these four languages. Furthermore, he studies pronouns and the same fifty-two words, where they are available, in the languages of the Reefs–Santa Cruz family and compares them to the Central Solomon languages. Finding some resemblance between these two groups of languages, he states (1971:816) that the members of the Reefs–Santa Cruz family have the closest relationship to the Central Solomon languages, and groups them all together as the Central Melanesian group of non-Austronesian languages in the Indo-Pacific. It could be true that they are related, but it is hard to accept a proposal based on a list of pronouns and such a small number of words.

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[2] The group was located in the Bilua area, signifying that the dialect spoken in this area is regarded as the standard one.

Todd (1975) also presents a comparison among the four languages in terms of pronominal forms, noun classifications, and word lists. In her paper, she presents a list of personal pronouns, subject markers, object markers, and verbal auxiliaries,[3] and some determiners in Bilua. On the basis of her study, she concludes that these four languages are related and groups them together as the Solomon Language Family. In particular, she points to a closer relationship between Bilua and Savosavo.[4] She also tentatively includes the Yele languages of Rossel Island in the Solomon language family on the basis of similarity in pronominal forms.

Wurm (1982:231–244) also proposes a language family, the Central Solomons family, consisting of Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo and Baniata, and considers it as a subgroup of the East Papuan phylum. He groups Papuan languages in the area to the east of the New Guinea mainland as the East Papuan phylum. This includes Papuan languages spoken in New Britain, New Ireland, the Solomon Islands, and the Louisiade Archipelago. The East Papuan phylum languages are divided into three subphylic groups: the Yele–Solomons – New Britain super-stock, the Bougainville super-stock, and the Reefs–Santa Cruz family.

The Yele–Solomons – New Britain super-stock is subdivided into the Yele–Solomons stock and the New Britain stock. These two stocks are grouped together because of 'comparative closer structural and lexical links with each other than with languages of the other stock-level groups in the phylum' (Wurm 1982:232). The Bougainville super-stock is subdivided into the East Bougainville stock and the West Bougainville stock.

The Yele–Solomons stock is subdivided into three groups: the Central Solomon Family, the extinct Kazukuru Family, and the Yele language. In the extinct Kazukuru Family are Kazukuru, Guliguli, and Dororo languages, all of which are extinct.

There are three languages in the Reefs–Santa Cruz family: Reefs (Aiwo), Santa Cruz and Nanggu, and accordingly there are seven Papuan languages spoken in the Solomon Islands: four in the Central Solomon family and three in the Reefs–Santa Cruz family.

Whether the three languages in the Reefs–Santa Cruz Family are Papuan or Austronesian languages is the subject of controversy. Lincoln (1978) presents a hypothesis that they are Austronesian languages on the basis that there are similarities between these languages and Proto Oceanic with regard to some grammatical morphemes. On the other hand, Wurm (1978 and 1982) argues that they are Papuan languages heavily influenced by Austronesian languages. He bases this view on their similarity to other languages of the East Papuan phylum in terms of structure and lexicon, as well as on the lack of regular phonological correspondences between these languages and Proto Austronesian and Proto Oceanic.

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[3] Subject markers, object markers, and verbal auxiliaries are referred to as 'pronominal proclitics', 'object clitics', and 'pronominal enclitics' respectively in this work.

[4] People of Vella La Vella were well-known head-hunters until missionaries arrived. They paddled as far as Savo island, where Savosavo is spoken, for raids, and sometimes brought back people from other islands including Savo. Bilua and Savosavo may have influenced each other as a result of such contacts.

Tryon and Hackman (1983) regard the languages of the Reefs–Santa Cruz Family as Papuan but they exclude them in their diagram (Figure 1.1 below) of the East Papuan phylum because of their unclear position within the East Papuan phylum. Santa Cruz and Nanggu appear to have a closer link with the languages of the East Bougainville stock, while Reefs (Aiwo) appears to have a closer link with the languages of Yele–Solomons stock.

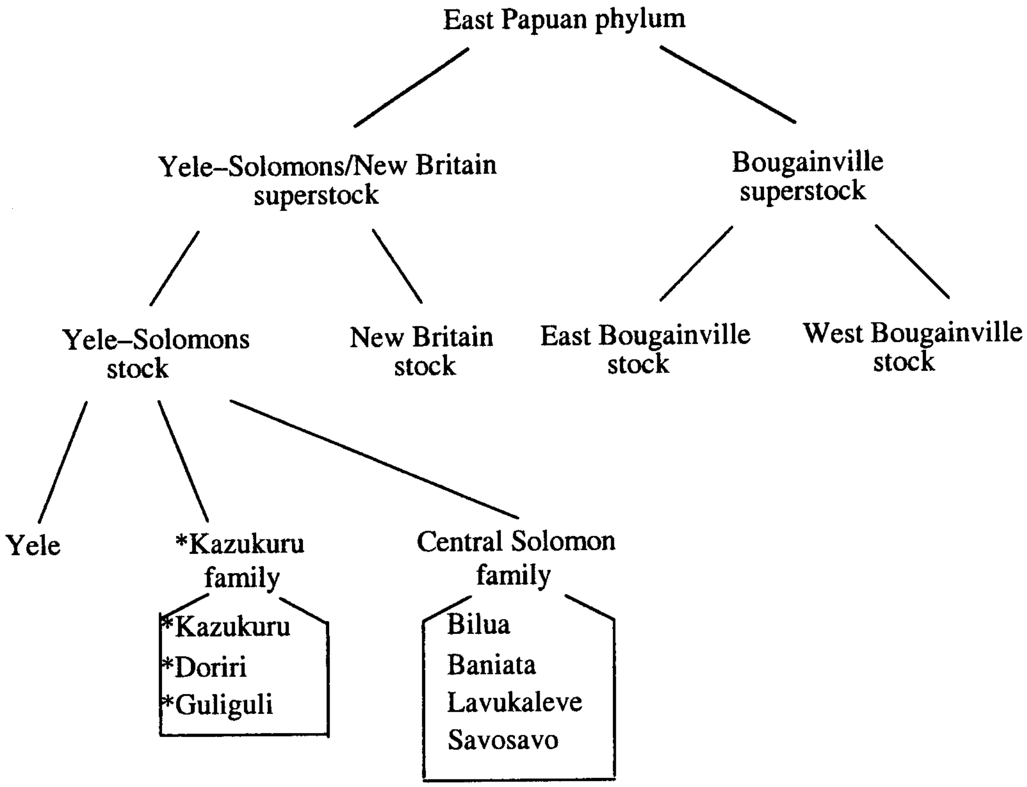
East Papuan phylum
Yele–Solomons/New Britain superstock
Bougainville superstock
Yele–Solomons stock
New Britain stock
East Bougainville stock
West Bougainville stock
Yele
*Kazukuru family
Central Solomon family
*Kazukuru
*Doriri
*Guliguli
Bilua
Baniata
Lavukaleve
Savosavo

Figure 1.1: Papuan Languages in the Solomon Islands within the East Papuan Phylum (Tryon & Hackman 1983:42)[5] Asterisks here mean that these languages are extinct.

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[5] In their paper, Tryon and Hackman (1983) spell Bilua and Baniata as Mbilua and Mbaniata respectively. In the past, the latter spelling was used more frequently. At present, both spellings are recognised but the former ones are more widely used. The 'mb' of Mbilua and

Although it has been proposed that Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo and Baniata are genetically related, none of these languages is fully described yet, and until a full grammatical description of all of them is produced, their relationship remains in question. Angela Terrill has presented a grammar of Lavukaleve in her PhD thesis, and she and Michael Dunn have been working on a grammatical description of Baniata. Evelyn Todd has been doing research on Savosavo. Their studies and this study on Bilua may shed some light on the question of the genetic relationship between these languages.

1.3 Fieldwork and collection of data

The grammar of Bilua presented in this work is based on an analysis of the data collected during two fieldwork periods in the Bilua area of Vella La Vella and in the Saeragi village of Gizo. The first fieldwork period was from March to August 1997 and the second was from September to November 1998. The data mostly comprise recorded texts of old folktales, custom practices, and stories from childhood told by people, both female and male, between 55 and 90 years of age. Seventy-two texts were collected, from which thirty-two (about 240 minutes) were transcribed and translated into English with the help of speakers of Bilua. Some data were collected from conversations.

People who helped the author with transcription and translation were aged under 35 years, while for the analysis of the language or elicitation the author worked with older people who were over fifty-five years of age.

1.4 Grammatical profile

As noted above, Bilua is a Papuan language surrounded by Austronesian/Oceanic languages. According to Foley (1986:2–3):

> The term 'Papuan languages' must not be taken in the same sense as 'Austronesian languages'. While all Austronesian languages are genetically related in one family, in the sense that they all descend from a common ancestral language called Proto-Austronesian spoken some 6,000 years ago...[Papuan languages] do not all trace their origins back to a single ancestral language...when a language is termed 'Papuan', this claims nothing more than that a language is not Austronesian.

Most notably, Bilua is distinguished from Oceanic languages in terms of a masculine–feminine distinction in the third person singular pronominal forms. Local people often cite this difference as a distinctive feature of Bilua.

There are other features of Bilua that are not shared with Oceanic languages (see Lynch, Ross, and Crowley forthcoming). In Bilua, tense and mood are marked by bound forms, clitics on VPs (§8.3), while in Oceanic languages they are marked by free forms.

Mbaniata represents a prenasalised voiced bilabial stop. However, as described in §2.2, in Bilua voiced stops are prenasalised intervocalically but not word-initially.

Bilua is basically an AVO language, but other constituent orders are freely found (§14.6). A variety of constituent orders is found in Oceanic languages but is fairly fixed in each language. In Bilua possessive constructions, the possessor precedes the possessee (§7.3). This order is reversed in Oceanic languages. Bilua relative clauses are marked with a clitic on their VPs (§12.2), while relative clauses in Oceanic languages are preceded by a marker with a subordinating function. Serial verb constructions are widely found in Oceanic languages, but there is no serial verb construction in Bilua.

There are some features that are shared by Bilua and Oceanic languages. In both, a distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive for the first person dual and plural pronominal forms (§5.5.1). Bilua has reduplication of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and numerals (§6.5). Reduplication is also found in Oceanic languages. Aspect markers occur between a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references with the subject, and the verb (§8.5). Bilua is a consistently nominative–accusative language. Oceanic languages are generally nominative–accusative languages.

Other grammatical characteristics of Bilua are as follows. Both clitics and affixes are found. Bilua is both a head- and a dependent-marking language according to Nichols' (1986) criteria. Core arguments are head-marked on the VP by bound pronouns (see §3.2.1)—a head-marking feature; in NPs, person, number, and gender are generally marked on optional NP constituents (see §7.4)—a dependent-marking feature. A possessive NP can be either head or dependent-marked (see §7.3). There are two types of predicates: verbal and non-verbal, distinguished by their predicates (§3.1). There is the valency-increasing construction, which introduces a new core argument; this increases the valency by one (§9.4 and §9.5). There are frequent occurrences of topic and focus markers (§14.2 and §14.3).

Pronominal forms have three person distinctions (first, second, and third) and three number distinctions (singular, dual, and plural). As noted above, the first person dual and plural have a distinction between exclusive and inclusive, while the third person singular has a distinction between masculine and feminine.

There are no grammatical genders in Bilua, but personal names, some kinship terms, and some nouns have an inherent gender. Common nouns are inherently third person and are not marked for number. Person/number/gender can be marked by optional NP constituents (§7).

There are three kinds of dependent clauses: relative, complement, and adverbial clauses (§12). Some coordinators link words, phrases, and clauses, and others link only independent clauses (§13).

1.5 Approach of the grammar

This work presents a general description of Bilua grammar, primarily from a synchronic viewpoint. Although it is preferable not to include a diachronic analysis in a descriptive grammar, some historical hypotheses are included in the work where I believe it is helpful in understanding the grammar.

I do not comply with any model, but utilise different theories where they help the presentation of the grammar. In particular, a description of topic and focus given in §14 owes much to Lambrecht (1994). I also draw on grammatical descriptions of some languages, particularly languages of Oceania, (Crowley 1982, Dixon 1988, Hill 1992, Jauncey 1997, Ezard 1997, and Hyslop 1998) for the purpose of regional comparison.

The grammatical description commences in the following chapter with an analysis of the phonology and morphophonology.

2 *Phonology and morphophonology*

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of phonology and morphophonology: it covers consonant phonemes (§2.2), vowel phonemes (§2.3), phonotactics (§2.4), stress (§2.5), clitics (§2.6), phonological processes (§2.7), reduplication (§2.8), intonation (§2.9), and orthography (§2.10). Customary notation conventions are followed—slashes / / indicate phonemic representations, while square brackets [ ] indicate phonetic representations.

2.2 Consonant phonemes

There are sixteen consonants in Bilua as presented in the following chart.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
voiceless stops	p	t		k
voiced stops	b	d		g
voiceless fricative		s		
voiced fricatives	β	z		
voiced affricate		dʒ		
nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
lateral		l		
trill		r		

The voiced stops and the affricate have allophones: they are prenasalised intervocalically. Prenasalisation does not occur in word-initial position.

/b/d/g/dʒ/ → [^{m}b/^{n}d /^{ŋ}g/^{n}dʒ]/ V_ V
[b/d/g/dʒ] / word-initially

The following are some examples.

	Prenasalised (intervocalically)	**Non-prenasalised** (word-initially)
(2.1)	[ma^{m}ba] ‘person’	[bolo] ‘pig’
(2.2)	[paɪ^{n}daɛko] ‘to finish’	[deri] ‘pumpkin’
(2.3)	[selea $^{\text{ŋ}}$gaza] ‘seagull’	[gusini] ‘rope’
(2.4)	[ke^{n}dʒu] ‘to cook’	[dʒaɪrozo] ‘to be tired’

The voiceless stops and the voiceless fricative are pronounced as long consonants when they occur in the second syllable before a diphthong. The following are some examples.

	consonants (elsewhere)	**long consonants** (in the second syllable with a diphthong)
(2.5)	[siɔtolu] ‘eight’	[attaɛko] ‘to count’
(2.6)	[lekasa] ‘chief’	[pekkaɔ] ‘to dance’
(2.7)	[tapata] ‘hardship’	[kappiaβole] ‘quickly’
(2.8)	[siakona] ‘rope’	[nassoɛko] ‘to attach’

The bilabial voiced fricative /β/ has two allophones, [β] and [w], in free variation: /β/ is sometimes realised as a glide [w], especially in front of a low vowel /a/. For example, /βaito/ ‘to return’ is realised as [βaɪto] or [waɪto].

In addition to [^{n}dʒ], the voiced affricate /dʒ/ has another allophone, [tʃ], in free variation. For example, /βaremudʒa/ ‘six’ is realised as [βaremu^{n}dʒa] or [βaremutʃa].

Some examples of minimal and near-minimal pairs are as follows.

(2.9)	/p/ – /b/	/sipi/ ‘louse’	/sibi/ ‘black’
(2.10)	/t/ – /d/	/tatabarao/ ‘pay’	/tadao/ ‘look up’
(2.11)	/k/ – /g/	/raki/ ‘root’	/sagi/ ‘brother/sister’
(2.12)	/s/ – /z/	/sapo/ ‘hot water’	/zapo/ ‘beard’
(2.13)	/β/ – /b/	/βatuto/ ‘to move’	/bazuto/ ‘to tell’
(2.14)	/n/ – /ɲ/	/naka/ ‘banana’	/ɲaɲa/ ‘mother/aunt’
(2.15)	/g/ – /ŋ/	/game/ ‘nose’	/ŋase/ ‘hand’
(2.16)	/l/ – /r/	/lekona/ ‘leaf’	/reko/ ‘wife’
(2.17)	/z/ – /dʒ/	/zario/ ‘wish’	/dʒari/ ‘copra house’

2.3 Vowel phonemes

There are five vowels, as presented in the following chart.

Table 2.2: Vowel phonemes

	front				back
high	i				u
mid		e		o	
low			a		

The following are examples of minimal and near-minimal pairs.

(2.18)	/a/ – /e/	/ka̲lo/ 'way'	/ke̲lo/ 'to see'
(2.19)	/a/ – /i/	/da̲ra/ 'blood'	/di̲ri/ 'red'
(2.20)	/a/ – /o/	/ka̲lo/ 'way'	/ko̲lo/ 'ocean'
(2.21)	/a/ – /u/	/ka̲ko/ 'strange'	/ku̲ki/ 'axe'
(2.22)	/e/ – /i/	/te̲te/ 'ridge'	/ti̲tiβi/ 'trouser'
(2.23)	/e/ – /o/	/ke̲lo/ 'to see'	/ko̲lo/ 'ocean'
(2.24)	/e/ – /u/	/ke̲tuketuto/ 'to tease'	/ku̲tukutu/ 'cloud'
(2.25)	/i/ – /o/	/kili̲kili/ 'armpit'	/kilo̲kilo/ 'arrival'
(2.26)	/i/ – /u/	/ki̲likili/ 'armpit'	/ku̲lukulu/ 'neck'
(2.27)	/o/ – /u/	/bo̲lo/ 'pig'	/bu̲lo/ 'heart'

All combinations of vowels occur: /ie/, /ia/, /io/, /iu/, /ei/, /ea/, /eo/, /eu/, /ai/, /ae/, /ao/, /au/, /oi/, /oe/, /oa/, /ou/, /ui/, /ue/, /ua/, and /uo/. When they belong to the same phonological word, they are diphthongal. The diphthongal nature of these combinations is apparent with reduplicated forms in which the VV sequences reduplicate as one syllable. A reduplicated form has the first two syllables reduplicated. For example, in a reduplicated form /βualaβuala/ 'hot', /ua/ is counted as one syllable. If /ua/ were counted as two syllables, a reduplicated form should have /βu-a-βu-a-la/, but this is not the case (see §2.8).

Vowels do not have allophones when they occur individually, but in diphthongs the front and back vowels are realised as lax vowels [ɪ], [ɛ], [ɔ], and [ʊ] when they are the second element: [iɛ], [iɔ], [iʊ], [eɪ], [eɔ], [eʊ], [aɪ], [aɛ], [aɔ], [oɪ], [oɛ], [oʊ], [iʊ], [uɛ], and [uɔ]. This suggests that the first vowel in a diphthong is the nucleus, and the second is non-syllabic.

The only attested cases of syllabic vowel sequences occur with reduplication, in which a syllable break matches a morpheme break. For example, a combination of vowels /au/ in a reduplicated form ['u-**pa-'u**-pa-to] 'to shout many times', which is a reduplicated form of /upato/ 'to shout', is a syllabic vowel sequence. Each of /a/ and /u/ belongs to a different syllable. This is supported by the second stress on /u/ and the realisation of /u/ as [u] rather than [ʊ]. If /a/ and /u/ formed a diphthong, there would not be a stress on /u/ and also /u/ would be realised as [ʊ] since the second element of the diphthong cannot be stressed as described in §2.5, and /u/ is realised as [ʊ] when it is in the second element of a diphthong as noted above.

2.4 Phonotactics

The syllable structure in Bilua is (C)V for the first syllable and CV for other syllables, C representing any consonant and V here representing a vowel or a diphthong. This means that there are no sequences of Vs in Bilua within a phonological word (see §2.6 for phonological words). An exception to this is an interjection /ee/ 'yes'.

The minimum number of syllables per phonological word is one, and this can only be CV but not V only. A maximum word length of seven syllables is found in the data. Some examples are:

(2.28) CV /lea/ 'tomorrow'

(2.29) VCV /ipu/ 'night'

(2.30) CVCV /lezu/ 'head'

(2.31) VCVCV /ariku/ 'four'

(2.32) CVCVCV /βidulu/ 'key'

(2.33) VCVCVCV /inainaeko/ 'to prepare'

(2.34) CVCVCVCV /pikimato/ 'to dig soil'

(2.35) CVCVCVCVCVCVCV /kolokologanisi/ 'Kolokoloqanisi (male name)'

All consonants can occur in the word-initial and medial positions but never in the word-final position. All vowels can occur in the word-initial, medial, and word-final positions. There are some restrictions on the occurrences of diphthongs. Only /au/ and /ae/ can occur word-initially. In the word-internal position, all but /ao/ can occur. All diphthongs can occur in the word-final position, but one of them, /oa/, occurs over a morpheme boundary only. For example,

(2.36) [ko=a]
3SG.F=LIG
'that (feminine)'

(2.37) [βo=a]
3SG.M=LIG
'that (masculine)'

In each of these examples, a demonstrative and a ligature form one phonological word: the morpheme boundary occurs between the demonstrative and the ligature, and a combination of vowels *o* and *a* over this morpheme boundary is realised as a diphthong.

The following table summarises the occurrences of phonemes in different positions.

Table 2.3: Occurrences of phonemes in different positions

	Consonants	Vowels	Diphthongs
Word-initial	all	all	/au/, /ae/
Word-medial	all	all	all but /ao/
Word-final	none	all	all

2.5 Stress

Stress is applied to the first syllable of a phonological word. Stress is not contrastive in Bilua. For a diphthong, stress is realised as prominence on the first element.

(2.38) ['toʊpa] 'lake'

(2.39) ['uri] 'good'

(2.40) ['siɔtolu] 'eight'

(2.41) ['ruᵑge] 'bad'

(2.42) ['βaɪrutu] 'today/now'

Stress, however, may fall on the second syllable of a phonological word when a phonological word does not coincide with a grammatical word. This is described in the next section.

2.6 Clitics

A Bilua phonological word may consist of one or more clitics and their host. Clitics attach to a word, a 'host', forming one phonological word with their host. There are two types of clitics: enclitics, which take the preceding word as the host, and proclitics, which take the word that follows as the host. Most Bilua clitics are enclitics, but there are pronominal proclitics as well. Object clitics can function either as enclitics or proclitics. Clitics in Bilua are:

pronominal proclitics
pronominal enclitics
object clitics
tense/mood markers, which are enclitics
nominal derivational enclitics
ligature, which is an enclitic

relative clause markers, which are enclitics
the purposive subordinator *le*, which is an enclitic

This section presents a general description of Bilua clitics, particularly with regard to stress. A description of each clitic is given in Chapters 5 and 6.

Unlike words, clitics do not bear inherent stress, and this suggests that they do not form a phonological word of their own — they form one phonological word with their host, the word they are attached to. This is illustrated by example (2.43-a). In this example, two enclitics, a ligature *a* and a pronominal enclitic *ma* (3SG.F), are attached to an adjective ['uri] forming a modifier phrase. As these enclitics are not independent phonological words, none of them bears stress. They form one phonological word with their host, *uri*, and the stress falls on the first syllable of this phonological word following the stress pattern in Bilua described in the last section.

(2.43-a) ['uri=a=ma 'pa^{n}de]
good=LIG=3SG.F house
'a good house'

If each of the ligature *a* and the pronominal enclitic *ma* (3SG.F) formed a phonological word of its own, (2.43-a) would be analysed as:

(2.43-b) ['uri 'a 'ma 'pa^{n}de]
good LIG 3SG.F house
'a good house'

but this is not the case.

Like clitics, affixes do not bear inherent stress. Clitics are distinguished from affixes by the following non-phonological criteria. 'Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot' (Zwicky & Pullum 1983:504). 'Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups' (1983:504). Unlike affixes, 'clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts' (1983:503) and they can combine with a phrase (Zwicky 1985:288), while affixes cannot.

Cliticisation does not affect the stress on the host in Bilua. Example (2.43-a) above illustrates that encliticisation does not affect the stress on the host and thus the stress falls on the first syllable of the host, which coincides with the first syllable of the resulted phonological word.

Procliticisation does not affect the stress on the host either, and this results in the stress falling on the second syllable of a phonological word, as illustrated by the following two examples. In each of these examples, a phonological word consists of a host and one or more clitics. In (2.44), a pronominal proclitic is attached to a noun, ['ɲaɲa], forming a possessive NP. The pronominal proclitic here marks a possessor. In (2.45), the pronominal proclitic is cliticised on the verb, ['βouβaɛ], and they form one phonological word together with two enclitics: the object clitic and the tense marker. The pronominal proclitic here functions as a subject marker. In both examples, the stress still falls on the first syllable of the host, which is the second syllable of the phonological words (see §2.7

for a further description of phonological words formed by cliticisation of a pronominal proclitic on the host).

(2.44) [a̲='ɲaɲa]
1SG=mother
'my mother'

(2.45) [o='βouβaɛ=k̲=a]
3SG.M=kill=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...he killed it,' (24-11-93)[6]

In the two examples above, proclitics form one phonological word with a content word, a noun in (2.44) and a verb in (2.45). A pronominal proclitic may form a phonological word with another kind of content word, a modifier in a VP. In this case too, the stress falls on the first syllable of the host, which is the second syllable of the phonological word. In the following example, a pronominal proclitic *o* (3SG.M) and a modifier *sasa* 'a bit' form one phonological word and the stress falls on the first syllable of *sasa*.

(2.46) [o='sasa 'mamaz=a]
3SG.M=a bit rest=PRES
'...he rested a bit,' (26-20-109)

Thus, a pronominal proclitic may attach to a content word, which bears stress on the first syllable, and when this happens, the stress still falls on the first syllable of the content word, which is the second syllable of the phonological word.

A Bilua proclitic may have a VP particle as its host, forming one phonological word. VP particles in Bilua are aspectual/modal markers, valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker. 'Particles are "function", rather than "content", items' (Zwicky 1985:291). Bilua VP particles occur between a pronominal proclitic, which functions as a subject marker, and a verb. Aspectual/modal markers and the possessor-raising marker may form one phonological word with a preceding pronominal proclitic. Valency-increasing markers always have an object clitic as a proclitic, forming one phonological word with it. This may additionally have a pronominal proclitic preceding the object clitic. Like clitics, Bilua VP particles do not bear inherent stress. That is, a Bilua phonological word may consist of morphemes that bear no inherent stress. Such a phonological word, however, still bears stress on the first syllable of the phonological word, following the stress pattern in Bilua, as illustrated by the following examples.

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[6] In this example, a present tense marker *a* in the final position is employed in order to indicate historical present tense. In such a case, the event expressed is one that occurred in the past, and thus it is translated in the past tense (see §8.3 for a description of historical present tense). This applies to a lot of examples presented in this work, and thus many examples with a present tense marker are translated in the past tense. See 'Abbreviations and conventions' at the beginning of the work for an explanation of the bracketed numbers following examples.

In the first phonological word of example (2.47), a pronominal proclitic /ko/ (3SG.F) is attached to an aspectual marker, the continuity marker /beta/, forming one phonological word. In (2.48) the first phonological word consists of a pronominal proclitic /ke/ (3PL) and the possessor-raising marker /ta/, while the second phonological word consists of an object clitic /β/ (3SG.M.O) and a valency-increasing marker /ati/. In all instances, there is stress on the first syllable of the phonological word. This is manifested by a clitic in the first two instances and by a clitic–particle combination in the last instance.

(2.47) ['ko=^{m}beta 'koɪt=a]
3SG.F=CONT climb=PRES
'...she is climbing...' (21-6-35)

(2.48) ['ke=ta 'β=ati 'so^{ŋ}goɪ=βa]
3PL=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL run.away=PRES
'...they ran away with his [boot].' (16-6-77)

A VP particle may occur without a proclitic and form a phonological word by itself. This kind of phonological word still bears stress on the first syllable. In example (2.49), an aspectual marker, the prospective marker /pa/, forms a phonological word of its own, and this bears stress.

(2.49) ['pa 'βaɪri=β=a]
PROS look.for=3SG.M.O=IMP.SG
'Go and look for him.'

Thus, a VP particle, when it forms a phonological word by itself, bears stress. Clitics of one type, namely pronominal proclitics, may also form a phonological word by themselves; that is, they can be phonologically independent in certain environments. This kind of phonological word also bears stress on the first syllable. Bilua pronominal proclitics all end with a vowel, and when a pronominal proclitic precedes a content word beginning with a vowel, it always forms a phonological word of its own. This is to avoid a formation of a diphthong or a long vowel. In Bilua, procliticisation, but not encliticisation, disallows a formation of a diphthong. In (2.50), the /e/ of a pronominal proclitic /ke/ (3PL) does not form a diphthong with the word-initial /u/ of /uri/ — /ke/ and /uri/ do not form one phonological word. On the other hand, the word-final /i/ of a modifier /uri/ 'good' and a ligature *a*, which is an enclitic, form a diphthong — /uri/ and *a* form one phonological word. In (2.51), a pronominal proclitic /o/ and the verb beginning with the same vowel, /o/, do not form a phonological word as Bilua does not have a long vowel. In both examples, the pronominal proclitic forms a phonological word of its own and it bears stress.

(2.50) ['ke 'uri=a 'bori=k=a]
3PL good=LIG carry=3SG.F.O=PRES
'They carried it well (carefully)...' (28-6-56)

(2.51) ['o 'odiɛ=k=a]
3SG.M call=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...he called her...' (2.27-10-63)

When a pronominal proclitic precedes a content word that begins with a consonant, these two morphemes form one phonological word, and the stress falls on the first syllable of the host, the content word.

(2.52) [a='βuat=ala]
1SG=eat=RCP
'I ate.'

Thus, pronominal proclitics can be phonologically independent in certain environments. The next section presents a piece of evidence that demonstrates that pronominal proclitics form a phonological word with their host.

2.7 Phonological processes

First and second person singular/plural pronominal proclitics /a/ (1SG), /ŋo/ (2SG), /ŋe/ (1PL.EXC), and /me/ (1PL.INC/2PL) may cause the voicing of a voiceless stop or fricative onset of a concatenated syllable: voiceless stops become voiced stops while the voiceless fricative /s/ becomes an affricate /dʒ/. In §2.2, it was mentioned that voiced stops and the affricate are prenasalised intervocalically. The voiced stops and affricate resulting from the above phonological process are prenasalised as well. This illustrates that the pronominal proclitic and the following word form one phonological word, with the result that the voiced stops and affricate occur in the second syllable. In each pair of the following examples, voicing occurs in (a) but it does not in (b), as marked by underlines.

(2.53-a) ['ŋo=^{m}ba 'β=el=oʊ] /ŋo=/ preceding /pa/
2SG.F=PROS 3SG.M.O=see=PRES
'You will go and see him.'

(2.53-b) ['ko=pa 'kuɛ=βi] /ko=/ preceding /pa/
3SG.F=PROS come=RMP
'She came.'

(2.54-a) [a='^{n}dare=k=oʊ] /a=/ preceding /tare=k=ou/
1SG=wait=3SG.F.O=FUT
'I will wait for her.'

(2.54-b) [o='tare=k=a] /o=/ preceding /tare=k=a/
3SG.M=wait=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...he is waiting for it...' (24-6-64)

(2.55-a) ['ŋe= ^{ŋ}g=aɪ 'ɲaɲi=a] /ŋe=/ preceding /k=ai/
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL know=PRES
'...we know it...' (26-4-25)

(2.55-b) ['ke=k=aɪ 'besiɛ-kiɲ=oʊ] /ke=/ preceding /k=ai/
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL exchange-RECP=FUT
'...they will exchange [food]...' (21-4-23)

(2.56-a) [a=ˈⁿd̲ʒisu] /a=/ preceding /sisu/
1SG=sweet.potato
'my sweet potato'

(2.56-b) [o=ˈs̲isu] /o=/ preceding /sisu/
3SG.M=sweet.potato
'his sweet potato'

It is not the case however that these pronominal proclitics always cause voicing and prenasalisation. When they precede a VP particle, they always cause voicing and prenasalisation. When they precede an object clitic, a modifier, or a verb, they usually do but may not. In both (2.57-a) and (2.57-b) below, /ŋo/ (2SG) precedes an object clitic on the verb, /koβo/ 'to get'. In (2.57-a), /k/ which follows /ŋo/ is voiced and prenasalised, but in (2.57-b), it is not. Examples (2.57-a) and (2.57-b) are in free variation.

(2.57-a) [ŋo=ˈᵑg̲=o=a]
2SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
'You will get it.'

(2.57-b) [ŋo=ˈk̲=o=a]
2SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
'You will get it.'

A pronominal proclitic forms a phonological word of its own when it precedes a vowel-initial content word, but it forms a phonological word with its host when it precedes a consonant-initial content word (see last section). In both (2.57-a) and (2.57-b), the pronominal proclitic forms one phonological word with the verb which follows, as indicated by the lack of stress on the pronominal proclitic. In (2.57-b) the lack of voicing and prenasalisation of the verb-initial consonant indicates that the phonological bond between the pronominal proclitic and the verb is not strong.[7]

2.8 Reduplication

Reduplication can be applied to nouns, verb roots, adjectives, and numerals, and it can be category changing or non–category changing (see §6.5). A reduplicated form can be formed by repeating the first two syllables of a non-reduplicated form. A reduplicated form consists of two phonological words, and a reduplication boundary is a boundary of phonological words. Accordingly, the first syllable of the two reduplicated syllables is stressed (see §2.5).

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[7] Examples in this work are presented in phonemic representation, and so when a voiceless stop or a fricative is voiced following the phonological process described here, it is represented in its voiced counterpart. The reader should keep this in mind so that he/she will not need to wonder how a certain morpheme is realised in different forms in examples. To name few examples, readers will find that the situation-change marker *ta*, the prospective marker *pa*, and the third person singular object clitic *k* are sometimes represented as *da*, *ba*, and *q* respectively as a result of the phonological process described in this section.

	Non-reduplicated form	**Reduplicated form**
(2.58)	grammatical word	grammatical word
	┌──────┐	┌──────────┐
	['to-ru-ru] 'egg'	['to-ru-'to-ru-ru] 'round'
	└──────┘	└──┘ └────┘
	phonological word	phonological words
(2.59)	grammatical word	grammatical word
	┌───┐	┌───────┐
	['to-βa] 'behind'	['to-βa-'to-βa] 'last'
	└───┘	└──┘ └──┘
	phonological word	phonological words

In (2.58), an adjective /torutoruru/ 'round' is derived from a noun /toruru/ 'egg' by reduplication. The stress on ['to-ru-'to-ru-ru] indicates that this consists of two phonological words ['to-ru] and ['to-ru-ru]: the stress is applied on the first syllable of each phonological word. These two phonological words form one grammatical word /torutoruru/. Similarly in (2.59) the stress indicates that ['to-βa-'to-βa] consists of two phonological words which form one grammatical word.

Bilua voiced stops and the affricate are prenasalised intervocalically (see §2.2). In example (2.60) below, the word /bule/ 'peace' begins with a voiced stop. The reduplicated form of this is /bulebule/ 'clean', but the bilabial voiced stop [b] of the third syllable of this word is not prenasalised. This indicates that [b] is the beginning of a new phonological word and /bulebule/ 'clean' consists of two phonological words.

(2.60)	grammatical word	grammatical word
	┌───┐	┌───────┐
	['bu-le] 'peace'	['bu-le-'bu-le] 'clean'
	└───┘	└──┘ └──┘
	phonological word	phonological words

Vowel sequences remain bisyllabic between the boundaries of phonological words in reduplicated forms (see §2.3). Thus, three pieces of evidence—stress pattern, lack of prenasalisation, and bisyllabic vowel sequences—illustrate that reduplicated forms consist of two phonological words.

Some reduplicated forms are lexically reduplicated, and they lack non-reduplicated counterparts. For example:

(2.61) grammatical words

inherently reduplicated word ['ku-tu-'ku-tu] 'dark cloud'

phonological words

The stress pattern of the example in (2.61) indicates that it consists of two phonological words but it forms one grammatical word. Any Bilua words of which the first two syllables are repeated are reduplicated forms. ['Ina'inaɛko] 'to prepare' and ['kolo'kologanisi] 'Kolokoloqanisi' from §2.4 are both inherently reduplicated forms: they consist of two phonological words with the first syllable of each phonological word stressed.

With verbs, reduplication applies to verb roots, that is the identical string of segments shared between intransitive and transitive verbs (see §4.4). For example, an intransitive verb *niumat* 'to break' and a transitive verb *niumae* 'to break' share a root *niuma* and thus the reduplicated form is *niuma-niuma* 'broken'. Note that some verbs have a consonant stem-finally, but verbs in Bilua are almost always cliticised with one or more enclitics that have a vowel finally, forming one phonological word ending with a vowel.

When a verb root ends with a consonant, this results in a reduplicated form ending with a consonant. If the reduplicated form is a noun or an adjective, a vowel *i* is added to it. The addition of *i* takes place because in Bilua no phonological word can end with a consonant. In (2.62) and (2.63), the identical segments are *tibur* and *podet* respectively, and a reduplicated form is an adjective and a noun respectively.

	Verbs	**Reduplicated form**
(2.62)	/ti-bu-r/ 'to close (INTR)' /ti-bu-ri/ 'to close (TR)'	/ti-bu-ti-bu-ri̲/ 'closed'
(2.63)	/po-de-t/ 'to measure (INTR)' /po-de-ti/ to measure (TR)'	/po-de-po-de-ti̲/ 'measurement'

Reduplication can also derive a verb from a noun. Verbs derived by reduplication are considered to be fully lexicalised, as their forms are not predictable from reduplicated syllables. For example, the reduplication of /ige/ 'knee' results in /igeige/, and the derived verb is identical with this: /igeige/ 'to kneel down', while the reduplication of /leɲo/ 'tongue' results in /leɲoleɲo/ and it has two derived verbs, one having an extra *t*, /leɲoleɲot/ 'to lick (INTR)', and the other having an extra *e*, /leɲoleɲoe/ 'to lick (TR)'.

There are some examples where a non-reduplicated form has just one syllable. In such a case, the reduplicated form is not necessarily predictable from the non-reduplicated form. Here are some examples.

	Non-reduplicated form	**Reduplicated form**
(2.64)	/pi/ 'to drop (TR)' /pil/ 'to drop (INTR)'	/pika-pikae/ 'to drop many times'

(2.65) /pait/ 'to finish (INTR)' /paito-paito/ 'last one/end'
/pai/ 'to finish (TR)'

The reduplicated form of some monosyllabic words can be formed by repeating the whole word.

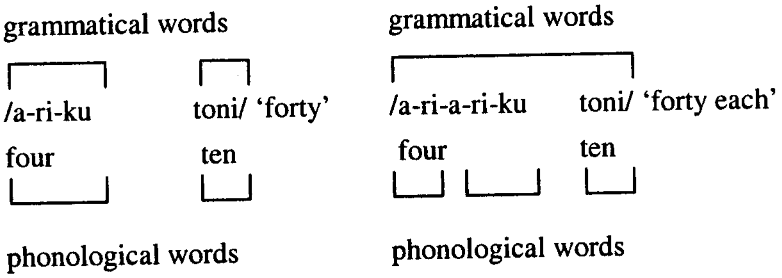
(2.66) /zio/ 'to go' /zio-zio/ 'coming and going'

(2.67) /tou/ 'skin' /tou-tou/ 'tribe'

In Bilua, numerals over ten are expressed by a phrase consisting of two or more numerals, and this phrase can be reduplicated. A reduplicated form can be formed by repeating the first two syllables of the phrase.

Non-reduplicated form **Reduplicated form**

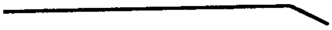
(2.68)


grammatical words
/a-ri-ku
toni/ 'forty'
four
ten
phonological words
grammatical words
/a-ri-a-ri-ku
toni/ 'forty each'
four
ten
phonological words

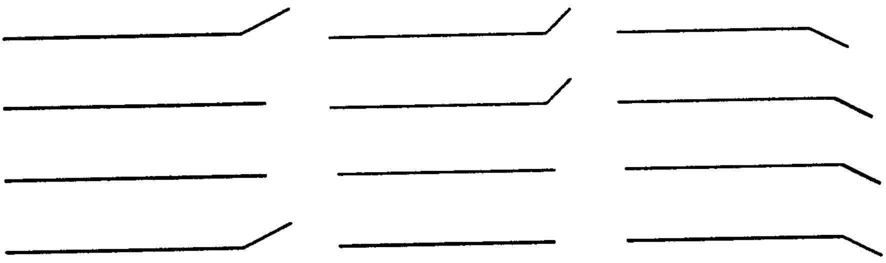
2.9 Intonation

A clause is usually articulated as one intonation. There are different intonation patterns for declarative, imperative, and interrogative clauses in Bilua, as briefly described here.

Declarative clauses generally have a falling intonation.



However, when declarative clauses are coordinated, all but the last one has a rising or level intonation, instead of falling intonation, and they are followed by a slight pause. Thus a sentence consisting of three clauses can show one of following four patterns.



Or there may be no marking of a clause boundary at all. Two clauses may be articulated as if they are one clause. In such a case, the clause boundary may be delineated by a coordinator. However, there are also cases in which clauses are simply juxtaposed and the clause boundary is not indicated in this way either. In examples given in this work, commas are used to mark a clause boundary indicated by a pause. A vertical line | is used to indicate a clause boundary where neither pause nor coordinator indicates a boundary. Examples (2.69), (2.70), and (2.71) are presented using Bilua orthography, not phonemic or phonetic representation (see next section for Bilua orthography).

(2.69)

Nioqa	*ti*	*qo*	*ol=a*	*kiaro*	*kale,*	*qo*	*iruruput=a,*
3DU	TOP	3DU	go=PRES	garden	in	3DU	work=PRES

qo=papat=a,	*raisi-raisi*	*ko*	*ev=a*	|	*sailao*
3DU=plant=PRES	REDUP-evening	3SG.F	become=PRES		food

qo=k=o=a	|	*qo=saqor=a,*	*ti*	*qo=kejue.*
3DU=3SG.F.O=get=PRES		3DU=go.down=PRES	and.then	3DU=cook

'The two went to the garden, they worked, they planted, and it became evening, and they got food, they went down, and they cooked.' (24-3-28)

Interrogative clauses typically have a rising intonation, regardless of whether they are polar questions, alternative questions, or content questions.

(2.70)

Lai	*ta*	*ngo=vo*	*mama?*
where	TOP	2SG=3SG.M	father

'Where is your father?' (24-7-73)

Imperative clauses have a level intonation.

(2.71)

Pa	*v=e=a*	*ngo=mama.*
PROS	3SG.M.O=see=IMP.SG	2SG=father

'Go and see your father.' (24-5-45)

In Bilua, in principle, declarative, interrogative, and imperative clauses all have the same structure. Different types of clauses can be distinguished by intonation patterns, as well as by morphological icons such as an interrogative word that replaces the part of the clause which is in question and an imperative mood marker. That is, there is no distinctive clause structure for an interrogative or imperative clause. However, in a content question, an interrogative word or a constituent which contains an interrogative word is often marked by a focus marker and is shifted to the clause-initial position (see §14.3.2), while in an imperative clause the subject is often ellipsed (see §8.3).

2.10 Orthography

In this work, the orthography devised by early missionaries is adopted for simplicity's sake, and also because it is used by Vella La Vella people. All vowels and consonants are written in their phonemic forms except for the following.

Table 2.4: Phonemes and orthography

Phonemes	Orthography
Velar voiced stop /g/	q
Bilabial voiced fricative /β/	v
Palatal voiced affricate /dʒ/	j
Palatal nasal /ɲ/	ni
Velar nasal /ŋ/	ng

It is rather peculiar that the letter 'q' instead of 'g' is used for /g/ and the letter 'g' by itself is not used at all.

For a palatal nasal /ɲ/, an underlined n is also used, and this seems to be a preferred form. In this work, however, 'ni' is used as shown in the above table.

The pronunciation of some loan words in Bilua has been standardised and these words are written according to the pronunciation in Bilua, for example *titisa* 'teacher'. The pronunciation of some loan words has not been standardised and these are written according to the spelling in their source language. For example, there is no standardised pronunciation for *chainsaw* and so this is written according to the spelling in English.

This concludes the description of the phonology and morphophonology of Bilua. The next chapter presents an overview of Bilua basic clause structures.

3 *Basic clause structures*

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents basic clause structures as an introduction to the syntax of Bilua in order to provide and to familiarise the reader with a general overview of the structure of the language.

Clauses in Bilua can be either verbal or non-verbal depending on predicates. A verbal predicate is always a verb phrase (VP), which is headed with a verb as in (3.1). A non-verbal predicate can be a noun phrase (NP), a postpositional phrase (PP), a locational phrase (see §10.3 for a description of locational phrases), or an existential marker but can never be a VP. In (3.2), the predicate is an NP.

(3.1)	...*niania=ka=ma*	*ta*	[*ko=kejue=k=a*]$_{\text{VP}}$	*ko*	*sailao...*
	mother=LIG=3SG.F	TOP	3SG.F=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	food
			predicate		

‘...the mother, she cooked food...’(24-3-23)

(3.2)	*Vo*	*ta*	[*student*]$_{\text{NP}}$.
	3SG.M	TOP	student
			predicate

‘He is a student.’

Basic structures of verbal clauses and non-verbal clauses are described in §3.2 and §3.3 respectively.

3.2 Basic verbal clause structure

This section presents the Bilua basic verbal clause structure. It also includes a discussion about core arguments in Bilua. As in example (3.1) above, one or more constituents of a clause are often marked with a topic or a focus marker in Bilua. Any constituent marked with a topic or focus marker takes a preverbal position regardless of its function. A description of the basic verbal clause structure in this section is based on clauses that do not contain a marked constituent. First a discussion about core arguments in Bilua is presented in §3.2.1, then, the structure of verbal clauses is presented in §3.2.2. Before proceeding, however, a brief description of the Bilua VP structure is presented, as the discussion given below will be difficult to follow without some knowledge of the VP structure (see Chapter 8 for a full description of Bilua verb phrases).

A Bilua VP minimally contains a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references the subject, a verb, and a tense/mood marker, which is an enclitic on the verb. A transitive verb is obligatorily attached with an object clitic, which cross-references the object, and this usually occurs between the verb and the tense/mood marker.

(3.3) ...[*a=bai=k=a*]$_{\text{VP}}$...
1SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...I finished it...' (2-2-12)

A VP may optionally contain an aspectual/modal marker, the possessor-raising marker, a valency-increasing marker attached with an object clitic, and a modifier, all of which occur between the pronominal proclitic and the verb. In the following example, the VP contains a valency-increasing marker *ati* attached with an object clitic *l* (1SG.O) and a modifier *uri* attached with a ligature *a* (see §5.17 for the ligature). These all occur between the pronominal proclitic *ke* (3PL) and the verb *vail* attached with a present tense marker *a*.

(3.4) [*Ke=l=ati* *uri=a* *vail=a*]$_{\text{VP}}$.
3PL=1SG=VAL good=LIG look=PRES
'They look after me well.'

3.2.1 *Core arguments*

According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:26), core arguments are participants 'which are part of the semantic representation of the verb'. Following Dixon (1972), three different grammatical functions of core arguments are distinguished in Bilua: S (intransitive subject), A (transitive subject), and O (transitive object). In Bilua, these grammatical functions are marked on the verb phrase (VP) by bound pronouns: by a pronominal proclitic for S and A functions, and by an object clitic for the O function, which are obligatory constituents of VPs. This illustrates that Bilua is a nominative–accusative language and also a head-marking language in terms of marking of the grammatical functions (Nichols 1986), and following Nichols (1986:107–108), the term 'cross-reference' is used in describing the marking of grammatical functions on VPs. Hence, core arguments in Bilua are defined as arguments that are cross-referenced on the VP by bound pronouns. One type of core argument, however, is not cross-referenced on the VP by bound pronouns. This is discussed later in this section.

S/A arguments and the O argument are obligatorily expressed by pronominal proclitics and object clitics in VPs respectively, and they may be further expressed by optional NPs that are co-referential with these bound pronouns (see the next section for the discussion about expressions of core arguments). NPs expressing S/A/O arguments can all take both preverbal and postverbal positions. Their positions depend on whether they express an S/A argument or an O argument, and also the pragmatic function of the argument (see §14.6). The above illustrates that S and A arguments are syntactically distinguished from the O argument. Accordingly, it can be said that Bilua has two grammatical relations, 'subject' and 'object', which are associated with S and A arguments, and the O argument respectively. Another grammatical relation in Bilua, 'second object' is described later in this section. In the rest of this work, the terms subject and (direct) object are used sometimes in order to refer to grammatical relations, and other times in order to refer to arguments in subject and object grammatical relations.[8]

Subjects often have the semantic role of 'agent': 'a participant which the meaning of the verb specifies as doing or causing something, possibly intentionally' (Andrews 1985:68). In example (3.1) above, the subject has the semantic role of agent. Subjects may also have other semantic roles such as 'experiencer' and 'causer' as in examples (3.5) and (3.6) below.

(3.5) experiencer

...o=k=a	*zari=a*	*rae=ng=o...*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES	marry=2SG.O=NOM

'...he wants to marry you...' (59-11-95)

(3.6) causer (non-intentional action)

...vo=a	*botolo*	*inio*	*o*	*ere=k=e ko*
3SG.M=LIG	bottle	FOC.NONF	3SG.M	make=3SG.F.O=RMP3SG.F

ipututu...
eclipse
'...the bottle caused an eclipse...' (47-1-6)

Objects typically have the semantic role of 'patient': 'a participant which the verb characterises as having something happen to it, and as being affected by what happens to it' (Andrews 1985:68). In example (3.1) above, the object has the semantic role of 'patient'. Objects may also have other semantic roles such as 'product'[9] and 'recipient'.

(3.7) 'product'

Nio	*ke*	*ere=k=a*	*ko*	*bereti.*
SEQ	3PL	make=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	bread

'They made bread.' (16-1-7)

(3.8) 'recipient'

...kubo	*sailao*	*o=kati=m=a,*
many	food	3SG.M=give=3PL.O=PRES

'...he gave them much food,' (16-1-7)

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:29) distinguish two kinds of core arguments: direct core arguments, 'core arguments which are either unmarked, as in English, or marked by case alone, as in Icelandic', that is S, A, and O arguments; and oblique core arguments, 'core arguments which are adpositionally marked'. In Bilua, a participant that is part of the semantic representation of the verb may be postpositionally marked, but this is not treated as a core argument as a non-participant may also be postpositionally marked. According to Andrews (1985:69) participants are those which 'one would think of as actual participants in the situation implied by the verb', while non-participants are 'entities that do not really participate, but instead form part of the setting of the event'.[10] Postpositionally marked participant/non-participants in Bilua are not cross-referenced on the VP.

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[8] An argument introduced by the valency-increasing construction is also cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic; that is, it is also coded as an object, but this kind of argument is referred to as an 'added object' (see §9.4).

[9] The term 'product' is borrowed from Jauncey (1997:56).

For example, in a postpositional phrase *vo kasi* (3SG.M at), the postposition *kasi* marks that the referent of the governed NP, *vo* (3SG.M), has the semantic role of location/goal. This referent can be a participant or non-participant, depending on whether the verb is subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of location/goal or not. That is, the choice here depends on the semantics of the verb. In (3.9), the verb *barolo* 'to arrive' is said to be subcategorised for a participant with a semantic role of location/goal and so 'him' is a participant. In (3.10), on the other hand, the verb *raneo* 'to sleep overnight'[11] is not subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of goal/location, and so 'him' is not a participant. In both examples the underlined PP *vo kasi* (3SG.M at) is optional and 'him' is not cross-referenced on the VP by a bound pronoun.

(3.9) *Bazu ta ko=baro=a vo kasi.*
story TOP 3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.M at
'The story arrived at him.' (cf. (3.11))

(3.10) *A=da rane=la vo kasi.*
1SG=SIT sleep.overnight=RCP 3SG.M at
'I slept overnight at his place.'

The above illustrates that 'him' as a participant in (3.9) and 'him' as a non-participant in (3.10) are not syntactically distinguished: they are both marked by a postposition, and they are both treated as non-core arguments. Thus, a defining feature of non-core arguments is marking by a postposition. A non-participant and a participant also behave in the same way in the valency-increasing construction as illustrated below. Postpositional phrases are all treated as adjuncts together with other peripheral constituents (see next section).

The valency-increasing construction introduces a new core argument, and in this construction, a non-core argument can be realised as a core argument, and therefore it can be cross-referenced on the VP. It is cross-referenced by an object clitic, and thus it is coded as an object. Examples (3.11) and (3.12) are paraphrases of examples (3.9) and (3.10). 'Him', which has the semantic role of location/goal in both examples, is cross-referenced by the underlined object clitic *v* (3SG.M) on the VP, and thus it is a core argument.

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[10] These descriptions are used by Andrews (1985:69) in order to define two classes of semantic roles, 'participatory roles' and 'circumstantial roles', which are borne by participants and non-participants respectively.

[11] *Raneo*, with the default pronominal proclitic *ko* (3SG.F) (dummy it), means 'to become next day'. *Ko* here perhaps refers to 'the sun', thus, *ko=raneo* literally means 'the sun sleeps overnight' = 'it becomes next day'.

(3.11) ...*bazu* *ta* [*ko=v=ai* *baro=ke*]$_{\text{VP}}$...
story TOP 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL arrive=HIST
'...the story reached him...' (12-3-21)

(3.12) [*A=v=ai* *rane=la*]$_{\text{VP}}$
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL sleep.overnight=RCP
'I slept overnight at his place.'

In (3.11) and (3.12), a non-core argument is 'promoted' to a core argument. The speaker may promote a non-core argument to a core argument when he/she wants to highlight the affectedness of one of participants. In (3.11), the non-core argument 'him' is promoted to a core argument in order to highlight the affectedness of the promoted argument. This example occurs in a discourse in which the referent's family had been murdered and this story (news) reached him. Thus, the referent is affected by the event: he got upset upon hearing the news and searched for those who killed his family. If the speaker felt that there was no notion of affectedness of this referent, he/she would choose to express the event by (3.9) instead. Similarly example (3.12) highlights the affectedness of 'him'. Although arguments introduced by the valency-increasing construction are coded as objects, they have different semantic roles to non-promoted, original objects. These semantic roles are described in §9.4.

There is one type of core argument in Bilua that is not cross-referenced on the VP. This can be an argument of ditransitive verbs only, a subclass of transitive verbs. Bilua verbs can be divided into two groups on morphological grounds: intransitive and transitive verbs. Transitive verbs are those that obligatorily take object clitics, while intransitive verbs can never take object clitics. For example, a pair of intransitive and transitive verbs, *kejuto* and *kejueko* respectively, shares the meaning 'to cook (something)'. The stem of each of these verbs is *kejut* and *kejue* respectively, and *k* of *kejueko* is the default form of an object clitic, the third person singular feminine form, chosen for a citation form. *Kejue* can never occur without an object clitic, which is represented by *k* here, while *kejut* can never occur with an object clitic. The verb-final *o* in each of *kejuto* and *kejueko* is a nominal derivational enclitic, which is employed in the citation form of verbs.[12] Intransitive and transitive verbs are also semantically distinguished. See §4.4.

Ditransitive verbs are morphologically a subclass of transitive verbs: they obligatorily take an object clitic. Ditransitive verbs, however, can have three core arguments: arguments in subject and object relations, plus a third argument. This third argument is not cross-referenced on the VP, and it can be expressed only by an optional NP. This NP cannot be postpositionally marked and therefore it is treated as a core argument. The term 'second object' is employed to refer to the grammatical relation associated with the third argument. Example (3.8) above has a ditransitive verb *katiko* 'to give', and in this example, 'much food' is a second object and is not cross-referenced on the VP. A second object has either a semantic role of gift as in (3.8), or of concern, as 'with her study' in 'he helped her with (concerning) her study'. A list of ditransitive verbs is presented in §9.2.

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[12] Whether a verb is intransitive or transitive is clear from the absence/presence of an object clitic, and so this is not indicated in the gloss (see also §4.4).

An NP which expresses an argument (participant) that has the semantic role of gift may be treated as an adjunct, as this argument is not cross-referenced on the VP. However, this argument can never be marked with a postposition; nor can it ever be promoted to a core argument in the valency-increasing construction. Consequently it is treated as one type of core argument in this work.

3.2.2 Structure

The 'heart' of a clause in Bilua is the predicate. The predicate of a verbal clause is always a VP, whose head is always a verb, and except for when the verb is *elo* 'to become' or *iko* 'to put/cause', the VP on its own can form a clause. These two verbs require a complement whose occurrence is imposed by the verbs (see Andrews 1985:89). VPs headed with these verbs are always preceded by a complement phrase. This is discussed later in this section.

As described in §3.2.1, core arguments are obligatorily expressed by bound pronouns in the VP, and clauses may optionally have NP(s) which are co-referential with the bound pronouns in the VP. These optional NPs form the core of the clause together with the VP and the complement phrase. This leads to a question of what bears an argument expression of the verb: bound pronouns in VPs, optional NPs which are co-referential with the bound pronouns, or both? It is beyond the scope of this work to find a solution to this question, but in the brief discussion which follows, it is proposed that in Bilua both bound pronouns and optional NPs can be treated as argument expressions.

As noted above, grammatical functions in Bilua are marked by bound pronouns on VPs but not on NPs. Arguments may also have a particular pragmatic function, and this is not marked on bound pronouns but on optional NPs. When marked with a topic/focus marker, NPs present a topic/focus, while unmarked NPs typically introduce a new participant, or they may have other pragmatic functions (see §14). More importantly, the identity of bound pronouns is not clear by their own right: their identity has to be established first by NPs. Consequently, it can be said that both bound pronouns and NPs are expressions of arguments. However, as an argument always has a specific grammatical function, a bound pronoun is obligatory, whereas an NP is optional as it is not obligatory for an argument to have a particular pragmatic function encoded.[13]

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[13] According to Ezard (1997), in Tawala, an Austronesian language of Papua New Guinea, it is bound pronominal forms that count as an expression of core arguments, and these pronominal forms 'index' the person and number of arguments. Optional NPs, on the other hand, occur to mark a pragmatic role (topic and focus) (Ezard 1997:87–89, 92–93). Optional NPs in Bilua also occur to mark a pragmatic role. However unlike Tawala, in Bilua person/number/gender is marked on both NPs and bound pronouns in VPs (see §7.4 for person/number/gender marking on NPs).

Accordingly, the core in Bilua can be divided into inner and outer cores which are obligatory and optional respectively: the inner core contains the VP as well as the complement phrase, while the outer core contains core NPs.

In addition to the predicate and NPs which express core arguments, a clause may have other optional peripheral constituents such as the postpositional phrases mentioned in the last section. Other peripheral constituents are locational/temporal noun phrases, adverbs, adverbial clauses, the negation marker, and general modifiers. All these constituents function as adjuncts.[14] Adjuncts occur 'subject to the requirement that the sentence make sense' (Andrews 1985:89),[15] and '[t]he meaning of an adjunct does not vary as a function of the meaning of the predicate, while the meaning of an argument can vary as a function of the meaning of the predicate' (Comrie 1993).

This description of adjuncts also supports the contention that the third argument of a ditransitive verb, which was described in the last section, is not an adjunct. This is expressed by an NP and the meaning of such an NP, or in other words, the semantic role of such an NP, can be licensed only by the verb but not by the NP itself. For example, in (3.8), the NP *kubo sailao* 'much food' is considered to have the semantic role of gift because of the verb *katiko* 'to give', which assumes a participant with the semantic role of gift.

Postpositional phrases, locational and temporal NPs/adverbs usually occur in a postverbal position, but they may take a preverbal position to be a focus constituent (see §14.3.2). Non-locational/temporal adverbs and adverbial clauses precede or follow depending on types of adverbs and adverbial clauses. The negation marker and general modifiers always precede and follow the core respectively. Thus the basic verbal clause structure in Bilua is summarised in the following figure.[16]

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[14] Adverbs, general modifiers, and the negation marker all occur outside of the VP in Bilua and thus they are categorised as adjuncts.

[15] Note that Andrews (1985) treats adjuncts and complements together as obliques.

[16] The structure given here is similar to the layered structure proposed in Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 1993:5), but since the predicate obligatorily contains bound pronouns which are expressions of core arguments, there is no distinction made here between a nucleus and core (nucleus and arguments) as in RRG. As a matter of fact, predicate in this work and predicate in Van Valin's sense is different—Van Valin treats only the verb as the predicate, while this work treats the VP as the predicate. This difference is clearly demonstrated by a Lakhota example in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:33–34), in which the verb by itself is treated as the predicate. Accordingly, Van Valin and LaPolla treat the verb as the nucleus. They also treat pronominal affixes on the verb as core arguments, while independent NPs which cross-reference with these affixes are non-core.

Periphery	Core			Periphery
	Outer core	Inner core	Outer core	
PP locational NP temporal NP adverb adverbial clause negation marker	core NP	VP CompP + VP	core NP	PP locational NP temporal NP adverb adverbial clause general modifier
Optional		Obligatory	Optional	

Figure 3.1: Structure of verbal clauses

This is exemplified by the following three examples.

(3.13) *Sai* *vo=a* *ziolo* *ke=papue=v=e* *jari* *topi.*
there 3SG.M=LIG devil 3PL=sit=3SG.M.O=RMP copra.house on.top
Adverb NP VP locational NP
adjunct outer core inner core adjunct
'There, they sat the devil on the copra house.' (43-2-18)

(3.14) ...*ko=keju=la* *ko* *sailao.*
3SG.F=cook=RCP 3SG.F food
VP NP
inner core outer core
'...food has cooked.' (27-16-98)

(3.15) ...*dole* *o=ta* *ev=a*...
snake 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES
complement NP VP
inner core
'...he became a snake...'(24-12-98)

In (3.13), the verb is transitive and the subject is expressed by a pronominal proclitic *ke* (3PL) only, while the object is expressed by an object clitic *v* (3SG.M) as well as an NP *vo=a ziolo* 'the devil'. This NP, the adverb *sai* 'there', and the locational NP *jari topi* 'on the copra house' are all optional and they can be omitted without resulting ungrammaticality.

In (3.14), the verb is an intransitive one and thus there is only one argument, the subject 'food', which is expressed by a pronominal proclitic *ko* (3SG.F) as well as an NP *ko sailao* 'food'. This NP is optional and can be omitted.

In (3.15), the verb *elo* 'to become' is an intransitive verb, but this verb requires a complement. As the verb is intransitive, it has only one core argument, the subject, expressed by a pronominal proclitic *o* (3SG.M). *Dole* 'snake' forms an NP on its own and it is not a part of the VP, as it is possible to separate it from the VP by inserting a focus marker, whereas focus markers cannot occur within a VP. ‘Snake’ is not a core argument, as the VP does not contain a bound pronoun which is co-referential with the NP *dole* ‘snake’. It cannot be treated as an adjunct either as its presence is obligatory. Thus, it is a complement. When the verb is *iko* ‘to put/cause’, the complement phrase can also be an adjectival phrase, a postpositional phrase, or any locational phrase. Unlike core NPs or adjunct phrases, complement phrases have a fixed position in clauses—they can occur only in preverbal position.

The negation marker is an optional, non-core constituent of a clause and can thus be treated as an adjunct. The negation marker can occur only in the preverbal slot for adjuncts. If a clause has other adjunct(s) in preverbal position, the negation marker precedes them unless they are a linking adverbial or circumstantial adverb.

(3.16)	*...pui*	*kapiavole*	*ko=kati=v=a*	*ko=a*	*bakisa*
	NEG	quickly	3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	custom.money
		manner adverb	predicate		

‘...she didn’t give the custom money to him quickly (27-10-62)’[17]

(3.17)	*Sole*	*maba*	*pui*	*qe=raneo=vou...*
	that’s.why	truly	NEG	2DU=be.overnight=FUT
	linking adverbial	circumstantial adverb		predicate

‘So, truly you will not stay [there] overnight...’ (27-21-131)

The negation marker can be followed by a focus marker *inio* or a topic marker *ti*. The combination of the negation marker with *inio* indicates that an event has not happened yet but it is expected to happen soon, while the combination of the negation marker with *ti* indicates that an event has not happened contrary to expectation.

(3.18)	*Pui*	*nio*	*o=vou=va...*
	NEG	FOC.NONF	3SG.M=die=PRES

‘He has not died yet [but he will die soon]...’ (26-22-117)

(3.19)	*“Meqora,*	*ngo=mama*	*ta*	*lai*	*nio*	*o=ta*
	child	2SG=father	TOP	where	FOC.NONF	3SG.M=SIT

	ol=ala.	*Pui*	*ti*	*o=baro=a”,*	*k=i=ko=la.*
	go=RCP	NEG	TOP	3SG.M=arrive=PRES	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

‘“Child, where has your father gone? He hasn’t arrived yet [he should be here by now]”, she said.’ (24-5-40/41)

These examples clearly illustrate that the negation marker is not a part of the VP, since in Bilua only a phrase but not a phrase constituent can be marked with a topic/focus marker.

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[17] Custom money is money made of a big seashell. It has a shape of bracelet. It is given from the parents of a male person to the family of his prospective bride.

3.3 Non-verbal clauses

A non-verbal clause typically consists of the subject, expressed by a subject NP marked with a topic marker, and the predicate, expressed by an NP, a PP headed with a similative postposition, a locational phrase (see §10.3 for locational phrases), or an existential marker. In addition to these, it may have an optional peripheral component. This can be a PP, a locational/temporal NP, an adverb, or an adverbial clause, and it may occur clause-initially or -finally.

Periphery	Core		Periphery
	subject	predicate	
PP locational NPs temporal NPs adverb adverbial clause	NP + topic marker	NP PP locational phrase existential marker	PP locational NPs temporal NPs adverb adverbial clause
Optional	Obligatory		Optional

Figure 3.2: Structure of non-verbal clauses

In example (3.20), the predicate is a headless NP (see §7.2.1.3.1).

(3.20)	*...vairutu*	*[komi=a*	*ipu*	*ta]*	*[qulepo=a=ma...]*
	today	PROX.SG=LIG	night	TOP	wonderful=LIG=3SG.F
	adjunct	subject			predicate

'...today, this night is a wonderful one...' (70-4-29)

Non-verbal clauses can be divided into three types on syntactic and semantic grounds: equational, locational, and existential. Each of these has an NP/PP, a locational phrase, and an existential marker respectively as the predicate. Different types of non-verbal clauses are described in §11.

This chapter presented structures of verbal and non-verbal clauses as well as a definition of core arguments in Bilua. The next chapter presents a description of open word classes.

4 *Open classes*

4.1 Introduction

In Bilua, nouns and verbs form open classes, and adjectives form a semi-open class. Criteria for open classes are given in §4.2 below. Brief descriptions of each open class are presented in subsequent sections. Closed classes are discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2 Open class criteria

Open classes in Bilua can be distinguished according to morphological and syntactic criteria. Verbs are distinguished from nouns and adjectives in the sense that they can be attached with a tense-mood marker. Only verbs can be the predicate head of a verbal clause. Nouns, but not adjectives, can be the head of an NP or the predicate head of a non-verbal clause. The above is summarised in Table 4.1. The symbol + indicates that the class has the listed function and – indicates that it does not.

Table 4.1: Open class criteria

	Nouns	Adjectives	Verbs
Attachment of a tense-mood marker	–	–	+
Predicate head of a verbal clause	–	–	+
Predicate head of a non-verbal clause	+	–	–
Head of an NP	+	–	–

Adjectives typically function as a modifier in an NP, but in Bilua, nouns, words in closed classes, phrases, and clauses may also function as a modifier in an NP, and as modifiers they are not morphologically distinguished—they all function as modifiers cliticised with a pronominal enclitic or a combination of a pronominal enclitic with a ligature, forming a modifier phrase (see §7.2.1.3.1).

Each of the three open classes is described below: nouns in §4.3, verbs in §4.4, and adjectives in §4.5.

4.3 Nouns

Bilua nouns are not grammatically marked for number and gender, but some kinship terms, personal names, and common nouns have a natural gender. For example, a kinship term *mama* 'father' is masculine or a female personal name *Kazuduri* 'Kazuduri' is feminine.

Bilua nouns can broadly be divided into two groups: locational nouns and non-locational nouns. Locational nouns are inherently locational and NPs headed with these nouns can function as locative adjuncts without a locative postposition. On the other hand, NPs headed with non-locational nouns cannot function as locative adjuncts without a locative postposition (see §10.3.2 and §10.3.3).

Non-locational nouns are further divided into three subclasses: common nouns, kinship terms, and personal names. They are distinguished on the basis of their ability to occur with optional NP constituents (see §7.2.2) as well as on semantic grounds. Locational nouns include two subclasses: relational nouns and placenames, and one noun *koi* 'place'. Syntactically, relational nouns and placenames behave in the same way (see §7.2.2.4).

There are two nouns which are syntactically distinguished from all other nouns and thus do not belong to any of the above-mentioned classes. These are *male* 'match' (in the sense of 'being equal' or a 'partner') and emphatic *ngavi* 'self'. These two nouns obligatorily occur with a pronominal proclitic, forming the direct type of possessive NP (see §7.3.1). An NP headed with either of these two nouns can never function as a locational adjunct, with or without a postposition. The above is summarised in the following figure.

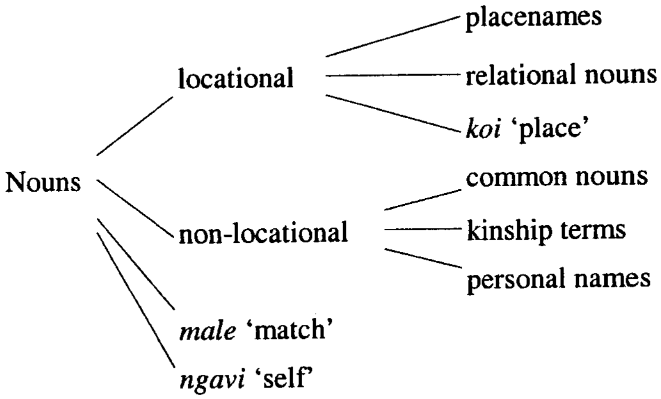

Figure 4.1: Subclasses of nouns

Nouns can also be divided into inalienably possessed nouns and alienably possessed nouns. The former are kinship terms, common nouns of body parts, two nouns, *male* 'match' and emphatic *ngavi* 'self', and common nouns which have a special significance in the life and culture of Vella La Vella island people, such as *pade* 'house', *peuru* 'village/home', *kiaro* 'garden', *udu* 'island', *baerebaere* 'friend' or *toutou* 'tribe'. All other nouns are alienably possessed nouns. Inalienably possessed nouns, except for *male* 'match' and emphatic *ngavi* 'self', can be the head of both types of possessive NP in Bilua, direct and non-direct types. Alienably possessed nouns can be the head of only the indirect type (see §7.3.2). *Male* 'match' and emphatic *ngavi* 'self' can only be the head of the direct type of possessive NP.

Each of five subclasses of nouns, common nouns, kinship terms, personal names, placenames and relational nouns is described in the following.

4.3.1 Common nouns

Common nouns form the largest subclass of nouns. Some examples of common nouns are:

pade	'house'
pesio	'language'
peuru	'village/home'
kana	'war'
tola	'pain'
sopu	'hill'

Among common nouns, there is a small group of temporal nouns. NPs headed with a temporal noun can function as a temporal adjunct (see §10.4.2). The above examples are all non-temporal nouns. Temporal nouns are:

taku	'time'	*lekito*	'early morning'
nganiu	'day'	*vikale*	'morning'
kaboso	'month'	*ngadale*	'afternoon'
sabere	'year'	*raisiraisi*	'evening'
koloko	'clock (o'clock)'	*ipu*	'night'

There are a few uncountable nouns, for example, *raisi* 'rice', *mosi* 'slippery cabbage', *nene* 'ngali nut', and *nudolo* 'noodle'. These nouns can be modified by a numeral, but when they are modified by a numeral, they mean 'bag/bunch/packet of such-and-such a thing' but not just 'such-and-such a thing'. For example, in (4.1) *raisi*, modified by a numeral, as underlined, means 'bag of rice' not just 'rice'.

(4.1) *A=databarae=k=ala* *omuqa raisi.*
1SG=buy=3SG.F.O=RCP two rice
'I bought two bags of rice.'

In contrast to uncountable nouns, countable nouns show no change of meaning when they are modified by a numeral, as in the underlined NP in the following example.

(4.2) *A=databarae=k=ala* *omuqa raro.*
1SG=buy=3SG.F.O=RCP two pot
‘I bought two pots.’

One common noun *parani* ‘warrior’ can be used as an adjective as well. It means *parani* ‘brave’ as an adjective.

4.3.2 *Kinship terms*

Some kinship terms in Bilua have inherent gender and others do not. The following is the exhaustive list of kinship terms in Bilua. Those in the left column have inherent gender, and those in the right column do not have inherent gender.

Table 4.2: Kinship terms

niania	‘mother’ ‘aunt (mother’s or father’s sister)’ ‘wife’s sister’
mama	‘father’ ‘husband’s brother’ ‘father’s brother’
papa	‘mother’s brother’
tanala	‘husband’
tanama	‘wife’

taite	‘grandparent’
apakora	‘brother’s child’
mabuzu	‘grandchild’
meqora	‘child’ ‘sister’s child’ ‘husband’s brother’ ‘wife’s sister’
mani	‘wife’s brother’ ‘husband’s sister’
ravaza	‘in-law other than *mani*’
kaka	‘older sibling’
visi	‘younger sibling’

Two adjectives, *reko* ‘female’ and *lasive* ‘male’, can also function as kinship terms meaning ‘wife’ and ‘husband’ respectively.

One disease word, *buabua* ‘haemorrhoid’ can also be used as a kinship term referring to the last-born child.

Meqora is also used as a common noun meaning ‘child’. Since Bilua kinship terms cannot occur with a determiner, which marks indefiniteness, when this noun occurs with determiners, it signals that it is used as a common noun. In the following example, *meqora* is preceded by a determiner *kala*.

(4.3) *...ko=vijari=v=a* *kala meqora*
3SG.F=give.birth=3SG.M.O=PRES INDEF.SG.M child

lasive=a=la.
male=LIG=3SG.M
‘...she gave a birth to a male child.’ (27-2-10)

Kinship terms in Bilua can be used as modifiers in a modifier phrase (see §7.2.1.3.1 for modifier phrases). As modifiers, *kaka* 'older sibling' and *visi* 'younger sibling' mean 'older' and 'younger' respectively.

With kinship terms that do not have inherent gender, the gender can be specified by a modifier phrase (MP) which contains an adjective *reko* 'female' or *lasive* 'male' as a modifier, as illustrated by examples (4.4) and (4.5) below. In these examples, the modifier phrase, *reko=a=ma* (female=LIG=3SG.F) and *lasive=a=la* (male=LIG=3SG.M) respectively, are embedded into an NP headed with *taite* 'grandparent' and these specify the gender.

(4.4) *reko=a=ma* *taite*
female=LIG=3SG.F grandparent
MP
'grandmother'

(4.5) *lasive=a=la* *taite*
male=LIG=3SG.M grandparent
MP
'grandfather'

The gender can also be specified by the head of a modifier phrase, which always takes the form of a pronominal enclitic. In the following example, the pronominal enclitic *la* (3SG.M) specifies the gender as masculine.

(4.6) *qole=a=la* *taite*
old=LIG=3SG.M grandparent
MP
'old grandfather'

Some kinship terms can be used as vocatives on their own. In vocative use, kinship terms have restricted meanings. For example, *niania* as a vocative can only mean either 'mother' or 'aunt (mother's or father's sister)' although it also has a meaning 'wife's sister'. Other kinship terms which can be used as vocatives are *mama* 'father', *papa* 'uncle', *meqora* 'child', *taite* 'grandparent', and *mabuzu* 'grandchild'.

4.3.3 Personal names

Personal names are unique names of people. Some examples are:

Maikajara	'*Maikajara* (male)'
Kina	'*Kina* (female)'
Ilai	'*Ilai* (male)'
Kazuduri	'*Kazuduri* (female)'

4.3.4 Placenames

Placenames are unique names of countries, islands and villages. Some examples are:

Solomoni	'the Solomon Islands'
Gizo	'Gizo Island'
Vella La Vella	'Vella La Vella island'
Sabora	'Sabora village'

4.3.5 Relational nouns

Relational nouns indicate a spatial orientation. The following are Bilua relational nouns

Table 4.3: Relational nouns

keta	'edge'	*sipole*	'near'
kuleto	'front'	*tona*	'beside'
kupele	'outside'	*tova*	'behind'
okate	'high up'	*topi*	'on top'
omele	'below the surface'	*vima*	'underneath'
poro	'inside'	*zara*	'down below'
rana	'side'	*saka*	'seaside'
vaila	'end'		

Saka 'seaside' is included in the relational noun class, as it refers to the 'edge' of an island.

A relational noun occurs as the possessee of an indirect type of possessive NP. In this type of possessive NP, the possessor NP is typically marked with a possessive marker, an encliticised form of a demonstrative. This, however, is often omitted when the possessee is a relational noun. In example (4.7) the underlined NP *veutu tona* is reduced from *veutu=ko tona* (door=3SG.F beside) which literally means 'the door's beside'. This suggests that relational nouns are becoming postpositions.

(4.7) ...*meqora=ka=la* *ta* *o* *ol=a* *veutu* *tona*...
child=LIG=3SG.M TOP 3SG.M go=PRES entrance beside
'...the son, he went to beside the entrance...' (27-3-15)

Svorou (1993) studies twenty-six languages in terms of sources of 'spatial grams'—'grammatical forms of language which express primarily spatial relations' (1993:31) such as adpositions, affixes, case inflections, and spatial adverbs, and he argues that relational nouns (relational object-part terms, in his terminology), as well as three other kinds of nouns—body parts, environmental landmarks, and abstract spatial notions—may be grammaticalised as adpositions. Furthermore, in the course of this grammaticalisation, these nouns may go through a stage where they are used in a genitive construction which encodes a part–whole relationship, or where they are used as an adverb. Relational nouns in Bilua are apparently going through the grammaticalisation he describes. As noted above, relational nouns in Bilua are typically used in a possessive NP, and they are becoming like postpositions. Furthermore, two relational nouns *sipole* 'near' and *kuleto* 'front' can also be used as an adverb meaning 'soon' and '(at) first' respectively.

Tova 'behind' can also function as a modifier in a verb phrase, meaning 'after' (see §8.6). This is the only noun in the entire noun class, which can be a modifier in a VP.

4.4 Verbs

Verbs can typically be the predicate head of a verbal clause. Verbs in Bilua are broadly divided into two types: intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. In this chapter, verbs are given without the object clitic or a final *o*, which are normally employed in the citation form of verbs.

As noted in §3.2.1, intransitive verbs and transitive verbs are morphologically distinguished by their ability to take an object clitic: intransitive verbs can never have an object clitic, while transitive verbs obligatorily take an object clitic. For example, *nanat* and *nanae*, both of which roughly mean 'to bite', are an intransitive and transitive verb respectively. *Nanae* but not *nanat* takes an object clitic, as indicated by underlines.

(4.8) *Ko=nanat=ala.*
3SG.F=bite=RCP
'It did biting.'

(4.9) *Ko=nanae=v=ala.*
3SG.F=bite=3SG.M.O=RCP
'It bit him.'

This morphological difference between intransitive and transitive verbs is a reflection of the semantic difference between them. Both *nanato* an *nanaeko* roughly mean 'to bite', but the intransitive *nanato* expresses that one does biting, and so with this verb the identity of the patient or affectedness of the patient is not salient. It is because of this that *nanato* never takes an object clitic. Accordingly, the intransitive *nanato* can never occur with a patient expression—it never occurs with an O NP (see §9.3, however, for occurrences of an object with an intransitive verb). On the other hand, the transitive verb *nanaeko* expresses that one bites someone, and so with this verb the identity or the affectedness of the patient is salient.

In the above examples, intransitive and transitive verbs have an identical string of segments, *nana*. *Nanat* and *nanae* then can be segmented as *nana-t* and *nana-e*, and *-t* and *-e* might be regarded as intransitive and transitive markers respectively. As a matter of fact, most verbs in Bilua have both intransitive and transitive forms, sharing an identical string of segments. However, it is not always the case that an intransitive verb and a transitive verb consist of an identical string of segments, plus *-t* and *-e* respectively. For example, an intransitive verb *roquan* 'to care/love' and a transitive verb *roque* 'to care/love' share an identical string of segments *roqu,* and each of them additionally has *-an* and *-e* respectively. On the other hand, an intransitive verb *pazot* 'to hit' and a transitive verb *pazo* 'to hit' share an identical string of segments, *pazo*, but only the intransitive one additionally has *-t*. It is not predictable which forms intransitive and transitive counterparts manifest.

Each of verbs 'to bite', 'to care/love', and 'to hit' has another intransitive form, *nanail* 'to bite oneself', *roquil* 'to care about/love oneself', and *pazoil* 'to hit oneself' respectively. The *il* of these verbs can be considered to be a reflexive suffix, but it cannot be claimed that all verbs which have the segment *il* have a reflexive meaning. For example, a verb *soqoil* 'to run away' never has a reflexive interpretation. Nor is it the case that all verbs that have a reflexive meaning contain *-il*. Some verbs contain *-zi*, for example, *lainizi* 'to feel (touch) oneself'.

It appears that historically intransitive, both reflexive and non-reflexive, and transitive verbs developed from the same roots, which are described as identical strings of segments above, with each root choosing a particular intransitive, reflexive, and/or transitive suffix, but combinations of a root with an intransitive/reflexive/transitive suffix have subsequently been fully lexicalised. Thus, 'roots' have only historical significance. It is beyond the scope of this work to present a historical analysis of verbal morphology, and all verbs are treated as unanalysed stems. However, the term 'root' is employed to refer to the identical string of segments shared by intransitive and transitive verbs in the description of reduplication and derivational morphology in §2.8 and §6.5. Appendix 1 presents different intransitive, transitive, and reflexive suffixes employed by different roots, in order to demonstrate that the choice of intransitive, transitive, and reflexive suffixes is not predictable from the form or the meaning of the root.

Verbs are cited with an enclitic *o,* which is glossed as NOM for a nominal derivational enclitic, attached, and citation forms of transitive verb also have an object clitic, which is realised in the default form *k* (3SG.F.O), for example, *nanato* 'to bite' and *nanaeko* 'to bite'. This is how Bilua people cite verbs. An object clitic usually follows the verb, and thus the citation form of a transitive verb usually ends with *ko*, a combination of *k* (3SG.F.O) with *o* (NOM). Since transitive verbs and intransitive verbs are distinguished by the presence/absence of an object clitic in their citation forms, whether they end with *ko* or not, the distinction between them is not indicated in the gloss. Thus, both an intransitive verb *nanato* and a transitive verb *nanaeko* are glossed as 'to bite' and whether each of them is intransitive or transitive is not indicated. There are some exceptions to the above, however. With four verbs, *el* 'to see', *ov* 'to get', *u* 'to eat', and *i* 'to say', the object clitic precedes the verb, and an enclitic *o* is directly attached to the verb. Thus, their citation forms are *kelo* 'to see', *kovo* 'to get', *kuo* 'to eat', and *kio* 'to say' respectively.

There is a small subclass of transitive verbs, which are referred to as ditransitive verbs. A description of these is given in §3.2 and §9.2.

Bilua verbs can be classified into five classes in terms of the lexical semantics of verbs. This is presented in §8.4 in which VPs are described, as the lexical semantics of verbs interact with other VP constituents such as aspectual/modal markers. Verbs can also be distinguished by their valency. See §9.2.

4.5 Adjectives

Bilua adjectives do not directly modify the head; they form modifier phrases with pronominal enclitics, and these function as NP modifiers (see §7.2.1.3.1). For example, in an NP *silo=a=la meqora* (small=LIG=3SG.M child) 'small boy', *silo=a=la* is a modifier phrase and this modifies the head, *meqora.*[18] Adjectives can, however, function as modifiers without forming modifier phrases in an NP headed with the noun *koi* 'place', for example *ileile=a koi* (beautiful=LIG place) 'beautiful place' (see §7.2.2.4). The adjective *kiada* 'all' forms an adjectival phrase with a pronominal proclitic and this means 'by oneself', for example *o=kiada* (3SG.M=all) 'by himself'. A few adjectives can function as a modifier in a VP as well (see §8.6).

There are about 100 adjectives in Bilua, and they can be divided into different semantic groups as shown in Table 4.4 (following Dixon 1977:24 and 1991:78–85).

Adjectives *reko* 'female' and *lasive* 'male' can also function as kinship terms meaning 'wife' and 'husband'. Furthermore, *reko* 'female', but not *lasive* 'male', can also be used as a common noun. As a common noun, *reko* means 'woman'.

In Bilua, names of tribes are categorised as adjectives as well. Like other adjectives, they form a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic, for example, *Sabe=a=la maba* (Sabe=LIG=3SG.M person) '*Sabe* man'. However, they can modify the noun *toutou* 'tribe' without forming a modifier phrase, for example *Sabe toutou* (Sabe tribe) '*Sabe* tribe'.

A few adjectives can function as de-adjectival nouns and these can be the head of an NP. As de-adjectival nouns, they do not take an enclitic. Adjectives *rosi* 'long', *tapata* 'hard', and *tuvevo* 'true' mean 'length', 'hardship', and 'truth' respectively as de-adjectival nouns and they are categorised as common nouns. An abstract noun can also be derived from some adjectives, by a nominal derivational enclitic (see §6.3.2).

This concludes the description of open classes. The next chapter presents a description of closed classes.

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[18] This *a* here is a ligature. See §5.17 for a description of the ligature.

Table 4.4: Adjectives

Dimension	*silo* 'small'	*matu* 'big'	*rosi* 'long'
	puju 'short'	*posu* 'fat'	*adakiri* 'thin'
	riro 'narrow'	*sipi* 'slim'	*mota* 'thick'
	repaso 'wide'		
Physical Property	*zokele* 'firm'	*duki* 'heavy'	*vairu* 'clean'
	olu 'soft'	*laumade* 'smooth'	*aukozo* 'light'
	vualavuala 'hot'	*sarosaroro* 'cold'	
Colours	*sibi* 'black'	*tapo* 'white'	*diri* 'red'
	luqumu 'blue'	*vaqo* 'yellow'	*paqauva* 'green'
Human Propensity	*baisi* 'kind'	*lekuleku* 'weak'	*sarube* 'crazy'
	meomeo 'naughty'	*muino* 'selfish'	*lupalupa* 'lazy'
	ririzo 'capable'	*ngalopozi* 'cowardly'	*ukaka* 'careless'
	udo 'stupid'	*parani* 'brave'	*utu* 'idle'
Age	*vairu* 'new/young'	*qole* 'old'	
Value	*uri* 'good'	*ruqe* 'bad'	*kako* 'strange'
	qulepo 'important'		
Speed	*olu* 'slow'	*tauka* 'quick'	
Similarity	*edolo* 'different'	*ija* 'same'	
Qualification and Others	*tuvevo* 'true'	*sarusaru* 'wrong'	*tapata* 'hard'
	musu 'ripened'	*bule* 'calm/peaceful'	*batiro* 'rich'
	olu 'easy/soft'	*kaqa* 'dirty'	*ivo* 'sharp'
	kaitu 'future'	*sidopu* 'right/straight'	*olomoiza* 'quiet'
	raura 'expensive'	*lasive* 'male'	*reko* 'female'
	kiada 'all'	*ileile* 'beautiful'	

5 *Closed classes*

5.1 Introduction

This section presents closed word and morpheme classes. For some classes, only a list of words/morpheme is given, and a full description is given in subsequent chapters.

5.2 Adverbs

There is a small closed class of adverbs in Bilua. They can be divided into two types according to their functions: predicate modifiers and linking adverbials. Predicate modifiers modify predicates. Linking adverbials indicate a semantic link between clauses. In this sense, they are similar to coordinators but they are distinguished from coordinators as they do not link clauses syntactically.

Some words in Bilua occur in a VP functioning as a modifier. One of them, *maba* 'truly', belongs to the adverb class, and all others belong to the adjective, the noun, or the general modifier class.

Predicate modifiers are divided into four types on semantic grounds: manner adverbs, locational adverbs, temporal adverbs, and circumstantial adverbs. Temporal and locational adverbs present a temporal and locational setting respectively. Manner adverbs give information about the way the situation presented by the verb happens. Circumstantial adverbs are a group of adverbs that are neither temporal nor locational and give surrounding information about the situation presented by the predicate. Table 5.1 presents a list of predicate modifiers.

Table 5.1: Predicate modifiers

Manner adverbs	*kadaule* 'instantly' *kapiavole* 'quickly' *koaziole* 'straight' *matuvole* 'loudly' *ngadavole* 'day by day' *oluavole* 'slowly' *pujuavole* 'making it short' *taukavole* 'quickly' *tutumaziavole* 'straightaway'	
Locational adverbs	deictic adverbs	*koi* 'here' *sai* 'there'
	indefinite locational adverb	*uki* 'somewhere there'
	distance adverb	*vanga* 'far'
Temporal adverbs	*lea* 'tomorrow' *ravi* 'yesterday' *vairutu* 'today/now' *erisanga* 'at present' *oqotimala* 'the day before yesterday' *oqotinga* 'the day after tomorrow' *lula* 'already' *mainio* 'later' *kuleto* 'first' *sipole* 'soon'	
Circumstantial adverbs	*muli* 'altogether' *saita* 'first (this is done first)' *maba* 'truly' *esa* 'maybe' *mata/mati* 'again'	

The indefinite locational adverb, *uki* 'somewhere there' is distinguished from an indefinite non-specific NP *ka koi* (INDEF place) 'somewhere' in the sense that the speaker knows where this somewhere is. That is, it is indefinite specific. It is often used when the speaker cannot name a location straightaway.

(5.1) ...*qe=zio=vou* *uki* *siqo* *ale*...
1DU.INC=go=FUT somewhere bush in
'...we will go there (somewhere), to the bush...' (15-2-12)

It seems that manner adverbs have originated historically in postpositional phrases. They all end with *le*, which appears to have originated in the cliticised form of a locative postposition *kale* 'in'. For example, *matuvole* 'loudly' can be segmented into three morphemes: the adjective *matu* 'big', the nominal derivational enclitic *vo*, and the postposition *le*.

(5.2) *matu=vo=le*
big=NOM=in
'loudly'

There are five linking adverbials in Bilua. They have originated in a combination of two words; an adverb or a noun with a focus marker, or a postpositional phrase that again consists of two words, but they all have been lexicalised. Table 5.2 presents a list of linking adverbials with a description of their original parts.

Table 5.2: Linking adverbials

Linking adverbials	Original parts
sainio 'therefore'/'then'	*sai inio* (there FOC.NONF): two words[19]
soinio 'accordingly'	*so inio* (that FOC.NONF): two words
saitainio 'afterwards'	*saita inio* (first FOC.NONF): two words
saikazo 'following that'	*sai kazo* (there ABL): PP
sole 'that's why'	*so=le* (that=in): PP

All predicate modifiers and linking adverbials function as adjuncts. They are described with other kinds of adjuncts in Chapter 10.

5.3 General modifiers

General modifiers modify different types of words. Some of them may also modify a verbal predicate. When a general modifier modifies a verbal predicate rather than just a verb, it has a scope over the entire verbal predicate (see §10.10 for illustration with an example). Table 5.3 presents a list of general modifiers and the elements they can modify.

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[19] In a linking adverbial *sainio*, a focus marker *inio* is realised as *nio* since there is no long vowel in Bilua.

Table 5.3: General modifiers

	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Verbal 'Predicate'	Quantifier	Deictic 'Adverb'
Approximative *tiniavo* 'about'	+	–	–	–	numerals	–
Similative *jari* 'like'	–	+	–	+	–	–
Restrictive *pala* 'only'	+	*silo* 'small'	–	+	–	–
Completive *buti* 'finished'	+	–	–	–	–	+
sasa 'a bit/mock'	+	+	+	–	–	–
Intensifier *matu* 'very'	+	+	+	–	*kubo* 'many'	–

General modifiers, which can modify verbs, namely, *sasa* 'a little' and *matu* 'very', always precede the element they modify while others always follow it. *Matu* is also an adjective meaning 'big'. Unlike adjectives (see §4.5 and §7.2.1.3.1), general modifiers function as NP modifiers without forming modifier phrases with pronominal enclitics. The general modifier *matu* 'very' can only modify temporal nouns or one relational noun, *sipole* 'near'; for example, *matu raisiraisi* (very evening) 'late evening' and *matu sipole* 'very close'.

The completive *buti* 'finished' can modify a temporal noun and this indicates that the time the temporal noun indicates has been reached. For example, *raisiraisi buti* (evening finished) means that it has already become evening. It can also modify a deictic adverb and this indicates a completion of movement to the place referred to. To illustrate, *koi buti* '(here finished)' is used as a request to the addressee to (finish to) move to the speaker; that is, it means 'move here'.

The approximative *tiniavo* is realised as *tiania* when it follows the pronoun *so* 'that'. This combination means 'that's about it'.

Other general modifiers are referred to throughout the book.

5.4 Negation marker

The negation marker *pui* is in a class of its own. The negation marker may occur with an enclitic accompanied by a preceding ligature *a* (see §5.17). This results in a sequence of a diphthong and a vowel, *pui=a,* followed by an enclitic, but this does not conform with the phonotactics of Bilua—it results in a sequence of Vs. Therefore, to avoid such a sequence, the negation marker is realised as *puli* in this environment. As noted in §3.2.2, the negation marker *pui* functions as an adjunct: it negates a clause. The negation marker can also form a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic and this functions as an NP modifier, meaning 'no' (see §7.2.1.3.1). Finally, the negation marker forms a complex coordinator with a conjunction *melai* 'but' (see §13.2.4).

5.5 Pronouns

Pronouns in Bilua can be inflectional or non-inflectional. The former inflect for person, number, and gender, and the latter do not.

5.5.1 Inflectional pronouns

Inflectional pronouns are marked for a three-way person distinction (first, second, and third) and a three-way number distinction (singular, dual, and plural). Non-singular first person has an inclusive versus exclusive distinction. Third person singular has a masculine versus feminine distinction. Note that Bilua lacks grammatical gender in nouns, but a gender can be assigned to an NP by an optional NP constituent (see §7.4).

Inflectional pronouns can be free forms or bound forms. Free inflectional pronouns are demonstratives, independent pronouns, and indefinite pronouns. Demonstratives have deictic and definite marking functions. Bilua demonstratives have a two-way distinction between proximate (near-speaker) and distal (non-near speaker), and accordingly there are two sets of demonstratives, viz. proximate and distal demonstratives. Bilua has only first and second person independent pronouns, and like demonstratives they are all inherently definite. Bilua lacks third person independent pronouns, but their function is filled by demonstratives, which are used as third person independent pronouns. In contrast to demonstratives and independent pronouns, indefinite pronouns mark indefiniteness (see §7.2.1.1 for definiteness and indefiniteness). Bound inflectional pronouns are pronominal proclitics, object clitics, and pronominal enclitics.[20]

All free inflectional pronouns, demonstratives, independent pronouns, and indefinite pronouns, can be the head of NPs. They can also be optional constituents of NPs filling the slot for determiners.

Pronominal proclitics can be constituents of a VP or an NP and they attach to the left edge of a VP or an NP. That is, they attach to a phrase and thus they are clitics. Pronominal proclitics function as subject markers in VPs, cross-referencing subjects, while they function as possessor markers in NPs. As noted in §4.5, pronominal proclitics can also form an adjectival phrase, PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself'. Pronominal proclitics here mark the person, gender, and number of NPs they modify.

Object clitics are constituents of VPs and they function as object markers, cross-referencing objects. Object clitics are proclitics on valency-increasing markers—they occur in front of valency-increasing markers, attached to valency-increasing markers. With all but four verbs, object clitics are enclitics—they occur after verbs, attached to the verb. With four verbs, /k=el=o/ (3SG.F.O=see=NOM) 'to see', /k=oβ=o/ (3SG.F.O=get=NOM) 'to get', /k=u=o/ (3SG.F.O=eat=NOM) 'to eat', and /k=i=o/ (3SG.FO=say=NOM) 'to say', they are proclitics—they occur in front of verbs, attached to verbs. Thus, there are three different positions in VPs where object clitics occur, but they have the same realisations regardless of the position they take. This suggests that they are clitics not affixes. If they were treated as affixes, it would have to be proposed that there are three different sets of object affixes, one which attaches to valency-increasing markers, one which prefixes to verbs, and one which suffixes to verbs, yet they always have the same realisations. This is a rather odd thing to say. Furthermore, they can be attached to all valency-increasing markers and transitive verbs, and there is no arbitrary gap in the set of valency-increasing marker–object clitic combination or in the set of verb–object clitic combination.

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[20] Although terms 'clitic', 'enclitic', and 'proclitic' do not refer to a word class, these terms are employed here to distinguish different sets of bound pronouns.

Pronominal enclitics can be optional constituents of NPs or the head of modifier phrases (MPs) that are optional NP constituents. Like pronominal proclitics, they attach to a phrase—they attach to the right edge of an NP or an MP and thus they are clitics. In either case, pronominal enclitics mark the person, gender, and number of NPs.

Descriptions of NPs and MPs, and of VPs are presented in §7.2 and §8.2 respectively. The functions of inflectional pronouns are summarised in the following table.

Table 5.4: Functions of inflectional pronouns

Pronouns	Functions
demonstratives independent pronouns indefinite pronouns	head of NPs determiner
pronominal proclitics	subject marker in VPs possessor marker in NPs person/number/gender marker in NPs
object clitics	object marker in VPs
pronominal enclitics	head of MPs person/number/gender marker in NPs

All pronouns except for indefinite pronouns are listed in Table 5.5 below in order to demonstrate resemblances in forms across different sets of pronouns. Note that a distal–proximate distinction applies only to demonstratives and not to independent pronouns.

Table 5.5: Forms of definite pronouns

	Independent pronouns and demonstratives		Proclitics	Object clitics	Enclitics
	distal	proximate			
1SG	*anga*		*a*	*l*	*lala*
2SG	*ngo*		*ngo*	*ng*	*nga (langa)*
3SG.M	*vo*	*nei*	*o*	*v*	*la*
3SG.F	*ko*	*komi*	*ko*	*k*	*ma*
1DU.EXC	*eqe*		*qe*	*qel*	*qela*
1DU.INC	*aniqe*				
2DU	*qe*				
3DU	*nioqa*	*nioqi*	*qo*	*k* (same as 3SG.F)	*nioqa*
1PL.EXC	*aninge*		*nge*	*ngel*	*ngela*
1PL.INC	*anime*		*me*	*mel*	*mela*
2PL	*me*				
3PL	*se*	*ni*	*ke*	*m*	*mu/ke/ve*

Except for independent pronouns, the distinction between first person dual (both inclusive and exclusive) and second person dual, and the distinction between first person plural inclusive and second person plural is neutralised.

First and second person forms share the same consonant or the same consonant–vowel combination across different sets of pronouns. For example, second person singular forms all have the consonant *ng*, while first person plural exclusive forms all have the consonant–vowel combination *nge*.

The third person plural pronominal enclitic has a different realisation depending on the host. When the host is an indefinite marker *ka* it is realised as *ke* (see below); when the host is an interrogative marker *la*, it is realised as *ve* (see §5.6), otherwise it is realised as *mu*.

The second person singular pronominal enclitic is realised as *langa* when its host is an adjective. Otherwise, it is realised as *nga*.

When demonstratives and independent pronouns fill the slot for determiners, all but the first person singular independent pronoun *anga* and the third person dual distal demonstrative *nioqa* are attached with the ligature *a*,[21] which links demonstratives and independent pronouns to the following morpheme (see §5.17 for ligatures). The combination of the singular masculine proximate demonstrative *nei* and the ligature *a* is realised as *ne* in order to avoid a sequence of three vowels.

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[21] The ligature is normally realised as *ka* when it attaches to a morpheme ending with the vowel *a*, but *anga* and *nioqa* do not take this.

Indefinite pronouns are inherently third person and marked for number and gender: *kala* (INDEF.SG.M), *kama* (INDEF.SG.F), *kainioqa* (INDEF.DU) and *kake* (INDEF.PL). These can be segmented into the indefinite marker *ka* and a third person pronominal enclitic but they are all lexicalised as indefinite pronouns. Their original parts are: *ka=la* (INDEF=3SG.M), *ka=ma* (INDEF=3SG.F), *ka=inioqa* (INDEF=3DU), and *ka=ke* (INDEF=3PL). The third person plural pronominal enclitic is realised as *ke* and not as the usual *mu* when the host is the indefinite marker. The third person pronominal enclitic *nioqa* is realised as *inioqa* in the lexicalised form (see also §5.6). As mentioned above, indefinite pronouns can fill the slot for determiners. In this position, indefinite pronouns may not be marked for number and gender; that is, the indefinite marker *ka* may function as a determiner by itself (see §7.2.1.1.2).

Indefinite pronouns can be preceded by *mata* 'more', which is in the same form as an adverb *mata* 'again'. A combination of *mata* and an indefinite pronoun means 'other'. This is treated as one lexeme, as *mata* cannot occur without an indefinite pronoun. In the following example *mata* is followed by an indefinite pronoun *kake* as underlined. This means 'others'.

(5.3)	*...kake*	*ta*	*lasive=a=mu*	*ni*	*mata*	*kake*	*ta*
	INDEF.PL	TOP	male=LIG=3PL	and	other	INDEF.PL	TOP

parani	*poso.*
warrior	PL.M

'...some were men, and some others were warriors.' (21-9-54)

5.5.2 *Non-inflectional pronouns*

Non-inflectional pronouns are *so* 'that', *eri* 'something like this', and measure pronouns meaning 'one'.

5.5.2.1 So *'that' and* eri *'something like this'*

Two non-inflectional pronouns, *so* 'that' and *eri* 'something like this', have a clause as their antecedent and can be both anaphoric and cataphoric.

In (5.4), *so* 'that' is anaphoric, while in (5.5) *eri* 'something like this' is cataphoric. (In the following examples, pronouns *so* and *eri* are single-underlined and their antecedent is double-underlined.)

(5.4)	*Sole*	*o=beta*	*kail=a*	*so*	*ti*	*so*	*ti*	*so*
	so	3SG.M=CONT	go.up=PRES	that	INT	that	INT	that

ti	*vanga*	*azo*	*inio*	*o=ta*	*v=a*
and.then	far.away	ABL	FOC.NONF	3SG.M=POSS	3SG.M.O=VAL

k=e=a *o=momo.*
3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.M=back
'So, he kept going up, going up, going up, and going up, and from far away, he saw his back.' (24-5-60~61)

(5.5) ...*vo* *ta* *eri* *k=i=o=la.*
3SG.M TOP s.th.like.this 3SG.FO=say=3SG.M=PRES

'*Megorasaidi* *komi* *ta* *ko* *niuniu*'.
family PROX.SG.F TOP 3SG.F fish
'...he said something like this. "Family, here is fish."' (24-3-24~25)

Eri 'something like this' commonly refers to the content of speech or event, as in (5.5), or it can be used to refer to an object within the sight of both speaker and addressee. *Eri* can also be employed accompanied with a gesture to show how one does something, as in (5.6).

(5.6) ...*eri* *o* *i=k=a* *ta* *vuala-vuala*
s.th.like.this 3SG.M put=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then REDUP-hot

ko=a *suakao.*
3SG.F=LIG basket
'...he did something like this to it, and [he found that] the basket was hot.' (59-3-21) (more literally '...he put it in something like this, and [he found that] the basket was hot.')

5.5.2.2 Measure pronouns

Four measure pronouns, *pado* (MESone/MESpiece), *kena* (MESone/MESpiece), *leaza* (MESpiece), and *kobu* (MESpart) can never occur on their own, unlike other pronouns. They always occur with a numeral or a determiner. *Pado* can also be modified by PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself'. All four can be translated as 'one', and each measure pronoun substitutes specific things. *Kena* refers to a whole sweet potato, taro, or yam. It can also refer to a piece of banana or fish. *Pado* can refer to a whole banana or fish rather than a piece of banana or fish. Modified by PRON=*kiada* 'by herself', *pado* refers to a person. *Pado* can also refer to a piece of a long object, such as a stick. *Leaza* can refer to a crescent-shaped piece cut from something with an egg/ball shape, such as a betelnut or a cutnut. *Kobu* can refer to a part of an area. The above is summarised in the following table.

Table 5.6: Measure pronouns

Measure pronouns	Whole	Part/piece
kena	sweet potato/taro/yam	piece of banana/fish
leaza	–	crescent-shaped piece of betelnut/cutnut
kobu	–	part of an area
pado	house/dog/banana/fish/betelnut/person	piece of a long object

In the following example, NPs headed with a measure pronoun are underlined.

(5.7) NP headed with *pado*

...ko=pa	*kobue=k=a*	*ko*	*kevu*	*inio*
3SG.F=PROS	cut=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	bamboo	FOC.NONF

ka	*pado*	*ta*	*Koro-koroqanisi*
INDEF	MEApiece	TOP	REDUP-Korokoroqanisi

ko=kati=v=a,	*ka*	*pado*	*ta*	*ko=ngavi.*
3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES	INDEF	MEApiece	TOP	3SG.F=EMPH

'...she went and cut a bamboo in half, and one, she gave it to Korokoroqanisi, one, [she gave it to] herself.' (39-6-41)

Pado can also be an optional constituent of an NP (see §7.2.1.4).

5.6 Interrogatives

Each interrogative in Bilua belongs to a certain word class. One of the interrogatives, *noni* 'how/what', corresponds with the pronoun *so* 'that' (see §5.5.2.1). Bilua interrogatives and their classes are provided in Table 5.7 below.

Table 5.7: Interrogatives

Interrogative	Word Class
lai 'where'	deictic adverb
latau 'how many/how much'	quantifier
noni 'how/what'	pronoun *so* 'that'
loma 'what'	nouns (non-human)
lala (who.SG.M) 'who' *lama* (who.SG.F) 'who' *lainioqa* (who.DU) 'who' *lave* (who.PL) 'who'	nouns (human)

'When' is expressed by a PP *noni keru* (what TEMP) in Bilua, which is in contrast with a PP *so keru* (that TEMP) 'that time'.

Interrogatives meaning 'who' can be segmented into the interrogative marker *la* and a third person pronominal enclitic: *la=la* (INTRG=3SG.M), *la=ma* (INTRG=3SG.F), *la=inioqa* (INTRG=3DU), and *la=ve* (INTRG=3PL), but they are all lexicalised as interrogatives. With the interrogative marker *la* as its host, the third person pronominal enclitic is realised as *ve,* not as the usual *mu.*

It appears that *lai* 'where' and *latau* 'how many/how much' also contain *la*, the interrogative marker. *Lai* is considered to consist of *la* and *i*. *I* is shared with deictic adverbs, *koi* 'here' and *sai* 'there'. *Latau* could be segmented into *la* and *tau*, but there is no morpheme *tau* found in any other words in present-day Bilua.

Each interrogative behaves in the same way as other words in the word class it belongs to, or in the case of *noni* 'how/what', in the same way as the pronoun *so* 'that'. A phrase containing an interrogative is often marked with a focus marker (see §14.3.2).

5.7 Postpositions

A postposition is the head of a postpositional phrase. Postpositions in Bilua are:

locative *kasi* and *kale*
vicinity *vasi*
ablative *azo*
temporal *keru*
comitative *sate*
benefactive *kaqe*
privative *pide*
similative *jari*

There is also a complex postposition of reason *kale avo* 'because of'. PPs headed with all but the similative postposition can function as adjuncts. PPs as adjuncts are described in Chapter 10. PPs headed with the similative postposition can only be the core: a complement of the verb *iko* 'to cause' or a non-verbal predicate. Complements and non-verbal predicates are obligatory constituents of clauses and are described in §8.7 and §11 respectively.

5.8 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a separate class in Bilua. This class includes numerals and *kubo* 'many'. A quantifier can be an NP modifier or the head of an NP. The numerals up to ten are:

omadeu (madeu) 'one'
omuqa (muqa) 'two'
zouke (ke) 'three'
ariku (ariku) 'four'
sike (ke) 'five'
varimuja (muja) 'six'
sikeura (keura) 'seven'
siotolu (tolu) 'eight'
siakava (kava) 'nine'
toni (ni) 'ten'

The forms in brackets are old forms which are not used any more. Only some old people remember these forms. According to local people, these are forms which devils or spirits used to use and that is why local people do not use them any more.

The numerals for hundred and thousand are *paizana* and *vuro* respectively. Numbers over ten are expressed by a phrase which consists of numerals from one to ten listed above, *paizana* 'hundred', and *vuro* 'thousand', except for *karabete* 'twenty'.

(5.8) *toni omadeu*
ten one
'eleven'

(5.9) *zouke toni*
three ten
'thirty'

(5.10) *zouke toni omuqa*
three ten two
'thirty-two'

(5.11) *omadeu paizana siakava*
one hundred nine
'one hundred and nine'

(5.12) *omadeu vuro siakava paizana ariku*
one thousand nine hundred four
'one thousand, nine hundred and four'

5.9 Collective and plural markers

Collective markers have two forms: the plural form *madu* (COLL.PL) and the dual form *kidi* (COLL.DU), and they mark collectiveness. The plural form has another realisation, *mu,* but this occurs only in the indirect type of a possessive NP headed with the noun *maba* 'person' (see §7.3.2). There is only one plural marker, *poso* (PL.M). Collective and plural markers are all optional constituents of NPs (see §7.2.1.5).

5.10 Existential markers

Existential markers indicate the existence of an entity. Existential markers are divided into two types—non-specific location existential markers, which indicate the existence of an entity in a non-specific location (glossed as EXT followed by number/gender), and distal existential markers, which indicate the existence of an entity at some distance (glossed as D.EXT followed by number/gender).

Both types of existential markers have four realisations with different number/gender marking. Existential markers can only be the predicate of a non-verbal clause and the number/gender of existential markers agrees with the number/gender of the subject. In the following example, the existential marker is realised in the singular feminine form *ikoana* agreeing with the subject *matu=ma kea.*

(5.13) ...*matu=ma* *kea* *ta* *ikoana...*
big=3SG.F cave TOP EXT.SG.F
subject predicate
'...there was a big cave...' (26-14-81)

The following is the list of both types of existential markers.

Table 5.8: Existential markers

Number/gender	Non-specific	Distal
singular masculine	*inevoana*	*une*
singular feminine	*ikoana*	*uko*
dual	*inioqiana*	*unioqa*
plural	*inisiana*	*uni*

It appears that historically, existential markers originated in several segments. Non-specific locational existential markers can be segmented into four parts: *i,* two demonstratives, distal and proximate, and *ana.* It appears that *i* and *ana* form an existential marking discontinuous morpheme *i...ana.*

i- Proximate demonstrative - Distal demonstrative *-ana.*

Thus each of non-specific locational existential marker is analysed as:

	existential markers		original parts
singular masculine:	*inevoana*	→	*i-ne-vo-ana*
	EXT.SG.M		EXT-PROX.SG.M-3SG.M-EXT
singular feminine:	*ikoana*	→	*i-ko-ana*
	EXT.SG.F		EXT-PROX.SG.F-EXT
dual:	*inioqiana*	→	*i-nioqi-ana*
	EXT.DU		EXT-PROX.DU-EXT
plural:	*inisiana*	→	*i-ni-si-ana*
	EXT.PL		EXT-PROX.PL-3PL-EXT

With the singular masculine form, the singular masculine proximate demonstrative *nei* is realised as *ne.* The singular feminine proximate and distal demonstratives are both *ko,* and so the singular feminine form has only one of them, which is glossed as PROX.SG.F here. The dual proximate demonstrative is *nioqi* while the distal one is *nioqa.* Only the proximate one appears in the dual form. It appears that this is because of their similar forms. The vowel of the plural distal demonstrative *se* is realised as *si,* showing an assimilation to the preceding vowel.

Distal existential markers can be segmented into what appears to be a distal existential morpheme *u-* and a demonstrative: the proximate one[22] for singular masculine and plural, and the distal one for singular feminine and dual. Again, the singular masculine proximate demonstrative loses the final *i*. Thus, each of distal existential markers can be analysed as:

	existential marker		original parts
singular masculine:	*u-ne*	→	*u-ne (u-nei)*
	D.EXT.SG.M		D.EXT-PROX.SG.M
singular feminine:	*uko*	→	*u-ko*
	D.EXT.SG.F		D.EXT-3SG.F
dual:	*unioqa*	→	*u-nioqa*
	D.EXT.DU		D.EXT-3.DU
plural:	*uni*	→	*u-ni*
	D.EXT.PL		D.EXT-PROX.PL

Combinations of a distal existential marker *une* or *uko* with a noun *quli* 'thing', that is *une quli* and *uko quli,* form an idiom meaning 'that something'. They are used when the speaker cannot give the name of an entity straightaway in order to fill the gap in his speech.[23]

(5.14)	*Uko*	*quli*	*komi*	*seqara=ko*	*votu*
	D.EXT.SG.F	thing	PROX.SG.F	betelnut=3SG.F	trunk

ke=k=ai	*ere=k=a*	*ko*	*mola.*
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL	make=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	canoe

'That something, this, with a trunk of a betelnut tree, they made a canoe.' (34-1-14)

In the above example, the speaker refers to the trunk of a betelnut tree first by *uko quli* 'that something' and then by a deictic pronoun, and finally gives its name.

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[22] There is a semantic contradiction here. Distal existential markers indicate an existence of entity in some distance but two of them, singular masculine and plural ones, contain a proximate demonstrative.

[23] This is similar to the use of the indefinite locational adverb *uki* 'somewhere there'. It may be postulated that *u* of *uki* and *u* of *uko* (EXT.SG.F) and *une* (EXT.SG.M) originate in the same morpheme. There is no morpheme *ki*, however, found in present-day Bilua. It appears that *une quli* (EXT.SG.M thing) and *uko quli* (EXT.SG.F thing) originated in a non-verbal clause. Although the basic order of subject and predicate of non-verbal clauses is subject first and then predicate, this order can be reversed. *Une/uko* and *quli* can be regarded as the predicate and the subject of a non-verbal clause respectively, and this literally means 'there exists a thing'. Note that the subject of a non-verbal clause is usually marked by a topic marker but when the subject follows predicate, this does not appear.

5.11 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are divided into two types: coordinators and subordinators. Coordinators link constituents of same status. Linked elements can be nouns, phrases, non-verbal predicates, or clauses. Subordinators mark a dependent clause and link it to an independent clause.

Table 5.9: Conjunctions

Coordinators	conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and' disjunctive coordinator *ma* 'or' adversative coordinator *melai* 'but' sequential coordinator *ini o*'sequentially/and then', which is glossed as SEQ causal coordinators *ti* and *ta* 'and then/consequently', which are glossed as 'and then'. intensifying coordinator *ti*, which is glossed as INT
Subordinators	*puliako* 'before' *maqa* 'while' *palate* 'while' *le* 'in order to', which is glossed as PURP *tea* 'if' relative clause markers, *ni*, *ko*, *ma*, and *vo*

The adversative coordinator *melai* 'but' also forms a complex coordinator, 'not...but', with the negation marker *pui* 'not'. Causal coordinators *ti* and *ta* have developed from topic markers *ti* and *ta* (see §13.2.6).

The purposive subordinator *le* and relative clause markers are enclitics and attach to the right edge of a VP. Dependent clauses can also be marked with a locative postposition *kale* and a temporal postposition *keru*.

Coordinators and subordinators are described in Chapters 13 and 12 respectively.

5.12 Irrealis marker *tu*

The irrealis marker *tu* always occurs between two clauses. The clause that precedes is always an independent clause, while the clause that follows can be either an independent or a dependent clause. The irrealis marker *tu* denotes that the clause that follows presents an unrealised situation. For a description of the irrealis marker *tu*, see §12.3.2, §12.3.3, and §13.3.

5.13 VP particles

There are three kinds of VP particles: aspectual/modal markers, valency-increasing markers, and a possessor-raising marker, as listed in Table 5.10. These particles are all optional constituents of VPs and never occur without obligatory constituents of VPs.

Table 5.10: VP particles

Aspectual/modal markers	'situation-change' marker	*ta*
	continuity marker	*be/beta*
	prospective marker	*pa*
	implicative marker	*be*
Valency-increasing markers		*a, ai,* and *ati*
Possessor-raising marker		*ta*

The function of valency-increasing markers is to increase the valency by one. They always occur with an object clitic which cross-references one of the arguments. The possessor-raising marker *ta* always co-occurs with a valency-increasing marker. Valency-increasing and possessor-raising markers are described in §9.4 and §9.5 respectively. Aspectual/modal markers are described in §8.5.

5.14 Tense/mood markers

Tense/mood markers in Bilua are enclitics, which are attached to VPs: they are attached to the right edge of a VP. They can attach to a material already containing a clitic—they attach to a transitive verb–object clitic combination. These two factors illustrate that tense/mood markers in Bilua are clitics. In Bilua, there is a five-way tense distinction of present, near future, future, recent past, and remote past, each marked by a different tense marker. In addition to these, there is a historical tense marker. The tense distinctions of Bilua are discussed in §8.3. There is only one set of mood markers; these are imperative mood markers. Imperative mood markers agree with the addressee in number: singular, dual, and plural. The following two tables present the list of tense and imperative mood markers.

Table 5.11: Tense markers

Tense markers	Forms
present tense	*a/va*
near future tense	*o*
future tense	*ou/vou*
recent past tense	*ala/la*
remote past tense	*e/vi*
historical tense	*ake/ke*

Table 5.12: Imperative mood markers

Person	Forms
singular imperative markers	*a/e/vi*
dual imperative markers	*oko*
plural imperative markers	*omo*

Different realisations of tense/mood markers are dealt with in Appendix 2.

5.15 Topic and focus markers

There are three topic markers *ta*, *ti*, and *melai*, and two focus markers *inio* and *ikio*. A constituent marked with a topic marker presents a topic while a constituent marked with a focus marker presents a focus. Topic and focus markers play an important role in pragmatics in Bilua. These are described in §14.2 and §14.3.

5.16 Interjections and tags

The following table presents interjections and tags with their use and/or meaning.

Table 5.13: Interjections and tags

Interjections	*ee*	'yes'
	aki *ki*	to show surprise
	kio	'Is that so?' 'Really?'
	ako	'well'
	koe	to get an attention or to show surprise
Tag	*ze*	for confirmation, 'Is that OK?'

A disjunctive coordinator *ma* 'or' can be used as a tag in a polar question.

(5.15) *Ngo=da verep=a ma.*
2SG=SIT be.sick=PRES or
'Are you sick?'

5.17 Ligature

The ligature is an enclitic which takes various kinds of words as its host. The ligature has three realisations—*a*, *ka*, and *za*. The ligature is realised as *za* when it follows a diphthong *oi* or *ai*. Following the vowel *a*, it is realised as *ka*. Elsewhere it is realised as *a*.

The ligature links the host to certain types of morphemes that follow it. The host and the linked morpheme are always constituents of the same phrase. For example, in (5.16), the host of the ligature is an adjective which functions as a modifier in a VP, and this and the word which is linked by the ligature, the verb, are both constituents of a VP. In (5.17), an adjective *ileile* 'beautiful' and the third person singular pronominal enclitic *ma* (3SG.F) form a modifier phrase. Two morphemes are linked by the ligature, underlined.

(5.16) *A=da uri=a maqin=a.*
1SG=SIT good=LIG full=PRES
'I am nicely full.'

(5.17) *ile-ile=a=ma*
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.F
'beautiful one'

Morphemes which the ligature links are presented in Table 5.14 below.

There are some exceptions to this. Adjectives *kiada* 'all', *matu* 'big', *ukaka* 'careless', *utu* 'idle', and *aza* 'various', one numeral *omuqa* 'two', and relational nouns *tova* 'behind' and *rana* 'side', and a placename *Veala* never take the ligature. A PP headed with the comitative postposition *sate* does not take a ligature either.

Table 5.14: Morphemes which the ligature links

Morphemes preceding the ligature	Morphemes following the ligature
Any constituent which functions as an NP modifier: • adjectives and AdjPs • deictic adverbs and an adverb *lula* 'already' • placenames • kinship terms • relational nouns and NPs headed with relational nouns • numerals • the negation marker *pui* • interrogatives *lai* 'where' and *noni* 'how' • pronouns *so* 'that', *eri* 'something like this', and *pado* 'one' • PPs • future verbal clauses	• pronominal enclitics • the noun *koi* 'place'
• demonstrative • independent pronouns	Any NP constituent: • quantifier • NP modifier • head of NP
• adjectives	• verb
• the quantifier *kubo* 'many'	• the noun *koi* 'place'

5.18 Vocatives

There are two kinds of vocative affix in Bilua. A suffix *-o* can be attached to a personal name or a kinship term; for example, *Kina-o* (Kina-VOC) 'Kina' and *niania-o* (mother-VOC). All personal names and a few kinship terms can also be used as vocatives without a vocative suffix (see §4.3.2).

There is one set of vocative suffixes which can be attached to second person demonstratives. The choice of the form depends on the number/gender of the addressee: *-ila* (SG.M), *-iza* (SG.F), *-va* (DU and PL). Thus,

ngo-ila	*ngo-iza*	*qe-va*	*me-va*
2SG-VOC.SG.M	2SG-VOC.SG.F	2DU-VOC.DU	2PL-VOC.DU
'you (male)'	'you (female)'	'you two'	'you many'

This concludes the description of closed classes. The next chapter deals with derivational morphology in Bilua.

6 *Derivational morphology*

6.1 Introduction

There are four morphological processes which derive a word in Bilua: suffixation, encliticisation, compounding, and reduplication. In this chapter, each of these is dealt with in turn.

In this chapter, verbs are given in their stem forms without final *o* or an obligatory object clitic on transitive verbs.

6.2 Suffixation

Suffixation can derive verbs from verbs, nouns, and adjectives. There is only one suffix, *-kini*, which attaches to verbs, while there are several sets of suffixes which attach to nouns and adjectives.

6.2.1 Suffix on verbs, -kini

The suffix *-kini* has both derivational and valency-decreasing functions. It derives a reciprocal, intransitive verb which has a valency of one from a transitive verb which has a valency of two (see §9.2 for the valency of verbs). With this derivational process, most often both A and O arguments of the transitive verb become the S argument of the derived intransitive verb. Accordingly, the subject is always non-singular. For example, the verb in (6.1) is a transitive verb *torae* 'to meet', and the verb in (6.2) is an intransitive reciprocal verb derived from this by suffixation of *-kini*, *torae-kini* (meet-RECP) 'to meet each other'. The A and O arguments in (6.1) have both become the S argument in (6.2).

(6.1) *O=torae=k=ala.*
3SG.M=meet=3SG.F.O=RCP
'He met her.'

(6.2) *Qo=torae-kini=ala.*
3DU=meet-RECP=RCP
'They (he and she) met each other.'

There is one exception to this in the data. A derived reciprocal verb *pazo-kini* (hit-RECP) from the verb *pazoko* 'to hit' means 'to fight' and the subject of this verb can be singular, as in (6.3). Although the subject is singular in this example, the verb *pazokinio* 'to fight' implies that the action of hitting is exchanged between two parties—the subject hit someone else as well as being hit himself by this someone else. Thus, the verb still entails a reciprocal meaning.

(6.3) *Sito* *ta* *kala* *maba* | *vo* *ta*
Sito TOP INDEF.SG.M person 3SG.M TOP

o=pazo-kini=e *matu* *kubo=a* *koi.*
3SG.M=hit-RECP=RMP very many=LIG place
'*Sito* is a man, he fought at lots of places.' (12-1-2)

Only transitive verbs whose A and O arguments are both human take the suffix *-kini*. Some other verbs derived by suffixation of *-kini* are:

(6.4) *bazue* 'to tell' → *bazue-kini* 'to tell each other' or 'to exchange conversation'

(6.5) *vouvae* 'to kill → *vouvae-kini* 'to kill each other'

(6.6) *roque* 'to care/love' → *roque-kini* 'to care/love each other'

(6.7) *besie* 'to replace' → *besie-kini* 'to replace each other'

A ditransitive verb *katiko* 'to give' can also take the suffix *-kini*. With a Bilua verb *katiko* 'to give', the O argument is the recipient not the theme and thus it is human. With this verb, the suffix *-kini* is realised as *-ekini*

(6.8) *Se* *ta* *ke=kati-ekini=a* *ko* *puaro.*
3PL TOP 3PL=give-RECP=PRES 3SG.F present
'They exchange a present.'

6.2.2 Suffixes on nouns and adjectives

There are four sets of suffixes which attach to adjectives and nouns. One of the sets also attaches to loan words from English, as described below. Each set has two suffixes which derive an intransitive verb, and another suffix which derives a transitive verb. They are: *-k, -zi,* and *-ki, -mat, -muil,* and *-mu,-put, -puil,* and *-pue,* and *-t/Ø, -il,* and *-e*.

A source noun or adjective may take any of three suffixes, or just one or two of three suffixes. It is not fully predictable which one of these sets is applied to each noun/adjective. Thus, it can be said that derived verbs are all lexicalised.[24]

The first two of each set derives an intransitive verb, and derived intransitive verbs by the suffixation of the second suffixes in each set; that is, *-zi, -muil, -puil,* and *-il* have a semireflexive meaning 'do something oneself' or a reflexive meaning 'to do something

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[24] Because of this, in the rest of this work, segmentation of these morphemes is not shown.

(to) oneself'.[25] For example, an intransitive verb *uri-zi* derived from an adjective *uri* 'good' has a semireflexive meaning, 'to become better by oneself'. Another intransitive verb, *uri-k,* derived from the same adjective also means 'to become better' but does not have a semireflexive meaning.

The suffixes *-k, -zi,* and *-ki* are applied to an adjective denoting value, *uri* 'good', and *-k* and *-ki* but not *-zi* are applied to an adjective denoting size, *silo* 'small'. Both *-k* and *-zi* derive an intransitive verb, thus adding the meaning 'to become'. *-ki* derives a transitive verb adding the meaning 'to make'.

silo 'small'	*uri* 'good'
↓	↓
silo-k 'to become small'	*uri-k* 'to become better'
–	*uri-zi* 'to become better by oneself'
silo-ki 'to make s.th. small'	*uri-ki* 'to make s.th. better'

Here, the subject of the derived intransitive verb corresponds to the object of the derived transitive verb. For example, the subject 'he' in 'he became better' becomes the object in 'she made him better'. In both sentences, the one who became better is 'he'.

-k but not *-ki* or *-zi* can also be applied to a few temporal nouns:

raisi 'evening' → *raisi-k* 'to become evening'
ipu 'night' → *ipu-k* 'to become night'

-mat, *-muil*, and *-mu* attach to nouns of one or two syllables. Both *-mat* and *-muil* derive an intransitive verb, while *-mu* derives a transitive verb. Derived verbs express an activity involving the source noun. For example, a derived verb *raro-mat* from a noun *raro* 'pot' means 'to cook in a pot', and a derived verb *lezu-mat* from *lezu* 'head' means 'to study', an activity which involves the use of a head (brain). Here, the S argument of the intransitive verb corresponds to the A argument of the transitive verb.

raro 'pot'	*lezu* 'head'
↓	↓
raro-mat 'to cook s.th. in a pot (INTR)'	*lezu-mat* 'to study s.th. (INTR)'
–	*lezu-muil* 'to study by oneself'
raro-mu 'to cook s.th. in a pot (TR)'	*lezu-mu* 'to study s.th. (TR)'

-put, *-puil*, and *-pue* attach to nouns of three syllables or more. They are parallel with the last set: derived verbs express an activity involving the source noun, and the subject of the derived intransitive verb and the subject of the derived transitive verb correspond with each other. It is not understood why nouns of three syllables or more take *-put*, *-puil*, and *-pue* rather than *-mat*, *-muil*, and *-mu*.

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[25] In §4.4, it was noted that a verb containing a segment *-il* or *-zi* may have a reflexive meaning. The fact that derived verbs with suffixes *-zi* and *-il* can also have a reflexive meaning suggests that these are reflexive suffixes. Accordingly, *-muil* and *-puil* may be segmented into *-mu* and *-il*, and *-pu* and *-il* respectively. As indicated in §4.4, it is beyond the scope of this work to present a full discussion about verbal morphology.

iruru 'work'	*qusini* 'rope'
↓	↓
iruru-put 'to work'	*qusini-put* 'to make a rope'
iruru-puil 'to work by oneself'	–
irurupu-e 'to fix'	*qusini-pue* 'to make a rope'

There is also an example where *-put*, *-puil*, and *-pue* attach to an adjective. They can attach to the adjective *tuvevo* 'true'. Here, both *tuvevo-put* and *tuvevo-pue* mean 'to believe (something)'. The intransitive one, *tuvevo-put,* is usually nominalised by a nominal derivational enclitic (see §6.3.1): *tuvevo-put=o* meaning 'belief'.[26]

tuvevo 'true'
↓
tuvevo-put 'to believe s.b./s.th. (INTR)'
tuvivo-puil 'to believe oneself'
tuvevo-pue 'to believe s.b./s.th. (TR)'

-t/Ø, *-il,* and *-e* attach to some nouns/adjectives. Both *-t/Ø* and *-il* derive an intransitive verb, while *-e* derives a transitive verb. There appears to be no semantic regularity here.

tola 'pain'	*vozi*	*ija* 'equal'
↓	↓	↓
tola-t 'to feel main'	*vozi* 'to paddle'	*ija-t* 'to do pressing'
tola-il 'to make oneself feel pain'	–	*ija-il* 'to press oneself'
tola-e 'to make someone feel pain'	*vozi-e* 'to paddle'	*ija-e* 'to press (TR)'

Here, the subject of the intransitive verb corresponds sometimes with object and at other times with the subject of the transitive verb. For example, the subject in 'I feel pain' corresponds with the object in 'he made me feel pain', while the subject in 'I paddle' corresponds with the subject in 'I paddled a canoe'.

-put and *-pue* can also be attached to English verbs. For example,

develop	create
↓	↓
developu-put 'to develop (INTR)'	*create-put* 'to create (INTR)'
developu-pue 'to develop (TR)'	*create-pue* 'to create (TR)'

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[26] Note that the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs is drawn on morphological grounds, viz. whether a verb has the ability to take an object clitic (see §4.4), but semantically here both intransitive and transitive verbs anticipate the existence of an object.

6.3 Nominal derivational enclitics

Nominal derivational enclitics *o* and *vo* derive an abstract noun. The derived noun belongs to the common noun class. *O* and *vo* are in complementary distribution; *o* attaches to verbs, while *vo* attaches to adjectives and the numeral *omadeu* 'one'.

6.3.1 Deriving a noun from a verb

A nominal derivational enclitic *o* derives an abstract noun from a verb or a verb accompanied by an object clitic and/or a modifier. *O* directly attaches to an intransitive verb or attaches to an object clitic on a transitive verb. Thus, *o* can attach to a material already containing a clitic and this indicates that *o* is a clitic not an affix.

(6.9) an intransitive verb
vouvat=o
kill=NOM
'killing'

(6.10) a transitive verb with an object clitic
vouvae=k=o
kill=3SG.F.O=NOM
'killing of her'

(6.11) an intransitive verb with a modifier
[*uri=a* *maqin*]=*o*
good=LIG be.full=NOM
'being nicely full'

Example (6.11) cannot be analysed as:

uri=a [*maqin=o*]

since, if this were the case, *uri* would be treated as an NP modifier. However, Bilua adjectives cannot function as NP modifiers by themselves—they form modifier phrases with pronominal enclitics and these function as NP modifiers (see §7.2.1.3.1). Thus, in (6.11), *o* is attached to a modifier–verb combination, not just to a verb. This is more evidence for *o* being a clitic, not an affix.

As the derived word is a noun, this can be the head of an NP. In the following example *saev=o* is a derived noun. It is the head of an NP modified by an MP *uri=a=ma*.

(6.12) *uri=a=ma* *saev=o*
good=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM
'good life'

When *o* attaches to a modifier–verb combination, the derived word does not occur with a modifier as it already contains a modifier. Neither does it occur with any other optional NP constituents, which mark either definiteness or number. This is because the derived noun refers to a state, that is semantically it still behaves like a verb. In (6.11), the derived noun refers to a state of being full. Because of this, it does not receive a definiteness marking or a number marking: it does not occur with optional NP constituents.

A Bilua nominalised verb can have argument(s) of its own, and an object clitic on a nominalised transitive verb cross-references the object. In (6.10), the object is third person singular feminine and so the object clitic is in the third person singular feminine form. If the object is third person singular masculine, it would have an object clitic *v* (3SG.M). To illustrate, *vouvae=v=o* (kill=3SG.M.O=NOM) means 'killing of him'.

When *o* is attached to a verb ending with *u* it is realised as zero. For example, the combination of the verb *teku* 'to lie' *o* is realised as *teku*. In such a case the gloss is given as verbNOM; for example, lieNOM.

Some more examples of nominalised verbs are:

roquan=o (care/love=NOM)	'caring/love'
zari=o (want=NOM)	'wish'
nianii=o (know=NOM)	'knowledge'
pazo-kini=o (hit-RECP=NOM)	'fight'

In the last example, *o* is attached to a derived stem, derived by a derivational suffix *-kini* (see 6.2.1)

6.3.2 Deriving a noun from an adjective or the numeral **omadeu** *'one'*

A nominal derivational enclitic *vo* derives a noun from an adjective or the numeral *omadeu* 'one'. *Vo* is realised as *avo* when it follows a high vowel *i* or *u*. It is realised as *vo* elsewhere.

vo → *avo* / vowel i, u _
vo elsewhere

There is no evidence that proves that *vo* is a clitic rather than an affix, but it is treated as a clitic in this work because *o,* another nominal derivational morpheme described in §6.3.1, is a clitic.

In the texts, there are six adjectives recorded which take a nominal derivational enclitic: *olaqu* 'suffering', *edolo* 'different', *aza* 'various', *ija* 'equal, *uri* 'good', and *kiada* 'all'.

(6.13) *olaqu* 'suffering' (adjective) → *olaqu=avo* 'suffering' (noun)

(6.14) *edolo* different' → *edolo=vo* 'difference'

(6.15) *aza* 'various' → *aza=vo* 'variety'

(6.16) *ija* 'equal → *ija=vo* 'equality'

(6.17) *uri* 'good' → *uri=avo* 'goodness (Okay)'

(6.18) *kiada* 'all' → *kiada=vo* 'everything'

In the following example, a nominal derivational enclitic is attached to an adjective *olaqu* 'suffering'. *Olaquavo* 'suffering' occurs in an object NP and is preceded by a demonstrative, *ko* (3SG.F). This suggests that the derived noun is a common noun (see §7.4).

(6.19)

Enge	*ta*	*nge=rove=a*	*tu*	*k=ov=o*	*ko*
1PL.EXC	TOP	1PL.EXC=can=PRES	IRR	3SG.F.O=get=NOM	3SG.F

olaqua=vo...
suffering=NOM
'We can be subjected to suffering...' (64-3-18)

There are a few examples of *vo* cliticised to other adjectives in elicitation, and the derived noun can be a complement of the verb *iko* 'to cause'. These are described in §8.7.3.

The derived abstract noun *omadeu=vo* from the numeral *omadeu* 'one' means 'sameness'. In the following example, *omadeu=vo* is preceded by a demonstrative which is cliticised with a ligature *a*. This illustrates that the demonstrative and *omadeu=vo* form an NP whose head is *omadeu=vo* (see §5.5.1 and §5.17 for demonstratives and the ligature respectively). Thus the derived word is clearly a noun.

(6.20)

O=vait=a	*keru*	*mati*	*ko=a*	*omadeu=vo*.
3SG.M=return=PRES	TEMP	again	3SG.F=LIG	one=NOM

'When he returns, again, the same thing (it's the same).' (24-4-30)

6.4 Compounding

Compounds in Bilua are all nouns. Sixteen lexicalised compounds were found in the data. Most of them consist of two nouns. Often, the two nouns are in a 'modifier–modified' relationship.

(6.21) *vaka-maba* (boat-person) 'white people'

(6.22) *vaka-peuru* (boat-village) 'western country'

(6.23) *ore-mari* (tree/stick-taro) 'cassava'

(6.24) *raro-pade* (pot-house) 'kitchen'

(6.25) *niru-turu* (coconut-shell) 'coconut shell'

(6.26) *kiti-saresare* (leg-plain) 'sole of foot'

(6.27) *ngase-saresare* (hand-plain) 'palm'

(6.28) *alil=o-nganiu* (be.born=NOM-day) 'birthday'

(6.29) *sinaqu-rusu* (unmarried.woman-youth) 'girl'

Two compounds consist of an adjective and a noun.

(6.30) *lasive-rusu* (male-youth) ‘boy’

(6.31) *reko-rusu* (female-youth) ‘girl’

Sinaqu-rusu and *reko-rusu* both mean ‘girl’, the former consisting of two nouns and the latter consisting of an adjective and a noun.

In the following five compounds, the two nouns do not show a modifying–modified relationship.

(6.32) *susu-pait=o* (breast-finish=NOM) ‘last-born child’

(6.33) *maba-sisu* (person-seed/sweet potato) ‘yam’

(6.34) *meqora-saidi* (child-family) ‘family (with children)’

(6.35) *ranga-uza* (ember-fire) ‘ember’

(6.36) *sakare-ju* (coconut.shell.filled.with.water-water) ‘coconut shell filled with water’

The nouns *ranga* and *sakare* themselves mean ‘ember’ and ‘coconut shell filled with water’ respectively, and compounds containing these words *ranga-uza* (ember-fire) and *sakare-ju* still mean ‘ember’ and ‘coconut shell filled with water’ respectively.

There are four criteria which support the contention that these are compounds and can be considered to be one word. First, stress is applied only to the first syllable of the whole word, and the first syllable of the second part does not have stress. Second, compounds belong to common nouns, and like other common nouns they may form an NP with a distal demonstrative in postverbal position (see §7.4). Third, they can take a determiner. Fourth, no other constituents can intervene between their parts.

The above examples are established, lexicalised compounds, but a new compound can be freely formed for naming. For example, in telling a folktale, my informant referred to (named) a specific village as *matu-peuru* (big-village) ‘Big Village’.

In the rest of this work, lexicalised compounds are written as one word, for example *raropade* ‘kitchen’, not *raro-pade* (pot-house). Non-lexicalised compounds, on the other hand, are written in their parts, for example *matu-peuru* (big-village) ‘Big Village’ not *matupeuru*.

6.5 Reduplication

Reduplication can be applied to nouns, verbs, adjectives, and numerals. A reduplicated form has the first two syllables repeated (CVCV reduplication). The formation of a reduplicated form is described in §2.8. Reduplication can be category changing (§6.5.1) or non-category changing (§6.5.2).

6.5.1 Category-changing reduplication

Reduplication of some nouns and verb roots can change the word class. When applied to a noun, it can derive an adjective (§6.5.1.1) or a verb (§6.5.1.2). From a verb, it can derive an adjective (§6.5.1.3) or a noun (§6.5.1.4).

6.5.1.1 Deriving adjectives from nouns

Reduplication of a noun can derive an adjective of physical description as in (6.37), (6.38), and (6.39) or other kind of adjectives as in (6.40).

	Nouns	Adjectives
(6.37)	*potu* 'wound'	*potupotu* 'having a wound'
(6.38)	*sisu* 'sweet potato'	*sisusisu* 'curly (like stems of sweet potatoes)'
(6.39)	*toruru* 'egg'	*torutoruru* 'round'
(6.40)	*puaro* 'gift'	*puaropuaro* 'generous'

6.5.1.2 Deriving verbs from nouns

Reduplication of a noun can derive a verb which describes an action involving the entity denoted by the noun. As noted in §6.2.8, derived verbs are fully lexicalised and the form of a derived verb, except for the repeated initial two syllables, is not predictable from the source word.

	Nouns	Verbs
(6.41)	*iqe* 'knee'	*iqeiqe* 'to kneel down'
(6.42)	*lenio* 'tongue'	*leniolenio*t 'to lick (INTR)', *leniolenioe* 'to lick (TR)'
(6.43)	*pari* 'dust/sand'	*pariparit* 'to play with sand (INTR)'
(6.44)	*revo* 'seaweed'	*revorevot* 'to pick up seaweed'

6.5.1.3 Deriving adjectives from verbs

Reduplication of a verb can derive an adjective which describes the resulting state brought out by the situation described by the verb. As described in §2.8, reduplication of verbs applies to roots, the identical segments shared by intransitive and transitive verbs. For example, an intransitive verb *tibur* 'to close' and a transitive verb *tiburi* 'to close' share the segments *tibur*, and reduplication applies to the first two syllables of this, *tibu*.

	Verbs	Adjectives
(6.45)	*tibur* 'to close (INTR)' *tiburi* 'to close (TR)'	*tibutiburi* 'closed'
(6.46)	*zoleil* 'to be happy' *zole* 'to make happy'	*zolezole* 'happy/pleasant'
(6.47)	*niumat* 'to break (INTR)' *niumaniumae* 'to break (TR)'	*niumaniuma* 'broken'
(6.48)	*sukat* 'to become full (INTR)' *sukati* 'to fill (TR)'	*sukasukati* 'full'
(6.49)	*pisailo* 'to break (INTR)' *pisae* 'to break (TR)'	*pisapisa* 'cracked'
(6.50)	*potas* 'to split (INTR)' *potasi* 'to split (TR)'	*potapotasi* 'split'

Reduplicated forms in (6.49) and (6.50) can also function as a noun meaning 'crack' and 'split' respectively.

6.5.1.4 Deriving nouns from verbs

Reduplication of a verb can derive a noun which denotes: the instrument of the situation described by the verb (instrumental nominalization) (Comrie & Thompson 1985:353); the result of the situation described by the verb (resultative nominalization);'[27] or the object of the verb (object nominalisation). Examples (6.51) to (6.53) are examples of instrumental nominalisation. Examples (6.54) and (6.55) are examples of resultative nominalisation, and examples (6.56) to (6.58) are examples of object nominalisation. There are a few others which do not belong to any of these nominalisation types as in examples (6.59) and (6.60).

	Verbs	Nouns
(6.51)	*buisit* 'to chase away flies (INTR)' *buisie* 'to chase away flies (TR)'	*buisibuisi* 'something with which to chase away flies' (for example a towel)
(6.52)	*volo* 'to take copra out of shell (INTR)' *voloe* 'to take copra out of shell (TR)'	*volovolo* 'a device to take copra out of a shell'
(6.53)	*papu* 'to sit' *papue* 'to sit'	*papupapu* 'chair'
(6.54)	*podet* 'to measure (INTR)' *podeti* 'to measure (TR)'	*podepodeti* 'measurement'

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[27] Comrie and Thompson (1985:355) refers to this kind of nominalisation as 'objective nominalization'.

(6.55)	*pitasat* 'to divide into groups (INTR)' *pitasi* 'to divide into groups (TR)'	*pitapitasi* 'division'
(6.56)	*pauzut* 'to adopt (INTR)' *pauzue* 'to adopt (TR)'	*pauzupauzu* 'adopted child'
(6.57)	*zaiti* 'to put stones on the top of	*zaitizaiti* 'stones which are put on oven' the top of a stone oven'
(6.58)	*bazut* 'to tell (INTR)' *bazue* 'to tell (TR)'	*bazubazu* 'stories'
(6.59)	*purat* 'to come out' *purae* 'to take out'	*purapura* 'hole'
(6.60)	*pait* 'to finish (INTR)' *pai* 'to finish (TR)'	*paitopaito* 'last one/end'

6.5.2 Non-category changing reduplication

Reduplication can be non-category changing. Some verbs, a few adjectives, a few nouns, and numerals can have a non-category changing reduplicated form. With verbs, nouns, and adjectives most commonly a reduplicated form indicates multiplicity—it indicates repetitive events for verbs and plurality for nouns and adjectives.

Examples of non-category changing duplication with verbs

(6.61)	*nanat* 'to bite (INTR)'	*nanananat* 'to bite many times (INTR)'
(6.62)	*nanae* 'to bite (TR)'	*nanananae* 'to bite many times (TR)'
(6.63)	*vatut* 'to move (INTR)'	*vatuvatut* 'to move many times (INTR)'
(6.64)	*vatuti* 'to move (TR)'	*vatuvatuti* 'to move many times (TR)'

Examples of non-category changing reduplication with nouns

(6.65)	*qole* 'elder'	*qoleqole* 'elders'
(6.66)	*reko* 'woman'	*rekoreko* 'women'

Examples of non-category changing reduplication with adjectives

(6.67)	*aza* 'various'	*azaaza* 'very much in variety'
(6.68)	*edo* 'different'	*edoedo* 'many different (ones)'

Non-category changing reduplication applies to only two nouns listed above. *Qoleqole* 'elders' occurs with a plural marker *poso* in an NP, although plurality is indicated by reduplication itself; for example *qoleqole poso* (elders PL.M). Plurality can also be indicated by a plural marker only, as in *qole poso* (elder PL.M) 'elders'. The regular plural form of *reko* 'woman' is a reduplicated form *rekoreko* 'women', and *reko* cannot occur with a plural marker *poso*, thus *reko poso* (woman PL.M) is ungrammatical.

The verb *padoil* 'to gather' is an exception. The reduplicated form of this verb, *padopadoi* does not mean 'to gather many times'. The verb *padoi* 'to gather' itself indicates that the subject is plural, and its reduplicated form denotes that the plural subject has an exhaustive interpretation as in the following example.

(6.69) ...*kiada=mu* *ta* *ke=pado-padoi=va*...
all=3PL TOP 3PL=REDUP-gather=PRES
'...everyone [without exception, without leaving anyone], they gathered...'
(10-9-80)

A reduplicated form may have a superlative meaning. This applies to the reduplicated form of some words to which a notion of order applies. For example, the reduplicated form of *visi* 'younger', *visivisi*, means 'youngest'.

There is one case in which the meaning of the reduplicated form is not predictable from the non-reduplicated one. Here the reduplicated form *sarosaroro* of the adjective *saroro* 'fresh'/'water' means 'cold'.

Sisusisu, the reduplicated form of the noun *sisu* 'seed' means 'flower'. This can be attached with *-na*, and *sisusisu-na* means 'fruit'.[28] The origin of *-na* is not known.

As presented in §6.5.1.4, from a verb root *bazu* 'to tell', a noun *bazubazu* 'story' is derived. This can be attached with *-lao*, and *bazubazu-lao* means 'folktale. Again, the origin of *-lao* is not known.

A reduplicated form of a numeral acquires a meaning 'each'.
Examples of non-category changing reduplication with numerals

(6.70) *omuqa* 'two' *omuomuqa* 'two each'

(6.71) *siakava* 'nine' *siakasiakava* 'nine each'

(6.72) *omadeu-paizana-siakava* '109' *omaomadeu-paizana-siakava* '109 each'

The following example illustrates how a reduplicated form of a numeral occurs in a sentence.

(6.73) *A=qati=m=ala* *omu-omuqa* *lebu.*
1SG=give=3PL.O=RCP REDUP-two mango
'I gave them two mangoes each.'

In addition to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and numerals, one pronoun, *eri* 'something like this' can have a reduplicated form.

(6.74) *eri* 'something like this' *erieri* 'something like these'

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[28] *Sisu* also means 'sweet potato'. With this meaning, reduplication becomes category changing as shown in §6.5.1.1

6.6 Summary

In the sections above four types of derivational processes in Bilua were described. Suffixation can derive verbs from nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Encliticisation derives nouns from verbs, adjectives, the numeral *omadeu* 'one', and PPs headed with *kale*. Words derived from compounding can only be nouns and they often originate in two nouns. Reduplication can be applied to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and numerals and can be non-category changing. It can also be category changing: from a noun, it can derive an adjective or a verb, while from a verb, it can derive an adjective or a noun. The above is summarised in the following table.

Table 6.1: Derivational processes

Process	Source words	Derived words
suffixation	nouns adjectives verbs English verbs	verbs
encliticisation	verbs adjectives *omadeu* 'one'	nouns
compounding	often two nouns	nouns
reduplication	verbs	verbs nouns adjectives
	nouns	nouns adjectives verbs
	adjectives	adjectives
	numerals	numerals

This concludes the description of derivational morphology in Bilua. The next chapter presents a description of structures of NPs and their constituents.

7 *Noun phrases*

7.1 Introduction

A Bilua noun phrase (NP) can be an argument of a verbal predicate as in example (7.1), a subject of a non-verbal clause as in (7.2), a predicate of a non-verbal clause as in (7.3), a complement of a postposition as in (7.4), or an adjunct as in (7.5).

(7.1) *...o=kia=v=a vo=a buti.*
3SG.M=put.on=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M=LIG boot
'...he put on the boot.' (16-6-86)

(7.2) *Vo=ko ngi ta David Volosi.*
3SG.M=3SG.F name TOP David Volosi
'His name was David Volosi.' (23-4-45)

(7.3) *Kurou ni kobaka ta uri=a=ma baere-baere*
pigeon and snail TOP good=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-friend

kidi.
COLL.DU
'Pigeon and Snail were good friends.' (15-1-2)

(7.4) *...ke=k=ati kue=va komi=a udu ale.*
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL come=PRES PROX.SG.F=LIG island in
'...they came to this island with it.' (12-11-103)

(7.5) *Kiada=ma taku Barakoma=ko vail=o ale inio*
all=3SG.F time Barakoma=3SG.F look=NOM in FOC.NONF

se ta ke=ev=a.
3PL TOP 3PL=stay=PRES
'All the time, in the care of Barakoma, they lived.' (10-10-83)

Example (7.2) is distinguished from others in the sense that it presents a possessor–possessee relationship. Such an NP is referred to as a 'possessive NP', while an NP which does not present a possessor–possessee relationship is referred to as a 'basic NP'. Possessive and basic NPs are not only semantically but also syntactically distinguished. In (7.2), *vo* (3SG.M) is a possessor NP and this is marked with a possessive marker *ko* (3SG.F).

There is a three-way person distinction in Bilua for human referents: first, second, and third, and a three-way number distinction: singular, dual, and plural. Furthermore, third person singular has a gender distinction between masculine and feminine. Non-singular first person also has a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. The above is summarised in the following table.

Table 7.1: Person/number/gender distinction

Person	Number/Gender		
first	singular	dual.inclusive dual.exclusive	plural.inclusive plural.exclusive
second	singular	dual	plural
third	singular.masculine singular.feminine	dual	plural

Inflectional pronouns inflect according to these distinctions, but the distinctions may be partially neutralised when pronouns have certain functions (see §7.2.1.3.1 and §7.3.2).

Having a masculine–feminine distinction does not mean that Bilua nouns have grammatical genders. Except for nouns that have a natural gender, Bilua nouns are neutral with respect to gender, but a gender can be assigned to an NP by optional constituents, which inflect for genders (see §7.4).

Non-human referents do not have a gender distinction and they are always third person. They can only have a number distinction between singulative[29] and unspecified number. Singulative and unspecified number non-human referents are expressed by third person singular masculine and third person singular feminine pronouns respectively. For example, demonstratives *vo* (3SG.M) and *ko* (3SG.F) may refer to a single pig and pig(s) respectively.

An NP in Bilua is usually marked for person/number/gender according to the above distinctions. In this chapter, first a description of basic NPs is given in §7.2. This is followed by a description of possessive NPs (§7.3). Then, §7.4 discusses the system of person/number/gender marking on NPs in Bilua.

7.2 Basic NPs

The minimum constituent of a basic NP is the head. The NP head can be a noun, a free pronoun, or a quantifier. The head noun can be any noun except for two nouns, *male* 'match' and *ngavi* 'self', which can only be heads of possessive NPs (see §7.3). An NP may have optional constituent(s). The following is the structure of basic NPs with optional constituents. The constituents are listed in the order in which they occur in NPs.

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[29] The term 'singulative' is employed in order to distinguish non-human singular from human singular, which has a person/gender distinction as well as a number distinction.

(determiner)
(quantifier)
(modifier*)[30]
(a measure pronoun *pado*)
Head
(modifier)
(collective marker/plural marker)
(pronominal enclitic)

Co-occurrence of heads with optional constituents depends on the kinds of heads. This is described in §7.2.2.

Bilua modifiers take the form of a modifier phrase, a general modifier, or an adjectival phrase, PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself' (see §7.2.1.1.3). The head of an NP can be ellipsed when it contains a modifier phrase or the adjectival phrase PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself'.

In Bilua, a postverbal NP cannot consist only of a noun when the head is a non-locational noun. It usually has one or more of the optional constituents listed above, but when it does not, it obligatorily takes a distal demonstrative preceding the head. That is, an NP may consist of a distal demonstrative and the head, but the demonstrative here is not treated as one of optional NP constituents listed above. Bilua demonstratives can fill the slot for determiners, but in such a case, they are attached with a ligature (see §7.2.1.1.1). The distal demonstrative here on the other hand is not attached with a ligature and this suggests that the demonstrative is not filling the slot for determiners. It also lacks a deictic function. It appears that a postverbal NP has to be marked for person/number/gender in Bilua, and the demonstrative occurs just for this purpose. This is discussed in §7.4.

In this section, first each of optional NP constituents is described in §7.2.1. Following this, NPs with different kinds of heads are presented in §7.2.2. NPs under discussion are single-underlined while optional constituents under discussion are double-underlined.

7.2.1 Optional NP constituents

7.2.1.1 Determiners

Determiners occur in the NP-initial position. Determiners mark whether a particular referent is identifiable or not in the given discourse. A referent can be considered to be definite when the speaker can assume that the hearer knows and can identify the particular referent the speaker is talking about (Chafe 1976:39). A referent is identifiable when it has already been introduced.

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[30] * here indicates recursive.

A Bilua determiner takes the form of a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, the indefinite marker *ka* (INDEF), or an indefinite pronoun (see §5.5.1 for the list of demonstratives, independent pronouns, and indefinite pronouns). Demonstratives and independent pronouns mark definiteness, while the indefinite marker and indefinite pronouns mark indefiniteness. There are some exceptions to this, as described in the following subsections: demonstratives and independent pronouns in §7.2.1.1.1 and indefinite marker and pronouns in §7.2.1.1.2. Determiners are optional constituents of NPs, and NPs without a determiner can be definite or indefinite. This is discussed in §7.2.1.1.3.

7.2.1.1.1 Demonstratives and independent pronouns

Demonstratives mark definiteness as well as having a deictic function. There are two kinds of demonstratives in Bilua; these are proximate and distal demonstratives, as illustrated by examples (7.6) and (7.7) respectively. Demonstratives are cliticised with a ligature when they fill the slot for a determiner.

(7.6)

...*komi=a*	*Vella La Vella*	*udu*	*ale*	*ta*	*sikeura*
PROX.SG.F=LIG	Vella La Vella	island	in	TOP	seven

vuro	*maba*	*ta*	*ikoana...*
thousand	person	TOP	EXT.SG.F

'...in this Vella La Vella island, there are seven thousand people...' (64-2-14)

(7.7)

...*lea*	*inio*	*mata*	*vo=a*	*ore*	*a=ba*
tomorrow	FOC.NONF	again	3SG.M=LIG	tree	1SG=PROS

koi=v=ou...
climb=3SG.M.O=FUT

'...tomorrow, again, I will climb that (one) tree...' (2-9-55)

Distal demonstratives may be used without reference to distance. In that case, they just function as definite markers. In the discourse where example (7.8) below appears, the mother and the child are established participants.

(7.8)

...*ko=ta*	*kora-korai=va*	*ko=a*	*niania*	*vo=a*
3SG.F=SIT	REDUP-be.angry=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	mother	3SG.M=LIG

meqora	*melai*	*pui*	*o=zolei=va.*
child	too	NEG	3SG.M=be.happy=PRES

'...she became angry, the mother, and the child too, he was not happy.' (24-8-84)

In an NP which presents a topic of a text, a demonstrative can be cataphoric. Such an NP often has a measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) 'one' as an optional constituent as well.

(7.9)

Komi=a	*pado*	*bazu-bazu*	*Voululu*
PROX.SG.F=LIG	MESone	REDUP-story	Voululu

tou-tou	*kale=a=ma*	*vairutu*	*anga*	*ta*
REDUP-tribe	in=LIG=3SG.F	now	1SG	TOP

a=q=ai	*bazu-bazut=ou*	*ko=ko*	*k=i=o*
1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL	REDUP-tell=FUT	3SG.F=3SG.F	3SG.F.O=say=NOM

ni	*kal=o*	*ta*	*eri*	*nio.*
and	happen=NOM	TOP	s.th.like.this	FOC.NONF

'This story from Voululu tribe, now I am going to tell, the way it is told is something like this.' (67-1-1)
(more literally 'This story from Voululu tribe, now I am going to tell, its saying and way is something like this.')

First/second person independent pronouns can also fill the slot for a determiner, but their function here is to specify the person/number of the NP rather than marking definiteness. In the following example, the ligature on the independent pronoun indicates that the pronoun *enge* (1PL.EXC) does not form an NP of its own but it forms an NP with *saidi* 'family'; a ligature occurs only between morphemes which belong to the same phrase (see §5.17).

(7.10)

enge=a	*saidi*
1PL.EXC=LIG	family

'we, family'

7.2.1.1.2 Indefinite marker and pronouns

Indefinite marker and pronouns indicate that the hearer is not expected to be able to identify the referent, and generally they also mark specificity. An exception to this is described later in this section. In (7.11) and (7.12), when the speaker utters the words 'war canoe' and 'island', he has a specific war canoe and island in his mind. In (7.13) the indefinite pronoun *kake* (INDEF.PL) refers to an indefinite quantity of specific people (people in the village).

(7.11)

...se	*ta*	*ke*	*ere=v=e*	*kala*	*niabara.*
3PL	TOP	3PL	make=3SG.M.O=RMP	INDEF.SG.M	war.canoe

Ne=a	*niabara*	*ta*	*a=daite*	*Bobe=Vo.*
PROXSG.M=LIG	war.canoe	TOP	1SG=grand.parent	Bobe=3SG.M

'...they made a war canoe. This war canoe was my grandfather Bobe's.' (25-1-6~7)

(7.12)

...ke=ke=ve	*ka*	*pado*	*udu*	*ale.*
3PL=go=RMP	INDEF	MESone	island	in

Ko=a	*udu=ko*	*ngi*	*ta*	*Vawa.*
3SG.F=LIG	island=3SG.F	name	TOP	Vawa

'...they went to an island. The name of the island was Vawa.' (12-2-8~9)

(7.13)

...kake	*maba*	*madu*	*ta*	*puli=a=ma*	*ko=a*
INDEF.PL	person	COLL.PL	TOP	NEG=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.F=LIG

peuru ale.
village in
'...some people are missing in the village.' (26-2-13)

The distribution of the indefinite marker *ka* and indefinite pronouns is as follows. *Ka* occurs when the NP does not contain a modifier phrase, while indefinite pronouns occur when it contains one. Both modifier phrases and indefinite pronouns are marked for person, number, and gender, and they show agreement with each other. Compare (7.12) above and (7.14) below. Example (7.14) contains a modifier phrase *silo=a=la* (small=LIG=3SG.M) and so the NP contains an indefinite pronoun, *kala* (INDEF.SG.M). In (7.12), there is no modifier phrase and so the NP contains the indefinite marker *ka* (INDEF).

(7.14) *...se ta ke=ke=ve kala silo=a=la udu ale.*
3PL TOP 3PL=go=RMP INDEF.SG.M small=LIG=3SG.M island in

Ne=a udu=ko ngi ta Inia.
PROX.SG.M=LIG island=3SG.F name TOP Inia
'...they went to one small island. The name of this island was Inia.' (12-2-17~18)

The indefinite marker *ka* occurs with only certain non-human nouns: *udu* 'island', *ipu* 'night', *sabere* 'year', *taku* 'time', *rana* 'side', and *quli* 'thing', whose referents are all non-human. *Ka* itself does not say anything about the number but it can be used in combination with a measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) 'one' or a plural marker *poso* to specify singularity or plurality as in (7.12) above and (7.15) below.

(7.15) *...esa ka poso sabere ta matu=ma vari=o*
maybe INDEF PL.M year TOP big=3SG.F increase=NOM

ko=ta el=ou komi=a Sabora.
3SG.F=SIT become=FUT PROX.SG.F=LIG Sabora
...maybe, for years [to come, the population of] this village Sabora will show a big increase.' (23-7-72)

Ipu 'night' with the indefinite marker *ka* is a fixed expression meaning 'a night for someone', that is a night event organised for someone as in the following example. To express 'one night', a numeral is used: *omadeu ipu* (one night).

(7.16) *...se ta ke ere=k=ou ka pado ipu.*
3PL TOP 3PL make=3SG.F.O=FUT INDEF MESone night
'...they will make a night [for the chief who died].' (23-3-38)

The indefinite marker *ka* may also occur in an NP which has a female referent as in (7.17) but it never occurs in an NP which has a male referent. Thus, example (7.18) is ungrammatical. In an indefinite NP which has a male referent, indefiniteness can be marked only by an indefinite pronoun as in (7.19).

(7.17) *...se ta ke=kati=v=ake ka pado reko...*
3PL TOP 3PL=give=3SG.M.O=HIST INDEF MESone wife
'...they gave him a wife...' (26-25-132)

(7.18) **Ke=kati=k=ake* *ka pado lasiverusu.*
3PL=give=3SG.F.O=HIST INDEF MESone boy
'They gave her a boy.'

(7.19) *Ke=kati=k=ake* *kala lasiverusu.*
3PL=give=3SG.F.O=HIST INDEF.SG.M boy
'They gave her a boy.'

It is not understood why an indefinite marker *ka* can only occur in an NP with a female referent. Moreover, there is a further constraint on this; such an NP may be employed only when the NP is an object of a verb whose object is normally restricted to a non-human referent. In (7.17), a gift, the object of the verb *katiko* 'to give', is normally restricted to a non-human referent. Otherwise, an indefinite NP contains an indefinite pronoun as a determiner. *Kelo* 'to see' in the following example does not have a selectional restriction for the type of the object: it can be human or non-human. Therefore, the object NP contains an indefinite pronoun, *kama* (INDEF.SG.F), not an indefinite marker *ka* (INDEF).

(7.20) *A=q=ea=la* *kama sinaqurusu.*
1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES INDEF.SG.F girl
'I saw a girl.'

Combinations of an indefinite marker/pronoun with a few nouns are used like some English indefinite pronouns, and with these nouns, the NP can only be non-specific: *kala quli* (INDEF.SG.M thing)/*kama quli* (INDEF.SG.F thing) 'something' and *kala maba* (INDEF.SG.M person)/*kama maba* (INDEF.SG.F person), 'somebody', and *kama taku* (INDEF.SG.M time)/*ka taku* (INDEF time) 'sometimes/sometime'.

(7.21) ...*kama quli ikio nei o=ta vuat=ala...*
INDEF.SG.F thing FOC.F PROX.SG.M 3SG.M=SIT eat=RCP
'...he ate something...' (43-4-43)

(7.22) ...*ngo=q=e=a kama sinaqurusu ma kama*
2SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES INDEF.SG.F girl or INDEF.SG.F

maba.
person
'...did you see a girl or somebody?' (59-4-35)

(7.23) *Ka koi ke=baro=a.*
INDEF place 3PL=arrive=PRES
'They arrived somewhere.' (16-3-41)

(7.24) *Kama taku inio qe=tauve=l=ou...*
INDEF.SG.F time FOC.NONF 2DU=help=1SG.O=FUT
'Sometime, you will help me...' (27-20-123)

A measure pronoun, in combination with a determiner, means 'one of many' (see also §7.2.1.4). This meaning entails definiteness and thus when an indefinite marker/pronoun co-occurs with a measure pronoun, it is considered not to mark indefiniteness anymore. In the following example, each underlined NP refers to one of five parts of Vella La Vella island, and thus it is identifiable and definite.

(7.25) *Vella La Vella udu ta sike kobu.*
Vella La Vella island TOP five MESpart

Kala kobu ta Bilua, kala kobu
INDEF.SG.M MESpart TOP Bilua INDEF.SG.M MESpart

ta Joria, kala kobu ta Dovere,
TOP Joria INDEF.SG.M MESpart TOP Dovere

kala kobu ta Silomai ni kala
INDEF.SG.M MESpart TOP Silomai and INDEF.SG.M

kobu ta Kuri-kuri.
MESpart TOP REDUP-Kuri
'Vella La Vella island has five areas. One (of them) is Bilua, one (of them) is Joria, one (of them) is Dovere, one (of them) is Silomai, and one (of them) is Kurikuri.' (9-1-3~4)

A proximate demonstrative and an indefinite pronoun can co-occur when the identity of a referent is not accessible but when its kind or its description is accessible. In the discourse in which (7.26) occurs, the hearer knows that the speaker has killed something, but the hearer does not know what it is exactly.

(7.26) *...me=ba v=el=ou ne=a kala*
2PL=PROS 3SG.M.O=see=FUT PROX.SG.M=LIG INDEF.SG.M

quli anga a=vouvae=v=ala=ni,
thing 1SG 1SG=kill=3SG.M.O=RCP=REL.NONF
'...you are going to see this thing which I killed,' (26-22-117)

There is no example in the data where a distal demonstrative occurs with an indefinite pronoun. Such an example was not found in elicitation either.

7.2.1.1.3 NPs without a determiner

Bilua nominals can be divided into two broad groups: ones which are inherently definite and ones which are not inherently definite. The former are all except common nouns, viz. pronouns, kinship terms, personal names, and locational nouns. Since they are inherently definite, they cannot co-occur with an indefinite marker/pronoun (see last section for exceptions, measure pronouns) and definiteness does not need to be marked by a demonstrative or an independent pronoun. An NP headed with a personal name, a kinship term, or a locational noun optionally contains a demonstrative. An NP headed with a quantifier is always definite as well, and this optionally contains a demonstrative or an independent pronoun but not an indefinite marker/pronoun.

Nominals which are not inherently definite are common nouns. Bilua common nouns are not marked for specificity either. In an NP headed with a common noun, definiteness and specificity can be marked by a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, or an indefinite marker/pronoun, but this marking is optional. When an NP is headed with a common noun and when this does not contain any determiner, it can be definite, indefinite specific, or indefinite non-specific. In (7.27), the underlined NP is definite and identifiable, as this is a body part of a current participant. In (7.28), the underlined NP is indefinite specific. The speaker starts his story about 'two men' with this sentence. In (7.29), the underlined NP refers to a category 'food', and thus it is indefinite non-specific.

(7.27) ...*omuqa kiti ta o=soloe=k=e toupa=le.*
two leg TOP 3SG.M=dangle=3SG.F.O=RMP lake=in
'...[his] two legs, he dangled them into the lake.' (24-6-63)

(7.28) *Omadeu taku nio omuqa maba ta qo=ta*
one time FOC.NONF two person TOP 3DU=SIT

koiv=a mujor=o=le.
go.up=PRES bonito.fishing=NOM=PURP
'Once upon a time, two men, they went up to do bonito fishing.' (47-1-1)

(7.29) ...*raisi-raisi ko e=va* | *sailao*
REDUP-evening 3SG.F become=PRES food

qo=k=o=a | *qo=saqor=a,*
3DU=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3DU=go.down=PRES
'...it became evening, the two got food, and they went down,' (24-3-28)

7.2.1.2 Quantifiers

A quantifier can be a numeral or *kubo* 'many'.

(7.30) ...*kubo maba madu ta ke=ta mumai=va...*
many person COLL.PL TOP 3PL=SIT get.lost=PRES
'...many people, they have got lost...' (26-8-46)

(7.31) *Nio zouke sinaqurusu ta ke=ta mutai=va.*
SEQ three girl TOP 3PL=SIT hide=PRES
'And three girls, they hid.' (39-13-84)

A quantifier *kubo* itself does not trigger plural agreement even though it refers to a plural number. It triggers default agreement, signalled by third person singular feminine. In (7.32) below, the object clitic on the verb, which agrees with the NP *kubo reko* (many wives), is in the third person singular feminine form. In (7.30) above, it is a collective marker *madu* and not a quantifier *kubo* 'many' that triggers plural agreement.

(7.32) *Enge=ko kal=o ta lekasa ta o=rove=a*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F happen=NOM TOP chief TOP 3SG.M=can=PRES

k=ov=o *kubo reko.*
3SG.F.O=get=NOM many wife
'As for our way, a chief could have many wives.' (23-2-16)

7.2.1.3 *Modifiers*

A modifier can be a modifier phrase, a general modifier, or an adjectival phrase PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself'. It can also be an adjective, but only when the head is a locational noun *koi* 'place' (see §7.2.2.4).

7.2.1.3.1 *Modifier Phrase*

In Bilua, constituents which function as modifiers, except for general modifiers and the adjectival phrase PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself', cannot function as modifiers on their own. They form a modifier phrase (MP) with a pronominal enclitic. The enclitic is directly attached to the constituent that has a modifying function or is linked to it by a ligature depending on the modifying constituent (see §5.17). Thus, the structure of MPs is as follows (X represents the constituent which has a modifying function):

X(=LIG)=PRON

The head of an MP is the pronominal enclitic, which refers to the head of the NP. In the following example, the MP *silo=a=ma* (small=LIG=3SG.F) consists of the adjective *silo* 'small' and the head *ma* (3SG.F), which refers to the head of the NP, 'person'.

(7.33) *silo=a=ma* *maba*
small=LIG=3SG.F person
'a small woman'

The pronominal enclitic as the head of an MP takes one of third person singular forms: *la* (3SG.M) and *ma* (3SG.F). Bilua NP can be headless when it contains an MP, and in a headless NP, the head of an MP can be any third person pronominal enclitic. This is discussed later in this section. The pronominal enclitic here marks the person, number, gender of the NP; *la* (3SG.M) marks third person singular masculine while *ma* (3SG.F) marks non–third person singular masculine. Thus, here the person/number/gender distinction of pronominal enclitics is partially neutralised. The distribution of *la* and *ma* is summarised in the following table.

Table 7.2: Distribution of pronominal enclitics as heads of modifier phrases

Pronominal enclitic	Human	Non-human
la (3SG.M)	third person singular masculine	singulative
ma (3SG.F)	non-third person singular masculine	unspecified number

For example, in (7.34), the NP is marked as third person singular masculine by the pronominal enclitic *la* (3SG.M). In both (7.33) above and (7.35) below, the NP is marked as non–third person singular masculine by the pronominal enclitic *ma* (3SG.F). Example (7.33) does not contain any constituent that marks dual or plural, and thus it is singular and it is also feminine, as *ma* is indeed the third person singular feminine form of pronominal enclitic. In (7.35), optional NP constituents, namely the independent pronoun *enge* (1PL.EXC) and the phrase-final pronominal enclitic *ngela* (1PL.EXC), mark first person plural exclusive, and thus the NP is first person plural exclusive. Plurality is also marked by the plural marker.

(7.34) *silo=a=la maba*
silo=LIG=3SG.M person
'a small man'

(7.35) *enge=a Solomoni=a=ma maba poso=ngela*
1PL.EXC=LIG Solomon=LIG=3SG.F person PL.M=1PL.EXC
'we, Solomon people'

There are various constituents which function as modifying constituents. They can be words, phrases, and clauses, and include the following:

adjectives and adjectival phrases
kinship term
placename
deictic adverbs and an adverb *lula* 'already'
interrogatives *lai* 'where' and *noni* 'how'
pronouns *so* 'that', *eri* 'something like this', and *pado* 'one'
a relational noun or an NP headed with a relational noun
numerals
the negation marker *pui*
postpositional phrases
future clauses.

Only some of kinship terms can have a modifying function, and with this function, they have a different meaning (see §4.3.2). For example, *kaka* means 'older sibling' as the head of an NP, but it means 'older' as a modifying constituent.

(7.36) *ko=a kaka=ka=ma meqora*
3SG.F=LIG older=LIG=3SG.F child
'the older daughter'

Placenames, deictic adverbs, and an interrogative *lai* 'where' as modifying constituents mean '(something/somebody) from such and such place' as in (7.35) above and in (7.37) below. An example with *lai* 'where' is given later below in (7.49).

(7.37) *koi=za=ma qole poso*
here=LIG=3SG.F elder PL.M
'elders from here' (10-10-87)

Lula 'already' means 'past', as a modifying constituent.

(7.38) *lula=ma taku*
already=3SG.F time
'past time (in the past)' (23-1-1)

As modifying constituents, pronouns *so* 'that', *eri* 'something like this', and *pado* 'one' mean 'that kind of', '(things) like these', and 'whole' respectively. The interrogative *noni* 'how', which behaves in the same way as the pronoun *so* 'that', means 'what kind of' as a modifying constituent.

(7.39) *So=a=ma bazu-bazu ta ikoana.*
that=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-story TOP EXT.SG.F
'There are those stories (those kinds of stories).' (10-8-67)

(7.40) *kiada=ma eri-eri=a=ma bianga-bianga*
all=3SG.F REDUP-s.th.like.this=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-insect
'all insects like these'

(7.41) *pado=a=ma nganiu*
MESone=LIG=3SG.F day
'the whole day'

(7.42) *noni=a=ma saev=o*
how=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM
'what kind of life' (64-3-22)

In the data, there are two relational nouns which function as modifying constituents, *kuleto* 'front' and *tova* 'behind'. As modifying constituents, they mean 'first' and 'last' respectively. The relational noun *rana* 'side' is found as the head of a possessive NP which functions as a modifying constituent. In the following example, a possessive NP, *lasive=ko rana*, functions as a modifying constituent, forming an MP with a pronominal enclitic. In this example in which the NP is headless, the pronominal enclitic is realised as *mu* (3PL) (see below).

(7.43) *lasive=ko rana=mu*
husband=3SG.F side=3PL
'those who are from the husband side' (21-5-25)

As modifying constituents in MPs, numerals except for *omadeu* 'one' become ordinals. 'First' is expressed by an MP consisting of a relational noun *kuleto* 'front' and a pronominal enclitic linked by the ligature *a*.

(7.44) *omuqa=ma taku*
two=3SG.F time
'the second time' (16-7-91)

(7.45) *kuleto=a=la kobaka*
first=LIG=3SG.M snail
'the first snail' (16-7-91)

The negation marker as a modifying constituent means 'no'.

(7.46) ...*puli=a=ma bolo a=dorae=k=a...*
NEG=LIG=3SG.F pig 1SG=meet=3SG.F.O=PRES
'I encountered no pig...' (43-3-30)

The following are examples of postpositional phrases and future clauses as modifying constituents. When a future clause functions as a modifying constituent, the distinction between future and near future is neutralised, and it can only take the future tense marker (*v*)*ou,* which is realised as (*v*)*o*, attached with the ligature *a*. Thus, in (7.48), the future tense marker *vou* is realised as *vo*. Example (7.48) is a headless NP.

(7.47) *komi=a peuru kale=a=ma maba madu*
PROX.SG.F=LIG village in=LIG=3SG.F person COLL.PL
'people in this village' (26-1-4)

(7.48) *Inio ke=zio=vou ko=a rekorusu=ko peuru*
SEQ 3PL=go=FUT 3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.F village

ale. Sai ke=zio=vo=a=mu ta kake ta
in there 3PL=go=FUT=LIG=3PL TOP INDEF.PL TOP

reko-reko...
REDUP-woman
'And, they will go to the girl's village. As for people who will go there, some are women...' (21-9-53~54)

As noted above, a Bilua NP can be headless; the head of an NP can be ellipsed when it contains an MP. This often happens when the head is the noun *maba* 'person'. In fact, the ellipsed head is usually regarded as the noun *maba* 'person', unless the discourse indicates that it is something else. When the head of an NP is ellipsed, the head of the MP can be any third person pronominal enclitic, and each of third person pronominal enclitics marks the following person, number, and gender.

Table 7.3: Distribution of pronominal enclitics in the modifier phrase in a headless noun phrase

Pronominal enclitic	Human	Non-human
la (3SG.M)	third person singular masculine	singulative
ma (3SG.F)	singular except for third person singular masculine •first person singular •second person singular •third person singular feminine	unspecified number
nioqa (3DU)	dual of any person	–
mu (3PL)	plural of any person	–

A person distinction can be marked by an additional first/second person pronominal enclitic, which takes the phrase-final position (see §7.2.1.6), and if an NP does not contain this, it is third person by default. In (7.48), the head of the MP is the third person plural pronominal enclitic *mu* (3PL) and the NP does not contain a first/second person pronominal enclitic, and consequently the NP is considered to be third person plural. In example (7.49) the head of an MP is *mu* (3PL) but this is attached with the second person plural pronominal enclitic and so it is second person plural.

(7.49) ...*lai=za=mu=mela* *inio* *me.*
where=LIG=3PL=2PL FOC.NONF 2PL
'...you are people from where?' (9-3-16)

The following are two more examples of headless NPs. None of these examples contains a first/second person pronominal enclitic, and thus they are both third person.

(7.50) "*Koe* *visi=a=mu* *ta,* *pui* *kapiavole*
INTJ younger=LIG=3PL TOP NEG quickly

ke=rorot=a=ni..."
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF
'"Younger ones, they are not ones who quickly marry..."' (27-18-113)

(7.51) ...*nioqi=a* *omuqa* *maba* *ta* *Kutakabai* *tou-tou*
PROX.DU=LIG two person TOP Kutakabai REDUP-tribe

kale=a=nioqa.
in=LIG=3DU
'...the two people were people from the Kutakai tribe.' (47-1-3)

As illustrated by (7.49), a Bilua NP that has a first or second person referent contains a first/second person pronominal enclitic in the phrase-final position. In present Bilua, the head pronominal enclitic of the MP is freely ellipsed when the head of a first/second person NP is ellipsed. In the data, it is often ellipsed as in example (7.52); the pronominal enclitic *mu* (3PL) is ellipsed, but there are examples in which it is not ellipsed as in example (7.49) above.

(7.52) *Enge* *ta* *pui* *koi=za=ngela.*
1PL.EXC TOP NEG here=LIG=1PL.EXC
'We are not people from here,' (25-1-2)

Furthermore, the head of an MP can be ellipsed when all of the following four conditions are fulfilled—[1] the head of the NP is ellipsed, [2] the referent of the NP is non-human, [3] the NP is a non-verbal predicate, and [4] the modifying constituent is an adjective.

(7.53) *Komi=a* *siele* *ta* *silo.*
PROX.SG.F=LIG dog TOP small
'This dog is a small one.'

It might be considered that *silo* 'small' in this example directly functions as a non-verbal predicate. That is, an adjective can be a non-verbal predicate. However, *silo* 'small' is instead treated as a headless MP for two reasons. First, the lack of a pronominal enclitic is possible only when the referent of the NP is non-human. It is rather odd to say that an adjective can be a non-verbal predicate only when the referent is non-human. Second, *silo* 'small' can also occur with a pronominal enclitic, forming an MP, and indeed in the data, an adjective usually occurs with a pronominal enclitic and there are only a few examples in which the head of an MP, a pronominal enclitic, is ellipsed.

An MP that consists of a kinship term and a pronominal enclitic linked by a ligature can be treated as one lexeme functioning as a personal name (see §7.4), and this can be the head of an NP. In (7.54), the MP *mama=ka=la* (father=LIG=3SG.M) is treated as a personal name; the referent is named as 'father'. This is the head of an NP which contains a determiner realised as *vo* (3SG.M) attached with a ligature.

(7.54) ...*vo=a* *mama=ka=la* *vo* *ta* *so*
3SG.M=LIG father=LIG=3SG.M 3SG.M TOP that

k=i=o=vou.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=FUT
'...the father (one), he will say so.' (21-2-8)

An MP commonly takes pre-head position, but the data contains a few examples in which an MP headed with a common noun or a kinship term takes a post-head position.

(7.55) *Ko=vijari=v=a* *kala* *meqora* *lasive=a=la,*
3SG.F=deliver=3SG.M.O=PRES INDEF.SG.M child male=LIG=3SG.M
'She gave a birth to a male child,' (27-2-10)

It might be postulated that *kala meqora lasiveala* is a juxtaposition of two appositional NPs, *kala meqora* and *lasiveala.* However, *kala meqora lasiveala* forms one intonation unit and it is best to treat it as forming a single NP. *Lasiveala* here can be moved to a pre-head position without resulting ungrammaticality or change of meaning. It is not understood what may trigger an MP to take a post-head position.

7.2.1.3.2 General modifiers

There are four general modifiers which can function as NP modifiers: *sasa* 'mock / a bit', the restrictive *pala* 'only', the approximative *tiniavo* 'about', or completive *buti* 'finished'. The first one can occur only in pre-head position, while the latter three can occur only in post-head position.

(7.56) ...*sasa mola ke ere=k=a...*
mock canoe 3PL make=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...they made a mock canoe...' (34-1-14)

(7.57) ...*kaboka pala ikio sai.*
snail only FOC.F there
'...only snails were there.' (38-1-6)

(7.58) ...*enge tiniavo komi=a bolo...*
1PL.INC about PROX.SG.F=LIG pig
'...this pig is about [the size] of us...' (67-4-44)

(7.59) *raisi-raisi buti*
REDUP-evening finished
'already evening (evening finished)' (67-2-16)

General modifiers, *pala* 'only, *tiniavo* 'about', and completive *buti* 'finished' always occur NP-finally, regardless of what constituent they modify.

(7.60) *siotolu koloko tiniavo*
eight clock about
'about eight o'clock' (43-4-37)

*7.2.1.3.3 PRON=*kiada *'by oneself'*

PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself', which consists of a proclitic and an adjective *kiada* 'all'[31] usually follows the head as in the following example, but when it modifies a locational noun *koi* 'place' or a measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) 'one', it precedes the head (see §7.2.2.4 and §7.2.2.5.3).

(7.61) *"Noni sole inio me ta bita ko=kiada*
how that's.why FOC.NONF 2PL TOP string.bag 3SG.F=all

me=q=ati vait=a..."
2PL=3SG.F.O=VAL return=PRES
'"Why did you return with a string bag alone..."' (22-3-13)

---

[31] Thus, *kiada* is glossed as 'all' in the examples. It is preceded by a proclitic which encodes person, number and gender.

An NP modified by PRON=*kiada* can be headless. In the following example, the first underlined NP is headless, while in the second one the head *kaka* 'elder sibling' is retained.

(7.62) ...*ko=kiada* *inio* *ko=vaita* *kaka=ka=ma* *ko=kiada*
3SG.F=all FOC.NONF 3SG.F=return older=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=all

inio *ko=vait=a.*
FOC.NONF 3SG.F=return=PRES
'...the older sister returned by herself, she returned by herself.' (27-23-145)

7.2.1.4 *Measure pronoun* pado *'one'*

A measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) can be an optional constituent of an NP. This is usually accompanied with a determiner, and the measure pronoun means 'one of many'.

(7.63) *Vouvat=o* *ta* *kama* *pado* *matu* *ruqe=a=ma* *quli.*
kill=NOM TOP INDEF.SG.F MESone very bad=LIG=3SG.F thing
'Killing is one very bad thing/ one of many very bad things.' (12-8-83)

(7.64) *Komi=a* *pado* *rorot=o=ko* *keve* *ta* *matu*
PROX.SG.F=LIG MESone marry=NOM=3SG.F way TOP very

ruqe=a=ma.
bad=LIG=3SG.F
'This way of marriage is a very bad one (among three ways of marriage).' (21-6-33)

7.2.1.5 Collective markers and the plural marker

Collective markers *madu* (COLL.PL) and *kidi* (COLL.DU) mark collectiveness. The former is the plural form and the latter is the dual form.

(7.65) ...*maba* *madu* *ta* *ke=mamaz=a* *koi* *ko=a*
person COLL.PL TOP 3PL=rest=PRES here 3SG.F=LIG

zae *ale.*
area in
'...people, they rest here, in that area.' (26-12-68)

(7.66) ...*komi=ko* *mama* *ni* *niania* *kidi*
PROX.SG.F=3SG.F father and mother COLL.DU

qe=ba *opie=k=ou...*
1DU.EXC=PROS visit=3DU.O=FUT
'...we are going to visit her father and mother...' (27-17-108)

In (7.66), the head of the NP is coordinated nouns *mama ni niania* 'father and mother', and thus the number is two. Because of this, the collective marker has the dual form *kidi*.

A collective marker also functions to mark that the NP has a human referent. That is, an NP which contains a collective marker always has a human referent, regardless of whether the head is inherently human or non-human. In (7.67), the head of the NP is non-human: *kana* (war), but the NP itself is human: 'those warriors'. In (7.68), the head of each of two underlined NPs is a numeral, which is inherently neither human nor non-human, but the NPs are human.

(7.67)	*Ni=a*	*kana*	*madu*	*ta*	*ke=ta*	*baro=a.*
	3SG.M=LIG	war	COLL.PL	TOP	3PL=SIT	arrive=PRES

'Those warriors arrived.' (25-2-19)

(7.68)	*Siakava*	*madu*	*ke=soroe=m=a.*	*Omuqa*	*kidi*	*ta*
	nine	COLL.PL	3PL=send=3PL.O=PRES	two	COLL.DU	TOP

qo=bori=k=a	*ko=a*	*podala*	*ore...*
3DU=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	podala	tree

'They sent (a collection of) nine people. (A pair of) two people carried the *podala* tree...' (22-5-21~22)

An NP which contains the plural marker *poso* can be either human or non-human. The plural marker is optional when the NP has other constituents which mark/imply plurality. This is illustrated by (7.69-a) and (7.69-b).

(7.69-a)	*Ni*	*erisanga*	*ta*	*matu*	*kubo*	*maba*	*poso*	*ta*	*inisiana*
	and	today	TOP	very	many	person	PL.M	TOP	EXT.PL

Sabora.
Sabora

'And today, many people live in Sabora.' (10-15-127)

(7.69-b)	*...matu*	*kubo*	*maba*	*ta*	*ko*	*el=ou*	*komi=a*
	very	many	person	TOP	3SG.F	stay=FUT	PROX.SG.F=LIG

peuru	*ale.*
village	in

'...many people will stay in this village.' (64-2-15)

(7.70)	*Ni*	*ke=vouvat=e*	*aza-aza=ma*	*zae*	*poso*	*kale.*
	and	3PL=kill=RMP	REDUP-various=3SG.F	area	PL.M	in

'And they killed at various places.' (10-2-21)

In (7.69-b) the pronominal proclitic which cross-references with the underlined NP is in the third person singular feminine form, as the quantifier *kubo* 'many' cannot trigger plural agreement (see §7.2.1.2).

7.2.1.6 Pronominal enclitics

An NP which has a first or second person referent obligatorily takes a first/second pronominal enclitic in phrase-final position. The function of this pronominal enclitic is to mark first or second person. In (7.35) repeated below, the head of an NP is *maba* 'person'. The first person is marked by the final pronominal enclitic *ngela* (1PL.EXC) as well as the initial independent pronoun *enge* (1PL.EXC).

(7.35') *enge=a* *Solomoni=a=ma* *maba* *poso=ngela*
1PL.EXC=LIG Solomon=LIG=3SG.F person PL.M=1PL.EXC
'we, Solomon people'

Without the final pronominal enclitic and the independent pronoun, that is as *Solomoniama maba poso*, this would be interpreted as third person plural meaning 'Solomon people'. This is because a common noun is third person by default (see §7.4).

The following is another example. In this example, there is a slight pause between *anga* (1SG) and *ore=lala* (tree=1SG), and this suggests that each of *anga* and *ore=lala* forms an NP. That is, one NP is filled with two NPs in apposition. The first NP is realised as an independent pronoun and the second as a common noun marked with a pronominal enclitic marking the first person. These two NPs have the same referent and the first person is already marked by the pronoun in the first NP, but the second NP still requires a pronominal enclitic because of an obligatory marking of first or second person.

(7.71) [*anga*] [*ore=lala*]
1SG tree=1SG
'I, [who am] a tree' (67-1-7)

Note that in example (7.35) above, *enge=a* (1PL.EXC=LIG) does not form an NP of its own. It forms an NP with the rest, as clearly indicated by the ligature *a*, which occurs in order to link constituents in the same phrase (see §5.17 for the ligature).

7.2.2 Heads of NPs

7.2.2.1 Common nouns

An NP headed with a common noun can have any kind of optional NP constituents. As mentioned in §4.5 and §6.3.1, de-adjectival nouns and nominalised verbs belong to the common noun class. In examples (7.73) and (7.74), the head is a nominalised verb and de-adjectival noun respectively. In this section, the head of an NP in issue is double-underlined and the NP itself is single-underlined.

(7.72) ...*kake* *maba* *poso* *inio* *ke* *ol=a,*
INDEF.PL person PL.M FOC.NONF 3PL go=PRES
'...some people went.' (25-7-50)

(7.73) ...*enge* *ta* *nge=q=ai* *zari=a* *tu*
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES IRR

k=ov=o *kama* *uri=a=ma* *saev=o*...
3SG.F.O=get=NOM INDEF.SG.F good=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM
'...we want to get a good life...' (64-1-6)

(7.74) *...nge=q=e=ala* *komi=a* *tapata...*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=see=RCP PROX.SG.F=LIG hardship
'...we saw this hardship...' (26-9-49)

7.2.2.2 *Kinship terms*

An NP headed with a kinship term can have any optional NP constituents, except for indefinite markers. This is because kinship terms are inherently definite.

(7.75) *reko=a=ma* *kaka*
female=LIG=3SG.F older.sibling
'older sister'

(7.76) *eqe=a* *mama* *ni* *niania* *kidi=qela*
1DU.EXC=LIG father and mother COLL.DU=1DU.EXC
'we the father and mother' (21-2-14)

7.2.2.3 *Personal names*

An NP headed with a personal name may have a demonstrative and/or a modifier, and it is always definite.

(Demonstrative) (Modifier) Personal name

(7.77) *...ka* *pado* *ta* *Koro-koroqanisi*
INDEF MESpiece TOP REDUP-Korokoroqanisi

ko=kati=v=a...
3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES
'...one, she gave it to *Korokoroqanisi...*' (39-6-41)

(7.78) *piza=ka=la* *Volosi*
strong=LIG=3SG.M Volosi
'strong *Volosi*'

7.2.2.4 *Locational nouns*

An NP headed with a locational noun, a placename, a relational noun, or the noun *koi* 'place', may have a demonstrative and/or a modifier.

(Demonstrative) (Modifier) Locational Noun

(7.79) *...enge=ko udu, komi=a Bilua.*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F island PROX.SG.F=LIG Bilua
'...our islands, this Bilua (island).' (10-3-32)

(7.80) *ile-ile=a=ma Vella La Vella*
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.F Vella La Vella
'beautiful *Vella La Vella*'

(7.81) *...okate nio o=baro=a...*
up.high FOC.NONF 3SG.M=arrive=PRES
'...he arrived up high...' (43-2-16)

(7.82) *...ko=ta v=a pusae=k=a ko=a*
3SG.F=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL wash=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG

poro...
inside
'...she washed the inside of his [mouth]...' (39-5-36)
(more literally, 'she washed the inside of him...')

An NP headed with *koi* 'place' cannot have a person/number/gender specification. Because of this, *koi* 'place' cannot be modified by a modifier phrase, as this contains a pronominal enclitic, which is marked for person/number/gender. It can, instead, directly be modified by an adjective.

(7.83) *ileile=a koi*
beautiful=LIG place
'beautiful place'

However, *koi* 'place' can be modified by PRON=*kiada* (PRON=all), although this is marked for person/number/gender. PRON=*kiada* normally means 'by oneself', but a combination of PRON=*kiada* with *koi* 'place' means 'all parts of one's body'. A pronominal clitic preceding *kiada* here marks the person/number/gender of 'one's'. For example,

(7.84) *...o=saqae=v=a o=kiada koi...*
3SG.M=brush=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M=all place
'...he brushed all parts of his body...' (39-9-54)

The noun *koi* 'place' can also co-occur with quantifiers *kubo* 'many' and *omadeu* 'one'. When *kubo* 'many' modifies the noun *koi* 'place', it takes a ligature: *kubo=a koi* (many=LIG place) 'many places'. *Omadeu koi* (one place) means 'one (same) place'.

7.2.2.5 Free pronouns

7.2.2.5.1 Inflectional pronouns

Inflectional free pronouns: independent pronouns, demonstratives and indefinite pronouns, can be the head of NPs. They all typically form NPs on their own, but they may optionally have a post-head general modifier, *tiniavo* 'about' or *pala* 'only'.

(7.85) Independent pronoun

Anga	*ta*	*koi…*
1SG	TOP	here

'I am here…' (2-5-28)

(7.86) Distal demonstrative

Se	*ta*	*pui*	*ke=v=e=a*	*vo.*
3PL	TOP	NEG	3PL=3SG.M.O=see=PRES	3SG.M

'They did not see him.' (12-4-32)

(7.87) Proximate demonstrative

"*Meqorasaidi*	*komi*	*ta*	*ko*	*niuniu…*"
family	PROX.SG.F	TOP	3SG.F	fish

'"Family, here is fish…"' (24-3-25)

(7.88) Indefinite pronoun

…kiada=ma	*maba*	*ko=vuat=a,*	*pui*	*kake*	*pala.*
all=3SG.F	person	3SG.F=eat=PRES	NEG	INDEF.PL	only

'…everyone ate, not only some.' (28-7-73)

7.2.2.5.2 So *'that', and* eri *'something like this'*

So 'that' or *eri* 'something like this' typically forms an NP on its own but it may optionally have a general modifier *tiniavo* 'about'.

(7.89) Pronoun *so* 'that'

…vo	*ta*	*so*	*k=i=o=vou.*
3SG.M	TOP	that	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=FUT

'…he will say that.' (21-2-8)

(7.90) Pronoun *eri* 'something like this'

…eri	*tiniavo*	*ke=ta*	*vou=va,*
s.th.like.this	about	3PL=SIT	die=PRES

'…something like approximately this [many people] died,' (26-5-30)

7.2.2.5.3 Measure pronouns

One group of pronouns, measure pronouns, cannot form an NP on their own. They always have to be accompanied by a determiner or a numeral. Measure pronouns are all translated as 'one'.

Determiner/Numeral	Measure pronoun

(7.91)	*...omadeu*	*pado*	*ikio*	*vo=ko*	*epa.*
	one	MEAone	FOC.F	3SG.M=3SG.F	fruit

'...there was one fruit of [the betelnut tree].'
(more literally '...its fruit was one piece.') (59-1-8)

Pado (MESone) 'one' can also be accompanied by PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself'.

(7.92)	*Ko=kiada*	*pado*	*ko=beta*	*kue=va...*
	3SG.F=all	MEAone	3SG.F=CONT	come=PRES

'She was coming by herself...' (27-8-46)
(more literally 'By herself one came...')

7.2.2.6 *Quantifiers*

An NP headed with a quantifier can only have an optional demonstrative or independent pronoun.

(demonstrative/independent pronoun) quantifier

(7.93)	*Se=a*	*meqora*	*poso*	*ta*	*omuqa*	*ta*
	3PL=LIG	child	PL.M	TOP	two	TOP

reko,	*zouke*	*ta*	*lasive.*
female	three	TOP	male

'As for those children, two are female, and three are male.' (23-3-31)

(7.94)	*...se=a*	*zouke*	*ta*	*ke=ta*	*nga=va...*
	3PL=LIG	three	TOP	3PL=SIT	be.frightened=PRES

'...those three, they were frightened...' (48-4-30)

One might consider treating these NPs as headless NPs in which quantifiers function as modifiers, but this cannot be true. This contention is supported by the following evidence. Bilua have two focus markers, *ikio* (FOC.F) and *inio* (FOC.NONF), which can mark an NP, and these two forms are distributed according to the person, number, and gender of the NP—*ikio* (FOC.F) for third person singular feminine NPs and *inio* (FOC.NONF) for non-third person singular feminine NPs (see §14.3.2 for focus markers). Now, consider example (7.95).

(7.95)	*...vo*	*ta*	*omuqa*	*ikio*	*vo=ko*	*meqora*
	3SG.M	TOP	two	FOC.F	3SG.M=3SG.F	child

sole.
that's why
'...because he has two children.' (27-4-20)
(more literally '...as for him, his children were two, that's why.')

In this example, the NP marked with a focus marker is third person dual but a focus marker is realised as *ikio* (FOC.F), which contradicts the above distribution. It is postulated that the above distribution does not apply to an NP headed with a quantifier, and such an NP can only be marked by *ikio* (FOC.F). Indeed, this is the case—no NP headed with a quantifier can be marked by *inio* (FOC.NONF) and this illustrates that the NPs analysed in this section are not headless NPs but NPs headed with quantifiers.

One might, on the other hand, consider that the NPs presented in this section are all headless NPs, and headless NPs can only be marked by *ikio* (FOC.F), not by *inio* (FOC.NONF). This however again proves not to be true, as illustrated by example (7.96). In this example, the underlined predicate NP is a headless NP but it is marked with the focus marker *inio* (FOC.NONF) not *ikio* (FOC.F). The predicate NP here consists of a modifier phrase *matu siloala* 'very big' and this is accompanied with a pronominal enclitic *nga* (2SG) agreeing with the subject NP in person, number, and gender. Thus, this NP is encoded as second person singular, and is marked with *inio* (FOC.NONF) following the distribution of focus markers outlined above. Thus, one cannot say that all headless NPs are marked by *ikio* (FOC.F), and again this proves that the NPs analysed in this section are not headless NPs but NPs headed with quantifiers.

(7.96)	*...ngo*	*ta*	*matu*	*silo=ala=nga*	*inio...*
	2SG	TOP	very	small=3SG.M=2SG	FOC.NONF

'...you are a very small one...' (59-4-29)

7.3 Possessive NPs

Possessive NPs present a possessor–possessee relationship. Formally there are two possessive NPs in Bilua, which are distinguished on syntactic grounds: direct type, of which the possessor is directly marked on the possessee noun; and indirect type, of which the possessor is not directly marked on the possessee noun.

The two types of possessive NPs are distinguished on semantic grounds as well; they express different semantic relationships between the possessor and the possessee. With the direct type, the relationship is always inalienable, and accordingly the possessee noun in the direct type of possessive NP can only be an inalienable noun (see §4.3). On the other hand, with the indirect type, the relationship may be either inalienable or alienable. The possessee noun in the indirect type of possessive NP can be any noun except for *ngavi* 'self' and *male* 'match', regardless of whether the possessor and the possessee are in an inalienable or alienable relationship. *Ngavi* 'self' and *male* 'match' can only be possessee nouns in the direct type of possessive NP (see example (7.101) and (7.102) below).

In both types of possessive NP, the possessee noun is the head of a possessive NP, as clearly shown by cross-referencing on the VP. Examples (7.97) and (7.98) are direct and indirect types of possessive NPs respectively. In both (7.97) and (7.98), the possessive NP is the subject, and the double-underlined pronominal proclitic on the VP, the subject marker, agrees in person, number, and gender, with the possessee *mama* 'father'. In this section, possessive NPs are single-underlined.

(7.97) ...*ke=mama ta o=ta vouv=a.*
3PL=father TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES
'...their father died.' (59-1-1)

(7.98) ...*nioqa=vo mama ta pui o=baro=a.*
3DU=3SG.M father TOP NEG 3SG.M=arrive=PRES
'...their father did not arrive.' (24-4-36)

7.3.1 Direct type

Minimum constituents of the direct type of possessive NP are a pronominal proclitic and the head noun, referring to the possessor and the possessee respectively. The pronominal proclitics are attached to the head noun.[32] That is, the possessor here is directly marked on the possessee noun. In addition to these, this type of possessive NP may also have a collective marker or the plural marker but no other constituents of basic NPs.[33] This means that the pronominal proclitic is cliticised to the head first and to this, a collective or a plural marker may be added. Thus, the structure of direct possessive NPs is schematised as:

[[Pronominal Proclitic $_{\text{possessor}}$ Noun $_{\text{possessee}}$] (COLL/PL)] $_{\text{possessive NP}}$

Some examples are:

(7.99) ...*o=bazue=m=a o=baerebaere poso.*
3SG.M=tell=3PL.O=PRES 3SG.M=friend PL.M
'...he told his friends.' (15-2-15)

(7.100) ...*o=bazue=k=a o=kaka kidi.*
3SG.M=tell=3DU.O=PRES 3SG.M=elder.sibling COLL.DU
'...he told his two brothers.' (59-3-22)

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[32] Pronominal proclitics that refer to possessor always attach to a noun and this might suggest that they are prefixes rather than proclitics. However, remember that these morphemes also occur in VPs, cross-referencing subjects. In such a case, they may be attached to an object clitic, an aspectual/modal marker, the possessor-raising marker, a modifier, or a verb. That is, they can be attached to various kinds of words and this indicates that they are clitics.

[33] If a possessive NP is to have a modifier, the possessive NP has to be an indirect type of possessive NP.

When the head is *male* 'match' or *ngavi* 'self', the NP cannot have a plural or collective marker.

(7.101) ...*ko=ngavi* *nio* *ko=ta* *ol=a.*
3SG.F=EMPH FOC.NONF 3SG.F=SIT go=PRES
'...she herself went.' (27-22-141)

(7.102) ...*anga* *inio* *ko=male*...
1SG FOC.NONF 3SG.F=match
'...it's me who is her '[good] match...' (67-2-18)

PRON=*male* 'one's match' can only be the predicate of a non-verbal clause (see §12.3.3 for more examples).

7.3.2 Indirect type

The indirect type of possessive NP has several functions in addition to presenting a possessor–possessee relationship. This section presents the structure of the indirect type of possessive NP first, and then its functions are described.

The indirect type of possessive NP contains an embedded NP, a possessor NP. The possessor NP has a basic NP structure but this never contains a measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) or a general modifier. The possessor NP is attached with a possessive marker, which is an encliticised form of a third person singular distal demonstrative, *vo* (3SG.M) or *ko* (3SG.F). These pronouns mark the person/number/gender of NPs in the same way as pronominal enclitics in modifier phrases do: *vo* (3SG.M) marks third person singular masculine while *ko* (3SG.F) marks non-third person singular masculine.

Table 7.4: Distribution of distal demonstratives as possessive markers

Pronouns	Human	Non-human
Vo (3SG.M)	third person singular masculine	singulative
Ko (3SG.F)	non-third person singular masculine	unspecified number

The possessor NP attached with a possessive marker usually precedes the possessee noun, and the minimum constituent of a possessive NP is the possessor NP attached with a possessive marker and the possessee noun. Thus, the minimum structure of the simple possessive NP is:

Possessor NP=Marker Possessee N

Examples (7.103), (7.104), and (7.105) are examples of an indirect type of possessive NP. In (7.103), the distal demonstrative, which functions as a possessive marker, is realised as *vo* for a third person singular masculine referent, while in both (7.104) and (7.105) it is realised as *ko* for a non-third person singular masculine referent. Example

(7.105) contains a plural marker so the NP is plural and means 'that man's children', while example (7.104) lacks a plural marker and so the NP is singular and means 'that man's daughter', as *ko* is indeed the third person singular feminine form of distal demonstrative. In this section, the head of a possessive NP is double-underlined, and the possessor NP is marked with square brackets.

(7.103) [*vo=a* *maba*]*=vo* *megora*
3SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F child
'that man's son'

(7.104) [*vo=a* *maba*]*=ko* *megora*
3SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F child
'that man's daughter'

(7.105) [*vo=a* *maba*]*=ko* *megora* *poso*
3SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F child PL.M
'that man's children'

The indirect type of possessive NP can have any optional constituents of basic NPs: a determiner, a quantifier, a modifier phrase, a collective marker, a plural marker, a pronominal enclitic, but not a general modifier or an adjectival phrase PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself', and the head can only be a noun. The head of the possessor NP is often a demonstrative or an independent pronoun but it can also be a non-locational noun. Examples with different kinds of heads are presented later below.

The position of the possessor NP within the possessive NP depends on the head of the possessor NP. When it is not a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, or a nominalised verb, it takes the NP-initial position, and this can never be followed by a determiner, as no determiner in Bilua can occur in a position other than the NP-initial position, and other NP constituents follow this, taking the position they do in basic NPs.

Possessor NP= Marker (QANT) (MOD) Possessee N (COLL/PL) (PRON)

In (7.106), the head of the possessor NP is a personal name, Ilai.

(7.106) [*Ilai*]*=ko* *matu=ma* *pade*
Ilai=3SG.F big=3SG.F house
'Ilai's big house'

Example (7.107) is not grammatical as the head of the possessor NP is followed by a determiner.

(7.107) *[*maba* *vo=a*] *ko* *pade*
person 3SG.M=LIG 3SG.F house
'that person's house'

When the head of the possessor NP is a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, or a nominalised verb, the possessor attached with a possessive marker immediately precedes the head, and other pre-head NP constituents precede this.

(DEM) (QANT) (MOD) Possessor NP=Marker Possessee N (COLL/PL) (=PRON)

In both examples below, the possessor NP is a demonstrative. Constituents preceding this cannot be regarded as parts of the possessor NP—they are constituents of the possessive NP in which the possessor NP is embedded. This is because an NP headed with a demonstrative can have neither determiner nor modifier phrase as described in §7.2.2.5.1.

(7.108) *ko=a reko=a=ma [se]=ko ravaza*
3SG.F=LIG female=LIG=3SGF 3PL=3SG.F in-law
'their mother in-law' (16-7-100)

(7.109) *kake [vo]=ko vaki-vakina*
INDEF.PL 3SG.M=3SG.F REDUP-troop
'his troops'

In (7.110), the possessor NP is a nominalised verb *pazokinio* 'fight'. Similar to (7.108) and (7.109) constituents preceding *komia matuma* are not constituents of the possessor NP, but constituents of the possessive NP. The nominalised verb here presents the purpose that the possessive NP head is used for, and in such a case it cannot co-occur with optional NP constituents.

(7.110) *komi=a matu=ma [pazo-kini=o]=ko vaka*
PROX.SG.F=LIG big=3SG.F hit-RECP=NOM=3SG.F ship
'this big warship (this big ship for war)'

A determiner in a possessive NP is optional. A possessive NP is typically definite regardless of whether it contains a determiner or not. However, a possessive NP can be indefinite when it does not contain a determiner. The interpretation depends on the discourse. The discourse in which example (7.111) below occurs indicates that this is indefinite.

(7.111) *matu=ma [pazo-kini=o=ko] vaka*
big=3SG.F hit-RECP=NOM=3SG.F ship
'a big warship (a big ship for war)' (12-4-37)

The possessor NP can be a direct type of possessive NP headed with *ngavi* 'self'. PRON=*ngavi* here means 'one's own'. This behaves in the same way as a possessor NP headed with non-demonstrative, non-independent pronoun, or non-nominalised verb. Thus, the possessor NP takes the NP-initial position like example (7.106) above.

(7.112) *[ke=ngavi]=ko lekasa madu*
3PL=EMPH=3SG.F chief COLL.PL
'their own chiefs' (12-11-106)

The plural collective marker is realised as an enclitic *mu* in an indirect type of a possessive NP headed with the noun *maba* 'person', as in example (7.113) below. In other cases, it is always realised as *madu* (COLL.PL) as in (7.112) above. In (7.113), the possessor NP is headed with a common noun and so the demonstrative preceding it is a constituent of the possessor NP.

(7.113) *[ko=a sinaqurusu]=ko maba=mu*
3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.F person=COLL.PL
'the girl's people' (21-10-60)

The head of an indirect type of possessive NP can be ellipsed. Ellipsis may occur when the head is identifiable from the discourse. In (7.114), *anga=ko* (1SG=3SG.F) is a headless possessive NP, and the head of the possessive NP is expressed in the preceding NP, *koa rekoama taite* 'the grandmother'. It is not the case that in (7.114) *anga=ko* is a postposed possessive modifier NP and *koa rekoama taite* and *angako* form a possessive NP. *Angako koa rekoama taite* would be ungrammatical because of the position of the determiner, *koa*.

(7.114) *...ke=k=ati kail=a, ko=a reko=a=ma*
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL go.up=PRES 3SG.F=LIG female=LIG=3SG.F

taite [anga]=ko...
g.parent 1SG=3SG.F
'...they took her up, the grandmother, [who is] mine...' (25-7-56)

In (7.115), *ko=ngavi=ko* (3SG.F =EMPH=3SG.F) is a headless possessive NP. The sentence preceding this tells that she threw out her son's food, and (7.115) tells what she did with her own food.

(7.115) *[Ko=ngavi]=ko ta ko=tukie=k=a tuto kale.*
3SG.F=self=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=keep=3SG.F.O=PRES coconut.container in
'As for her own [food], she kept it in a coconut container.' (27-3-17)

The following are some examples with different kinds of heads. The heads of both possessor NPs and possessive NPs are double-underlined.

(7.116) *[enge]=ko visi=nga*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F younger.sibling=2SG
'you who are our younger sister' (59-8-64)

(7.117) *[anga]=vo Pare*
1SG=3SG.M Pare
'my Pare'

(7.118) *[enge]=ko Solomoni Ailadi*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F Solomon Islands
'our Solomon Islands'

(7.119) *[eqe=a mama ni niania kidi=qela]=ko*
1DU.EXC=LIG father and mother COLL.DU=1DU.EXC=3SG.F

matu=ma zari=o
big=3SG.F want=NOM
'we, who are the father and mother's big wish' (21-2-14)

(7.120) *[sapera]=ko vima*
floor=3SG.F underneath
'underneath the floor' (16-5-62)

An indirect type of possessive NP has one of five different functions: it indicates a possessor–possessee relationship as in (7.121), it indicates a whole–part relationship as in (7.122), it functions as a temporal adjunct as in (7.123), it forms a nominalised complement as in (7.124), or its possessor NP presents a purpose as in (7.125).

(7.121) Possessor–possessee relationship
[se]=ko zaloni
3PL=3SG.F ornament
'their ornaments' (67-5-50)

(7.122) Whole–part relationship
...[vo]=ko zavu-zavu melai ko=ta kajorio=ke...
3SG.M=3SG.F REDUP-beard too 3SG.F=SIT come.off=HIST
'...his beard too came off...' (26-17-96)

(7.123) Temporal adjunct
[Omuqa sabere]=ko tova inio ko ta
two year=3SG.F behind FOC.NONF 3SG.F TOP

ko=rove=a tu kil=o koi Vella La Vella.
3SG.F=can=PRES IRR come=NOM here Vella La Vella
'After two years, it could come to this Vella La Vella island.' (10-7-59)

(7.124) Nominalised complement
A=q=e=a [vo]=ko vouvat=o...
1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F kill=NOM
'I see his murder...' (12-13-113)

(7.125) Purpose
...ko=baro=a [sailao]=ko taku...
3SG.F=arrive=PRES food=3SG.F time
'...the time for food (eating) arrived...' (27-3-16)

The first two are conventional functions of possessive NPs and do not need any explanation here. Possessive NPs as temporal adjuncts and as nominalised complement clauses are described in §10.4.2 and §12.3.4 respectively. Here, only the last one, the 'purpose' function is described.

The possessor NP may refer to a purpose, what the possessor noun is (used) for. In such a case, both head of the possessor NP and possessee noun can only be common nouns. Often the head of the possessor NP is a nominalised verb as in (7.110) repeated below, while the possessee noun is a noun *taku* 'time' as in (7.125) above and (7.126) below. A nominalised verb as the head of the possessor NP always presents a purpose.

(7.110)	*komi=a*	*matu=ma*	*[pazo-kini=o]=ko*	*vaka*
	PROX.SG.F=LIG	big=3SG.F	hit-RECP=NOM=3SG.F	ship

'this big warship (this big ship for war)'

(7.126)	*...ko=baro=a*	*[bolo=ko*	*padoe=k=o]=ko*	*taku...*
	3SG.F=arrive=PRES	pig=3SG.F	gather=3SG.F.O=NOM=3SG.F	time

'...the time for gathering pigs arrived...' (67-3-38)

In example (7.126), *bolo=ko padoe=k=o* 'gathering pigs' itself is a possessive NP; *boloko* is a possessor NP, which forms a possessive NP with a nominalised verb *padoeko*, and this possessive NP, *bolo=ko padoe=k=o,* itself functions as a possessor NP and thus is attached with *ko*. The head of the entire NP is *taku* 'time'.

7.4 Person, number, and gender marking

In the last two sections, two types of NPs in Bilua, basic and possessive NPs, are described. Bilua NPs are usually marked for person/number/gender. Exceptions to this are categorical and generic NPs. For example, in (7.127) the underlined NP refers to a category of 'food' and this is not marked for person/number/gender. When such an NP is cross-referenced on the verb, it is realised in the default form, the third person singular feminine form. Thus, in (7.127) the object clitic which cross-references the NP *sailao* 'food' is realised as *k* (3SG.F.O).

(7.127)	*...niania=ka=ma*	*ta*	*sailao*	*ko*	*ere=k=a...*
	mother=LIG=3SG.F	TOP	food	3SG.F	make=3SG.F.O=PRES

'... the mother, she did food-making...' (27-3-15)

An NP which refers to a category thus can consist of the head on its own. It may, however, contain a modifier phrase, and this refers to a subcategory. In the following example, *uriama pade* 'good house' is a subcategory of a category *pade* 'house'.

(7.128)	*...nge=q=a*	*zari=a*	*k=ov=o*
	1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES	3SG.F.O=get=NOM

uri=a=ma	*pade...*
good=LIG=3SG.F	house

'...we want to get good houses...' (64-3-23)

In Bilua, common nouns, kinship terms, locational nouns, personal names, quantifiers, non-inflectional pronouns, and quantifiers have default interpretation as third person, and first/second person can be marked by a first/second person pronominal enclitic in the NP-final position. Personal names and a few kinship terms are marked for gender as well. Some kinship terms can be used as vocatives. This is then interpreted as second person.

In an NP whose head is not marked for gender, gender can be specified by an optional NP constituent; a demonstrative, which fills the slot for a determiner, a pronominal enclitic in a modifier phrase, and/or a demonstrative which functions as a possessor marker in a possessor NP. These are all pronouns which inflect for gender.

(7.129) *vo=a* *silo=a=la* *meqora*
3SG.M=LIG small=LIG=3SG.M child
'the small boy'

(7.130) *ko=ko* *meqora*
3SG.F=3SG.F child
'her daughter'

The above applies only when the NP is third person singular: Bilua has a gender distinction only for third person singular, as shown in Table 7.1.

The direct type of possessive NP can have neither determiner nor modifier phrase, and consequently, the direct type of possessive NP cannot be marked for gender.

(7.131) *a=meqora*
1SG=child
'my child (male or female)' (43-5-56)

In such a case, gender can be found only from the discourse. However, in a direct type of possessive NP headed with *ngavi* 'self', PRON=*ngavi* 'oneself', the pronominal proclitic specifies the gender.

(7.132) *o=ngavi*
3SG.M=self
'himself' (27-24-153)

Number can be specified by a quantifier and/or a collective/plural marker.

(7.133) *matu* *kubo* *maba* *madu*
very many person COLL.PL
'(a group of) a large number of people' (12-1-5)

An NP can also be interrogative 'who'. The interrogative 'who' has default interpretation as third person, but similar to NPs headed with a common noun or a kinship term, it can take a first/second person pronominal enclitic for a first/second person marking.

(7.134) "*Ngo=daite* *ta* *lala?*"
2SG=g.parent TOP whoSG.M
'"Who is your grandfather?"' (39-9-56)

(7.135) *"Lala=nga inio ngo?"*
whoSG.M=2SG FOC.NONF 2SG
'"Who are you?"' (39-9-55)

In Bilua, generally first/second person NPs cannot have a gender specification. When the head of an NP is the interrogative 'who', however, a first/second person NP can have a gender specification, as the interrogative word 'who' itself has a gender specification. In (7.135), the interrogative word 'who' is in the singular masculine form and this is marked with a second person singular pronominal enclitic. Thus, the referent is second person singular masculine. If the interrogative is in the singular feminine form, the referent is second person singular feminine.

It is illustrated above that person, number, and gender of NPs can be marked by optional NP constituent(s) and NPs often contain optional NP constituent(s). A postverbal NP headed with a non-locational noun in Bilua can never consist of the head on its own. That is, there is a slot to be filled. Non-locational nouns are, as set out in §4.3, common nouns, kinship terms, and personal names. The slot is generally filled by one of the optional NP constituents, but if not, it is filled by a distal demonstrative by default. The demonstrative here cannot be treated as a determiner, as it is not attached with a ligature. For example,

(7.136) *Ni ke=v=e=ake vo Sito.*
and 3PL=3SG.M.O=RMP=HIST 3SG.M Sito
'And they saw Sito.' (12-7-63)

Thus, the lack of the ligature indicates that *vo* (3SG.M) does not function as a determiner. It might be postulated that each of *vo* and *Sito* forms an NP of its own and *vo* and *Sito* are two appositive NPs. However, such a demonstrative and the head always form one intonation unit and so it is best to treat them as forming a single NP, and *vo* occurs just to fill the slot. Furthermore, such an NP can be a categorical/generic NP as illustrated by examples (7.139) and (7.140) later in this section, and this illustrates that the demonstrative here does not function as a determiner: it does not have a definiteness-marking function or a deictic function.

As illustrated above, NPs are usually marked for person, number, and gender by optional constituents, while demonstratives, which may precede the head, are marked for person, number, and gender as well. This raises the contention that it is obligatory for a postverbal NP to be marked for person, number, and gender by a non-head constituent. This contention is supported by the fact that even personal names, which are always third person singular and which also have an inherent gender marking, cannot form an NP on their own in postverbal position, and the distal demonstrative, which is neither the head nor a determiner, occurs for an obligatory person, number, and gender marking.

The distal demonstrative which precedes the head can only be the third person singular one. This is because when a referent is not third person singular, an NP would have an optional constituent. The demonstrative is realised as *vo* (3SG.M) or *ko* (3SG.F) depending on the gender for a human referent and depending on the number for a non-human referent.

Table 7.5: Distribution of third person singular distal demonstratives as a person/number/gender marker

Demonstratives	Human	Non-human
vo	third person singular masculine	singulative
ko	third person singular feminine	unspecified number

The following is an example with a kinship term.

(7.137)

...k=i=o=la	*vo*	*megora*.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES	3SG.M	child

'...said the son.' (27-17-109)

As noted in §7.2.1.3.1, a combination of a kinship term and a pronominal enclitic is used like a personal name and this is treated as one lexeme. The following example clearly illustrates this. In this example, a kinship term cliticised with a pronominal enclitic is preceded by a demonstrative without a ligature.

(7.138)

...ko=baro=a	*ko*	*niania=ka=ma*...
3SG.F=arrive=PRES	3SG.F	mother=LIG=3SG.F

'...the mother arrived...' (27-8-47)

As noted above, a categorical/generic NP is not generally marked for a person/number/gender. This kind of NP still however has to contain a demonstrative in postverbal position. Similarly to (7.127), the underlined NP in (7.139) refers to a category of 'food', but it contains a demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F). Example (7.140) expresses to what category the thing she saw belongs; the object NP *vo siloilo* 'firefly' refers to a category. Since she saw only one firefly, this is coded as singulative, as indicated by the singulative form of object clitics in the VP, *v* (3SG.M), and so the demonstrative is realised in the singulative form as well agreeing with this.

(7.139)

...ke=ngavi	*nio*	*ke*	*ere=k=a*	*ko*	*sailao*.
3PL=self	FOC.NONF	3PL	make=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	food

'...they made food themselves...' (59-1-5)

(7.140)

...ko=v=e=a	*kala*	*bianga-bianga*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES	INDEF.SG.M	REDUP-insect

silo=a=la	*ipu*	*ale,*	*uza*	*ta*	*ngase*	*topi*	*ko=a*
small=LIG=3SG.M	night	in	fire	TOP	hand	on	3SG.F=LIG

reko,	*inio*	*ko=v=e=a*	*vo*	*siloilo*...
woman	SEQ	3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES	3SG.M	fire.fly

'...she saw one small animal in the darkness, with a fire on her hand, the woman, she saw one firefly.' (39-4-30~31)
(more literally '...she saw one small animal in the night, a fire was on her hand, the woman , and she saw one firefly...)

It appears that the obligatory person/number/gender marking in (7.139) and (7.140) is because of the object clitic in the preceding VP. That is, the object clitic, which itself is marked for person/number/gender, requires the NP which follows and which is co-referential with this object clitic to show agreement. For example, in (7.139) the object clitic *k* (3SG.F) requires that the NP be third person singular feminine, and so the NP contains the demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F). Similarly, in (7.140), the object clitic *v* (3SG.M) requires the NP to be third person singular masculine and so the NP contains the demonstrative *vo* (3SG.M). When the NP precedes the VP as in (7.127), however, there is no such a requirement, and the object clitic in the VP takes the default form, the third person singular feminine form.

Unlike non-locational nouns, locational nouns do not require such a demonstrative.

(7.141) *Qo=baro=i* *Roviana*...
3DU=arrive=RMP Roviana
'The two arrived at *Roviana*' (10-6-53)

This concludes the description of NPs in Bilua. The next chapter deals with verb phrases and complement phrases.

8 *Verb phrases and complement phrases*

8.1 Introduction

As noted in §3.2.2, the 'heart' of a Bilua verbal clause is the predicate, which is a verb phrase (VP). A Bilua verb phrase, except for when it is headed with one of two verbs, *elo* 'to become' and *iko* 'to put/cause', can form a clause on its own. A VP headed with one of these two verbs always requires a complement. A complement is expressed by a complement phrase, which can be a noun phrase, a postpositional phrase, an adjectival phrase, or any locational phrase (see §10.3 for locational phrases). In this chapter, first a description of VPs is presented and then a description of complement phrases is presented.

8.2 Verb phrases

8.2.1 Introduction

The defining feature of the VP in Bilua is that the head can only be a verb and it usually contains a pronominal proclitic, which functions as a subject marker, and a tense/mood marker. In the following example, the underline marks the VP.

(8.1) ...*o=koit=a*...
3SG.M=climb=PRES
'...he climbed...' (2-4-19)

8.2.2 Constituents of VPs

Generally, a Bilua VP minimally contains a pronominal proclitic, the head (a verb with or without an accompanying object clitic, see §8.2.3), and a tense/mood marker. A VP may also have optional constituents. Except for when the head (verb) is *kio* 'to say' or *tu...keu* 'to be long', the three minimum constituents occur in the order of pronominal proclitic, head, and tense/mood marker, and optional VP constituents occur between the pronominal proclitic and the head. Constituents of VPs are (in order of their occurrence):

Pronominal proclitic
(Aspectual/Modal marker)
(Possessor-raising marker)
(Object clitic)
(Valency-increasing marker)
(Modifier)
Head = verb (with or without an accompanying object clitic)
Tense/mood marker

The first five of these constituents—pronominal proclitic, aspectual/modal marker, possessor-raising marker, object clitic, and valency-increasing marker—form a preverbal complex, which has a template structure. A template structure consists of a sequence of morpheme slots (Simpson & Withgott 1986). Each of these slots can be filled with a certain type of morpheme. It is not necessary to fill all slots, but an occurrence of one morpheme in one slot may require a co-occurrence of another morpheme in another slot, or block an occurrence of another morpheme.

In the Bilua preverbal complex, the slot for aspectual/modal markers may be filled by two aspectual/modal markers (see §8.5.6). When the slot for valency-increasing markers is filled, the slot for object clitics has to be filled as well, while when the slot for the possessor-raising marker is filled, the slot for valency-increasing markers must be filled. Furthermore, in certain circumstances, an occurrence of a valency-increasing marker *a* requires the co-occurrence of the possessor-raising marker (see §9.4.4). On the other hand, the situation-change marker *ta* prohibits an occurrence of the possessor-raising marker and valency-increasing markers. Thus, the situation-change marker never co-occurs with the possessor-raising marker or a valency-increasing marker.

The head, a verb with or without an accompanying object clitic, and a tense/mood marker also form a template structure. Here, there are three slots: one for verbs, one for object clitics, and one for tense/mood markers. When the slot for verbs is filled, this requires the slot for tense/mood markers to be filled. Furthermore, when the slot for verbs is filled by a transitive verb, this requires the slot for object clitics to be filled. In texts, however, there are a few examples in which an object clitic and a tense/mood marker are ellipsed together, but there is no example in which only one of them is ellipsed.

A VP whose head is *kio* 'to say' or *tu...keu* 'to be long' has a different structure. With the verb *kio* 'to say', the pronominal proclitic is realised as an enclitic[34]—it always follows its host, the verb. Furthermore, this verb takes an object clitic as a proclitic.[35] The verb *kio* 'to say' cannot co-occur with aspectual/modal markers or the possessor-raising marker. Furthermore, with this verb, the pronominal proclitic and the valency-increasing marker do not form a preverbal complex either. This is because the pronominal proclitic does not take the usual VP-initial position, but follows the verb. The following is an example of a VP with the verb *kio* 'to say'. (In the following examples, VPs are underlined.)

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[34] It is rather odd to say that a proclitic is realised as an enclitic, and it might be better to replace the term 'pronominal proclitic' with the term 'pronominal clitic'. However, there are two other sets of pronominal clitics in Bilua, which are referred to as pronominal enclitics and object clitics, and the term 'pronominal proclitic' is employed in this work in order to make a distinction from these two sets of clitics.

(8.2)	*...se*	*ta*	*eri*	*v=ati*	*k=i=ke=la.*
	3PL	TOP	s.th.like.this	3SG.M.O=VAL	3SG.F.O=say=3PL=PRES

'...they, they said to him something like this.' (25-7-50)

With *tu...keu* 'be long', the preverbal complex occurs between *tu* and *keu.*

(8.3)	*Tu*	*a=da*	*keu=vou*	*Gizo.*
	be.long	1SG=SIT	be.long=FUT	Gizo

'I will be in Gizo for a long time.'

(8.4)	*...puliako*	*tukeu*	*inio*	*ke=mama*	*ta*	*o=ta*
	before	be.longNOM	FOC.NONF	3PL=father	TOP	3SG.M=SIT

vou=va.
die=PRES
'...before long, their father died.' (59-1-1)

In example (8.4), the verb *tu...keu,* which is realised as *tukeu,* occurs in a non-finite temporal clause that is marked with a subordinator *puliako.* A VP which follows a subordinator *puliako* 'before' always consists of a verb and the nominal derivational enclitic *o* only (see §12.4.1). In example (8.4) the combination of the verb *tu...keu* with the nominal derivational enclitic *o* is realised as *tukeu*—the combination of the verb final *u* with the enclitic *o* is realised as *u* (see Appendix 2). This illustrates that *tu* and *keu* form one lexeme.

In the following, all VP constituents except valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker are described. Valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker are described in the next chapter on valency and transitivity. The present chapter also includes a classification of verbs in terms of lexical semantics, as semantic of verbs may contribute to interpretation of aspectual/modal markers as described in §8.5.

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[35] The basic position of an S/A NP and an O NP for all verbs except *kio* 'to say' is preverbal and postverbal position respectively. This order corresponds to the order of the pronominal proclitic that cross-references the S/A argument, the verb, and the object clitic in the VP. With the verb *kio* 'to say', the basic position of A and O NPs are postverbal and preverbal respectively. This order again corresponds to the order of the object marker, the verb, and the pronominal in the VP. There are three other verbs that take an object marker as a proclitic, but with these verbs, the subject marker precedes the head. It is not understood why *kio* 'to say' is different from other verbs with this regard.

8.2.3 VP head

Only a verb can be the head of a VP. Bilua verbs can be divided into two types depending on the obligatory presence/absence of an object clitic (see §4.4). Transitive verbs are obligatorily cliticised with an object clitic while intransitive verbs can never be cliticised with an object clitic. Since the object clitic is obligatory for transitive verbs, this can be regarded as a part of the head. In the following examples, underlines mark the VP head.

(8.5) Intransitive verb

O=ta	*lezumat=a.*
3SG.M=SIT	study=PRES

'He is studying.'

(8.6) Transitive verb

O=tatabarae=k=ala.
3SG.M=buy=3SG.F.O=RCP
'He bought it.'

The type of verbs indicates the number of core arguments cross-referenced on the VP. Intransitive and transitive verbs have one and two core arguments respectively cross-referenced on the verb, as illustrated by the above examples. However, when the VP has a valency-increasing marker, these numbers are increased by one, as a valency-increasing marker obligatorily occurs with an object clitic (see next chapter).

8.2.4 Pronominal proclitics and object clitics

There are two kinds of pronouns which can be constituents of a VP: pronominal proclitics and object clitics. Lists of pronominal proclitics and object clitics are repeated below from §5.5.1.

Table 8.1: Pronominal proclitics

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	masculine	feminine	exclusive	inclusive	exclusive	inclusive
1st	*a*		*qe*		*nge*	*me*
2nd	*ngo*				*me*	
3rd	*o*	*ko*	*qo*		*ke*	

Table 8.2: Object clitics

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2"></th><th colspan="2">Singular</th><th colspan="2">Dual</th><th colspan="2">Plural</th></tr>
<tr><th>masculine</th><th>feminine</th><th>exclusive</th><th>inclusive</th><th>exclusive</th><th>inclusive</th></tr>
<tr><td>1st</td><td colspan="2"><i>l</i></td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2"><i>qel</i></td><td><i>ngel</i></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>2nd</td><td colspan="2"><i>ng</i></td><td colspan="2"><i>mel</i></td></tr>
<tr><td>3rd</td><td><i>v</i></td><td colspan="3"><i>k</i></td><td colspan="2"><i>m</i></td></tr>
</table>

Pronominal proclitics take the VP-initial position and they function as subject markers. Object clitics obligatorily occur with transitive verbs and valency-increasing markers, and they function as object markers. In (8.7), the object clitic on the verb *k* (3SG.F.O) expresses the direct object, 'food', while the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker *v* (3SG.M.O) expresses the added object, 'him' (see §9.4 for added objects).

(8.7) *Ke=v=a* *ina-inae=k=e...*
3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL REDUP-get.ready=3SG.F.O=RMP
'They got food ready for him...' (26-22-121)

8.3 Tense/mood markers

The last slot of a VP is filled with a tense or mood marker, which is an enclitic. The second final slot in the VP is always filled with the head. Thus, tense/mood markers are always cliticised to the head: an intransitive verb or a transitive verb with its object clitic. In a non-finite clause, the slot for a tense/mood marker is filled with the nominal derivational enclitic, which marks non-finiteness (see §12.3.3) instead of a tense/mood marker.

There is a five-way tense distinction in Bilua, each tense indicated by a different tense marker: recent past, remote past, future, near future, and present. The list of five types of tense markers is presented at the end of this section.

Tense locates a situation with regard to a reference time. Normally, the reference time coincides with the speech time, and speakers locate a situation with regard to the speech time. This tense system, where the speech time is the reference time, is called absolute tense. The reference time, however, can be some other time than the speech time, and this is called relative tense. In Bilua, when a situation occurs prior to the reference time, that is when the tense is absolute or relative past, the VP contains a recent or remote past tense marker. Recent past extends to around two days prior to the reference time. When a situation occurs after the reference time, that is when the tense is absolute or relative future, the VP contains a future or near future tense marker. In general, when the tense is future, this is indicated by the future tense marker, but the speaker may use the near future tense marker instead when he/she feels that event is going to happen in the near future, in the next two days or so, or when he/she feels that the situation is definitely going to happen. The speaker may also employ the near future tense marker when he/she is making a request to the hearer. When a situation occurs at the reference time, when the tense is absolute or relative present, the VP has a present tense marker.

Relative present tense is in fact regarded as historical present tense where the past time is looked upon as present. In the historical present tense, situations that happened in the past are described as if they are happening at the speech time. Historical present tense can be employed once the time of the story is established in the past. This is done by the historical tense marker. For example, in (8.8), first the historical tense marker *ke* (HIST) establishes the time as past. After this, the present tense marker *a* (PRES) is employed in order to indicate the historical present tense. In the last clause, the VP has the near future tense marker *o* (NRFUT), as the event described in this clause occurs posterior to the reference time.

(8.8)

Omadeu	*taku*	*sike*	*tamania*	*ke=beta*	*e=ke.*
one	time	five	brother&sister	3PL=CONT	stay=HIST

Ke=beta	*e=ke*	*inio*	*omadeu*	*ta*	*reko=a=ma*
3PL=CONT	stay=HIST	and.then	one	TOP	female=LIG=3SG.F

se=ko	*visi*	*ta*	*reko=a=ma.*	*Nio*	*kama*
3PL=3SG.F	younger.sibling	TOP	female=LIG=3SG.F	SEQ	INDEF.SG.F

taku	*ko=baro=a*	*nio*	*ni=a*	*sike*	*tamania*
time	3SG.F=arrive=PRES	SEQ	PROX.PL=LIG	five	brother&sister

ta	*"me=ba*	*mujor=o"*	*k=i=ke=la.*
TOP	1PL.INC=PROS	fish.bonito=NRFUT	3SG.F.O=say=3PL=PRES

'Once upon a time, there were five brothers and sisters living. They were living, and one was a female one, their younger one was a female one. And then, [one day], these five brothers and sister, they said, "we will go and fish bonitos."' (48-1-1~3)

The historical tense marker may also occur within a text. The speaker may use the historical tense marker from time to time in order to reassure the hearer that the time is set in the past. Occasionally, the remote past tense marker occurs in a text in which the historical present tense is employed. In the following example in which the historical tense is employed, the first, second, and third clauses have the present tense, the historical tense, and the remote tense markers respectively.

(8.9)

Ni	*ko=ko*	*tova*	*se*	*ta*	*ke=v=ati*	*ol=a*
and	3SG.F=3SG.F	behind	3PL	TOP	3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL	go=PRES

Fiji.	*Ni*	*Fiji*	*se*	*ta*	*ke=vae=v=ake*	*vo.*
Fiji	and	Fiji	3PL	TOP	3PL=leave=3SG.M.O=HIST	3SG.M

Ni	*vo*	*ta*	*o=vou=vi*	*sai*	*Fiji.*
and	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=die=RMP	there	Fiji

'And, after that, they took him to Fiji. And they left him. And he died there in Fiji.' (12-8-78~80)

The historical tense marker can be employed only when the tense is relative present tense. It cannot be employed when the tense is relative future or relative past. Example (8.10) occurs in the discourse when someone who belongs to United Church arrived at Guadalcanal, this person found that Anglican Church had already arrived there. That is, the reference time here is in the past, the time he arrived at Guadalcanal, and the event of Anglican Church's arrival occurred in the past relative to this reference time. Thus the tense here is relative past, and accordingly the remote tense marker is employed. This cannot be replaced by the historical tense marker or the present tense marker.

(8.10)	*Anglican*	*ta*	*lula*	*ko=ta*	*baro=i*	*Guadalcanal.*
	Anglican	TOP	already	3SG.F=SIT	arrive=RMP	Guadalcanal

'Anglican church had already arrived at Guadalcanal.' (10-6-49)

There is only one type of mood marker in Bilua—the imperative mood marker. The lack of an imperative mood marker results in a declarative or interrogative mood. When a VP has an imperative mood marker, the pronominal proclitic understood as the second person can be ellipsed.

(8.11)	*Melai*	*kue=mo,*	*tu*	*pa*	*k=e=mo*	*saita.*
	but	come=IMP.PL	IRR	PROS	3SG.F.O=see=IMP.PL	first

'But come, come and see it first.' (26-24-127)

Imperative mood markers agree with the addressee in number. In the above example, the number of addressees is plural and thus the imperative mood marker is in the plural form.

The following two tables repeated from §5.14 present a list of all tense and imperative mood markers. The distribution of different realisations of these morphemes is described in Appendix 2.

Table 5.11: Tense markers

Tense markers	Forms
present tense	*a/va*
near future tense	*o*
future tense	*ou/vou*
recent past tense	*ala/la*
remote past tense	*e/vi*
historical tense	*ake/ke*

Table 5.12: Imperative mood markers

Person	Forms
singular imperative markers	*a/e/vi*
dual imperative markers	*oko*
plural imperative markers	*omo*

8.4 Classification of verbs in terms of lexical semantics

Aspectual/modal markers may express different meanings interacting with the lexical semantics of verbs. Thus it is necessary to examine the lexical semantics of verbs before a description of aspectual/modal markers is presented.

Verbs can be classified in terms of lexical semantics, that is in terms of the kinds of situations they represent. The classification of verbs presented here is a modification of Sasse's classification of 'states of affairs' (Sasse 1990). In this work, the term 'situation' is used instead of state of affairs.

Every situation, in principle, has a beginning point and an end point, and between these two points lies the duration over which the situation is true. This is schematised as follows. The duration between the beginning point and the end point is referred to as the 'in-situation'.

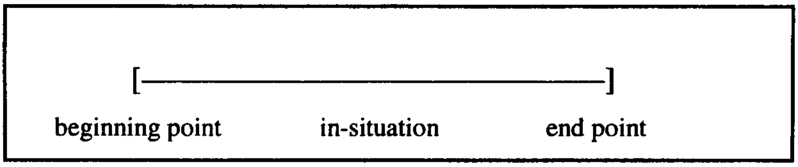

Figure 8.1: Internal structure of situation

The beginning point, the in-situation, and the end point are not equally conceivable for all situations. For example, a situation may be conceived as having only the in-situation without the beginning and the end points. Accordingly, situations can be classified in terms of which of these two points and in-situation they involve.

Verbs in Bilua can be divided into five classes in terms of the kinds of situations they represent: 'stative', 'durative', 'gradually terminative', 'totally terminative', and 'terminative-inchoative'.

Stative verbs represent situations which involve only the in-situation. With stative verbs such as *elo* 'to stay', there is no inherent beginning or end point.

Situations represented by durative verbs involve the beginning and end points as well as the in-situation. Most activity verbs, such as *iruruputo* 'to work' and *rereo* 'to run' are durative verbs.

Situations represented by gradually terminative verbs also involve the beginning and end points as well as the in-situation. However, with this class of verbs, the beginning point and the end point do not have equal status; the end point is more salient than the beginning point. Unless the end point is reached, one cannot say the situation occurred. For example, with a verb *zio* 'to go', unless one reaches the destination, one cannot say one went (to such and such a place). On the other hand, with a durative verb *iruruputo* 'to work', one can say one worked as soon as one started working.[36]

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[36] Durative verbs and gradually terminative verbs correspond to telic and atelic by Comrie (1976:44–48).

Situations represented by totally terminative verbs involve the beginning point and the end point which overlap with each other, and they do not involve an in-situation. The situations are instantaneous ones. For example, *pazoto* 'to hit' represents an instantaneous situation.

Terminative-inchoative verbs are a combination of totally terminative verbs and stative verbs. They represent one situation in which the beginning point and the end point overlap with each other and the following situation which was brought out by this situation and which involves only the in-situation.[37] For example, a verb *lojo* 'to stand (up)' represents the situation of standing up as well as the following situation, a state of standing.

Situations represented by each of these classes of verbs are schematised as follows.

Stative	————————
Durative	[————————]
Gradually terminative	[————————]
Totally terminative	[]
Terminative-inchoative	[]————————

Figure 8.2: Situations represented by different classes of verbs

The following are some examples of verbs in each class.

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[37] This is parallel to the inchoative-stative state of affairs in Sasse's (1990) classification of states of affairs, which has the beginning point and the following in-situation (in-situation is situation in his term), but no end point.

inchoative-stative [————————

Sasse treats the beginning point as an entering phase, and the beginning point and the following in-situation form as one situation. In the classification presented in this work, however, the entering phase and the in-situation are treated as two separate situations, and two situations are encoded on one verb.

Table 8.3: Examples of verbs in different verb classes

Classes	Examples
Stative verbs	*elo* 'to stay' *zario* 'to want' *nianiio* 'to know' *maqino* 'to be full (to be not hungry)' *dudeo* 'to be sleepy'
Durative verbs	*iruruputo* 'to work' *rereo* 'to run' *siusiuto* 'to swim' *vuato* 'to eat' *lezumato* 'to study' *abuabuto* 'to fish'
Gradually terminative verbs	*zio* 'to go' *saqoro* 'to go down' *kailo* 'to go up' *keju* 'to cook (ITR)' *vaito* 'to return'
Totally terminative verbs	*pazoto* 'to hit' *tupario* 'to kick' *pialo* 'to drop'
Terminative-inchoative verbs	*teku* 'to lie down' *papu* 'to sit down' *lojo* 'to stand up' *barolo* 'to arrive' *vou* 'to die' *kilo* 'to come' *elo* 'to become'

8.5 Aspectual/modal markers

8.5.1 Introduction

There are four kinds of aspectual/modal markers in Bilua:

the 'situation-change' marker *ta*
the continuity marker which is realised as *be* or *beta*
the implicative marker *be*
the prospective marker *pa*

The term 'aspectual/modal marker' is used in a broad sense here. Among aspectual/modal markers in Bilua, all but the prospective marker *pa* have both aspectual and modal implications, but only one of them, the continuity marker, can be said to be a purely aspectual marker. '*Aspect* is a grammaticalised mechanism for describing certain [situations] in terms of stativity...and terminativity' (Sasse 1990:37). Stativity is indicated by the imperfective aspect, which selects the in-situation, while terminativity is indicated by the perfective aspect, which selects the boundary, the end point of the situation. The prospective marker *pa* does not make any reference to stativity/terminativity of the situation.

The continuity marker in Bilua always selects the in-situation, and thus it can be said that it is an imperfective aspect marker. The situation-change marker *ta* selects the in-situation and the beginning of the situation when the tense is absolute present and future tense respectively, but it selects neither in-situation nor beginning/end points in past and future tenses. The implicative marker also selects neither in-situation nor beginning/end points, but it implies that the end point was reached.

In Bilua, terminativity is usually indicated by the lack of an aspectual/modal marker. A VP may not have any aspectual/modal marker and this presents a situation as a whole. Example (8.14) below without an aspectual/modal marker presents a situation as a whole. On the other hand, examples (8.12) and (8.13) with the situation-change marker and the continuity marker respectively present the situation without reference to the beginning nor the end point. The difference between (8.12) and (8.13) is that (8.13) has a 'continuity' reading. The verb *iruruputo* 'to work' in the following examples is a durative verb. VPs are underlined in this section.

(8.12) *O=ta iruruput=a.*
3SG.M=SIT work=PRES
'He is working.'

(8.13) *O=beta iruruput=a.*
3SG.M=CONT work=PRES
'He's been working (and will continue to work).'

(8.14) *O=iruruput=ala.*
3SG.M=work=RCP
'He worked.'

In this section, a description of VPs without aspectual/modal markers is first presented in §8.5.2. This is followed by a description of each aspectual/modal marker: the situation-change marker *ta* in §8.5.3, the continuity marker *be/beta* in §8.5.4, the implicative marker *be* in §8.5.5, and the prospective marker *pa* in §8.5.6. Section §8.5.7 then presents a summary in which a diachronic analysis of the situation-change marker *ta*, the continuity marker *be/beta,* and the implicative marker *be* is presented. It proposes a hypothesis that a continuity marker *beta* in fact consists of two morphemes: the continuity marker *be* and the situation-change marker *ta*. It also proposes that the continuity marker developed from the implicative marker. Occurrences of aspectual/modal markers are very restricted in dependent clauses. See Chapter 12.

8.5.2 VP without aspectual/modal markers

As noted above, the lack of aspectual/modal markers results in presenting a situation as a whole. This is regardless of the tense or the class of verbs. However, when a tense is absolute present, the VP cannot lack an aspectual/modal marker. This is because the present tense refers to the speech time, which is a point rather than a period of time. It is impossible to present a situation as a whole when there is no period during which this can occur. A situation represented by a totally terminative verb is an instantaneous one, and so one expects that it is possible to present it without an aspectual/modal marker as the situation is realised. Contrary to the expectation however, this is expressed by a VP with the situation-change marker *ta*, as illustrated by (8.21) in the next section.

In **Error! Reference source not found.** above and (8.15) and (8.16) below, the underlined VP presents a situation as a whole: an event of eating from the beginning point to the end point in **Error! Reference source not found.**, an event of going from one place down to another in (8.15), and an instant event of falling in (8.16).

(8.15) Historical present tense/Gradually terminative verb

...o=saqor=a *inio* *o=lokie=k=a* *ko=a*
3SG.M=go.down=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG

qusini.
rope
'...he went down and he coiled the rope.' (2-9-52)

(8.16) Future tense/Totally terminative verb

Ko=pial=ou.
3SG.F=fall=FUT
'It will fall.'

With terminative-inchoative verbs, which involve two situations—a totally terminative situation and a stative situation—the lack of aspectual/modal markers presents both situations. In (8.17), *o=teku=a* 'he lay down' expresses the event of his taking a lying position as well as the resultative state of his lying. The resultative state does not have an inherent end point. Therefore, in (8.17) the state of his lying is continuing while he is watching the mother's path. With stative verbs, a VP without an aspectual/modal marker presents a state going over an unspecified period as in (8.18).

(8.17) Historical tense/Terminative-inchoative verb

...veutu *tona* *inio* *o=teku=a* *saitainio,*
entrance beside FOC.NONF 3SG.M=lie=PRES afterwards

o=k=ati *vail=a* *niania=ko* *keve* *koi* *vasi.*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL look=PRES mother=3SG.F way here around
'...he lay beside the entrance, and he watched the mother's paths nearby.'
(27-7-43)

(8.18) Historical tense/Stative verb

Ne=a	*matu-peuru*	*ta*	*matu*	*kubo*	*maba*	*madu*
PROX.SG.M=LIG	big-village	TOP	very	many	person	COLL.PL

ke	*ev=a*	*koi...*
3PL	stay=PRES	here

‘As for this big village, a large number of people stayed here...’ (26-1-2)

The end of a state can be indicated by an adjunct. In (8.19), an adjunct *zouke ma ariku sade* ‘three or four weeks’ presents a boundary of the state.

(8.19) Historical present tense/Stative verb

...kama	*taku*	*ta*	*zouke*	*ma*	*ariku*	*sade*	*ke*	*ev=a.*
INDEF.SG.F	time	TOP	three	or	four	Sunday	3PL	stay=PRES

‘...sometimes, they stayed for three or four weeks.’ (23-1-5)

8.5.3 *Situation-change marker* ta

The situation-change marker *ta*, generally speaking, introduces a new situation or a change of situation.

(8.20)

...ke=lilit=a	*ta*	*maba*	*ta*	*lula*	*ko=m=ai*
3PL=look.back=PRES	and.then	person	TOP	already	3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL

kasake=a.	*Inio*	*se*	*ta*	*ke=ta*	*soqoi=va*
attack=PRES	SEQ	3PL	TOP	3PL=SIT	run.away=PRES

se=a	*zouke*	*saidi.*
3PL=LIG	three	family

‘...they looked back, and the [head-hunters] had already attacked them. And the family of three, they ran away.’ (25-3-22~23)

In this example, the situation-change marker *ta* selects the beginning point of a situation and introduces a new situation of their running away. The situation-change marker *ta* occurs with intransitive verbs but not with transitive verbs. This is discussed later in this section.

The situation-change marker *ta* expresses different meanings depending on the tense. With the future tense, the situation-change marker indicates a prospect that a situation-change will happen, and this is further divided depending on the person of the subject—an intention for first person as in (8.21), a request for second person as in (8.22), and a supposition for third person as in (8.23).

(8.21) Intention (first person)

...koi	*ngo*	*kasi*	*a=da*	*raneo=vou.*
here	2SG	at	1SG=SIT	sleep.overnight=FUT

‘...here, at your place, I am going (intend) to sleep overnight.’ (59-11-90)

(8.22) Request (second person)

"Ngo=baizie=k=a *sole* *ngo=da* *saqol=o"*
2SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES that's.why 2SG=SIT go.down=NRFUR

nio *k=i=a=la.* *"Ee" k=i=o=la.*
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES yes 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"You finished so you come down (I request you to come down)," I said. "Yes," said he.' (2-8-50~51)

(8.23) Supposition (third person)
...koe *ako* *so* *ta* *o=ta* *vou=vou* *inio*
INTJ INTJ that TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=FUT FOC.NONF

anga=vo *meqora.*
child=3SG.M 1SG=3SG.M
'...Oh, [if it went on like this] he, my child, will die.' (27-5-27)
(more literally, 'Oh, if so, he will die, my child.')

In example (8.23) a pronoun *so* 'that' refers to the situation in which the son does not eat.

Without the situation-change marker, the underlined VPs in (8.21), (8.22), and (8.23) would simply present a situation in the future: they would mean 'I will stay overnight', 'you will go down', and 'he will die' respectively without any prospective reading.

In §8.5.6 below, a description of the prospective marker *pa* is presented. *Pa* indicates a prospect, and in addition to this, it indicates a movement. In (8.21) above, an adverb *koi* 'here' implies that the situation is going to be realised without any change of location; that is, without the subject's movement. Because of this lack of movement, *pa,* an indicator of a movement, cannot replace *ta* (*da*) in (8.21); only *ta* (*da*) can occur in this example.

With the past tense, the situation-change marker indicates that a situation in the past has some relevance to the current situation. In other words, because of this situation in the past, the situation changed and the current situation exists. This is similar to the function of the English present perfect as in the following example.

(8.24) *"Ki* *meqora* *nei* *ta* *kama* *quli* *ikio*
INTJ child PROX.SG.M TOP INDEF.SG.F thing FOC.F

nei *o=ta* *vuat=ala..."*
PROX.SG.M 3SG.M=SIT eat=RCP
'"Child, he has eaten something..."' (43-4-43)

The above example occurs in the discourse in which the mother (speaker) and the child see a devil coming down, and she suspects that her husband has eaten something and this caused the devil's coming.

Another example is:

(8.15) *...me* *ta* *me=ba* *kati=l=ou* *ko* *vozi-vozi*
2PL TOP 2PL=PROS give=1SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F REDUP-propeller

vaka=ko, *ko=ta* *pia=vi* *sole.*
ship=3SG.F 3SG.F=SIT fall=RMP that's.why

'...[I request that] you will give me a propeller for a ship, because it has fallen [and so there is no propeller].' (10-11-93)

In the above example, *ta* indicates a resultative state as well as present relevance: there is no propeller and this has relevance to the current situation in that the speaker needs a propeller.

Without the situation-change marker, the underlined VPs in **Error! Reference source not found.** and (8.15) simply present a situation in the past as a whole and would mean 'he ate' and 'it fell' respectively.

In future and past tenses, *ta* indicates the same meaning regardless of the semantic class of the verb. On the other hand, in absolute present and historical present tenses, lexical semantics of verbs contribute to the meaning expressed by *ta*. In other words, it expresses different meanings depending upon how it interacts with the lexical semantics of each verb.

In the absolute present tense, *ta* indicates the in-situation, but not the beginning or the end point, and this interacts with the lexical semantics of verbs expressing different meanings. With stative verbs, *ta* expresses a present state. Example (8.16) with a stative verb expresses a state of being full at the time of speech.

(8.16) Stative verb
A=da maqin=a.[38]
1SG=SIT be.full=PRES
'I am full.'

With durative verbs, it indicates the situation is ongoing. Example (8.17) expresses that an event of his working is on-going at the time of speech.

(8.17) Durative verb
O=ta iruruput=a.
3SG.M=SIT work=PRES
'He is working.'

With gradually terminative verbs, *ta* indicates the phase towards the end point. Example (8.18) expresses that the subject, 'I', is in the process of getting to Hilda.

(8.18) Gradually terminative verb
A=da ol=a Hilda kasi.
1SG=SIT go=PRES Hilda at
'I am going to (on the way to) Hilda's place.'

---

[38] The beginning point can be selected by the verb *elo* 'to become'. In the following example the verb *maqino* 'to be full', combined with a modifier *uri* 'good', is nominalised and this is a complement of the verb *elo* 'to become' (see §8.7.2)

...maba uri=a maqin=o o=ta ev=a...
truly good=LIG be.full=NOM 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES
'...truly, he became nicely full...' (43-3-27)

Example (8.19) is another example with the verb *zio* 'to go'. Notice that here the speaker assumes that the subject 'he' has not reached her yet and he is still on the way.

(8.19) *O=ta* *ol=a* *Nerida* *kasi.*
3SG.M=SIT go=PRES Nerida at
'He has gone to Nerida (and probably has not reached her yet).'

If the speaker assumes that he has already reached her, he might say:

(8.20) *O=ta* *ol=ala* *Nerida* *kasi.*
3SG.M=SIT go=RCP Nerida at
'He has gone to Nerida (and so he is not here).'[39]

Totally terminative verbs do not involve the in-situation and so *ta* cannot select the in-situation. *Ta* however can still occur with totally terminative verbs. It selects the point just after the end point, and this means that the situation just happened. Example (8.21) expresses that the event of hitting just happened.

(8.21) Totally terminative verb
O=ta *pazot=a.*
3SG.M=SIT hit=PRES
'He (just) hit.'

With terminative-inchoative verbs, *ta* selects the in-situation which follows the end point. In fact, it selects the point just after the end point. Thus, *ta* indicates a resultative state as well as indicating that the event which brought about this state just happened. Example (8.22) expresses that he just stood up, and as a result he is standing.

(8.22) Terminative-inchoative verb
O=ta *lojo=a.*
3SG.M=SIT stand.up=PRES
'He has just stood up (and is standing).'

The meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the absolute tense are summarised in the following table.

Table 8.4: Meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the absolute present tense

Classes of verbs	Meanings
stative	state
durative	on-going situation
gradually terminative	phase towards the end point
totally terminative	recent past
terminative-inchoative	resultative state (and recent past)

---

[39] In the data, the verb *zio* 'to go' in the past tense most often occurs with the situation-change marker *ta*. There may be a grammatical or a pragmatic reason for this, which is not known.

With one gradually terminative verb *vaito* 'to return', *ta* picks up the in-situation, as it does with other gradually terminative verbs, but it also has an exceptional use—it may also indicate that the end point has just been reached.

(8.23)

A=da	*vait=a.*
1SG=SIT	return=PRES

'I am returning (I am on the way to go home).'
'I just returned (and I am here).'

The interpretation of (8.23) depends on the context. When one utters it, walking home, it has the first interpretation 'I am returning', but when one utters it on arrival at home, it has the second interpretation 'I just returned'.

With the historical present tense, the situation-change marker *ta* selects the beginning of a situation; that is, it indicates an arrival of a new situation or a change of situation. Note that the situation-change marker does not mention anything about the end point being reached or not. This does not mean the end point was never reached. Whether the end point was reached or not becomes clear from the discourse. In (8.24) with a durative verb and in (8.25) with a gradually terminative verb, the end of the situation is indicated by the verb *paiko* 'to finish' and is implied by the verb *barolo* 'to arrive' respectively in the following clause.

(8.24) Durative verb

O=baro=a	*sai*	*ti*	*nioqa*	*ta*	*qo=ta*
3SG.M=arrive=PRES	there	and.then	3DU	TOP	3DU=SIT

koaȥat=a...	*qo=pai=k=a*	*saila-sailaot=o*
take=PRES	3DU=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES	REDUP-collect.food=NOM

ti	*ke=ta*	*saqor=a.*
and.then	3PL=SIT	go.down=PRES

'He arrived there and the two, they got food…the two finished getting food and they went down.' (27-12-73~74)

(8.25) Gradually terminative verb

Saikazo	*qo=ta*	*ol=a,*	*inio*	*ko=a*
following.that	3DU=SIT	go=PRES	SEQ	3SG.F=LIG

kata	*kasi*	*o=baro=a.*
branch	at	3SG.M=arrive=PRES

'Following that, they left, and they arrived at the branch.' (15-4-33)

With stative verbs, which do not have an inherent beginning point, *ta* presents a state that is true at some point, that is at a reference time. Example (8.26) expresses the state of being hungry at some point in the past.

(8.26) Stative verb

O=ta	*luap=ake.*
3SG.M=SIT	be.hungry=HIST

'He was hungry.' (47-2-9)

With totally terminative verbs and terminative-inchoative verbs with which the beginning point and the end point overlap, *ta* indicates both the beginning and end points as well as indicating that the situation has a relevance to another situation.

(8.27) Totally terminative verb

Ivere	*ale*	*o=ta*	*podak=a.*	*Sai*	*nio*
sea	in	3SG.M=SIT	come.out=PRES	there	FOC.NONF

ke=niae=v=a...
3PL=feed=3SG.M.O=PRES

'He had come out into the sea. It was there, they fed him...' (34-3-29~30)

(8.28) Terminative-inchoative verb

Ke=mama	*ta*	*o=ta*	*vou=va*	*inio*	*se=ko*
3PL=father	TOP	3SG.M=SIT	die=PRES	FOC.NONF	3PL=3SG.F

niania	*ni*	*se=a*	*zouke*	*meqora*	*inio*	*sai*
mother	and	3PL=LIG	three	child	FOC.NONF	there

ke=beta	*ev=a.*
3PL=CONT	stay=PRES

'Their father had died, and it was their mother and those three children who kept living there.' (59-1-2)

Example (8.27) expresses that the event of his coming out into the sea has relevance to the situation of their feeding him there at the sea. Example (8.28) expresses that the event of the father's dying has relevance to the situation of only the mother and the children living there.

The following table summarises the meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the historical present tense.

Table 8.5: Meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the historical present tense

Classes of verbs	Meanings
stative	state
durative	beginning of situation
gradually terminative	beginning of situation
totally terminative	relevance
terminative-inchoative	relevance

The following two tables summarise meanings expressed by the situation-change marker *ta* in different tenses and with different classes of verbs.

Table 8.6: Meanings of *ta* in past and future tenses

Past tense	Future tense		
current relevance	prospect		
	first person	second person	third person
	intention	request	supposition

Table 8.7: Meanings of *ta* in absolute present and historical present tenses

Classes of verbs	Absolute present tense (*ta* is obligatory)	Historical present tense
	in-situation	change of situation
stative	state	state
durative	on-going situation	beginning of situation
gradually terminative	phase towards the end point	beginning of situation
totally terminative	recent past	relevance
terminative-inchoative	resultative state (and recent past)	relevance

Table 8.7 above shows that *ta* functions like an imperfective aspect marker in absolute present and historical present tenses: in the absolute tense, it selects the in-situation, while in the historical present tense, it picks up the beginning of the situation but does not make any reference to the end point. Because of this, *ta* indicates different meanings according to how it interacts with the lexical semantics of verbs. When *ta* occurs in the future tense, it functions as just a modal marker, and it does not make any reference to stativity or terminativity. When it occurs in the past tense, it implies a completion of the situation since the current situation is dependent on the completion of another situation. However, it is not the function of *ta* to indicate terminativity since it does not select the end point.

Thus, *ta* may function like an imperfective aspect marker. Perhaps because of this characteristic, *ta* can only occur with intransitive verbs—according to Hopper and Thompson (1980), there is a correlation between imperfective aspect and low transitivity.

The situation-change marker *ta* does not occur in a clause that presents a habitual/generic situation or a condition, or in negated clauses.

(8.29)

...niania=ka=ma	*ko*	*ol=a*	*kiaro*	*kasi,*	*vo*	*ta*
mother=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.F	go=PRES	garden	at	3SG.M	TOP

o=lulue=k=a	*o=baro=a*	*kiaro*	*kale*	*inio*
3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.M=arrive=PRES	garden	in	SEQ

vo	*ta*	*o=marong=a*	*juli=ko*	*raki*	*ale.*
3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=sleep=PRES	banana.tree=3SG.F	root	on

'...the mother went to the garden, as for him, he followed her, he arrived at the garden, and then he slept on the root of a banana tree.' (27-2-13)

(8.30)

Ko=lupao=va,	*ti*	*ko=noqoe=k=ou*	*ko*	*ore*	*ma*
3SG.F=dislike=PRES	and.then	3SG.F=hold=3SG.F.O=FUT	3SG.F	tree	or

tataikili	*ma*	*esa*	*kama*	*pata-pata.*
trunk	or	maybe	INDEF.SG.F	REDUP-stump

'If she dislikes it, she will hold a tree, a trunk, or maybe a stump.' (21-1-57)

(8.31)

...pui	*o=vait=a.*
NEG	3SG.M=return=PRES

'...he didn't return.' (16-2-26)

Example (8.29) describes habitual situations: it describes what the mother and the son do every day. In example (8.30), the underlined clause presents the condition under which the situation described by the next clause occurs. Example (8.31) is a negated clause.

A conditional clause presents a background situation against which another situation occurs. Because of this, the situation described by a conditional clause needs to be presented as a whole, since unless the end point of this background situation is reached, another situation does not occur. Therefore, a conditional clause cannot have a morpheme that may function as an imperfective aspect marker. *Ta* functions as an imperfective aspect marker in the absolute present or historical present tense, and thus if a conditional clause is in the absolute present or historical tense, *ta* cannot occur. In (8.30), the tense is the historical tense. *Ta* does not occur when a conditional clause is in the future or past tense either. As described above, *ta* indicates a prospective situation and relevance in future and past tenses respectively, but one would not be concerned whether there is a prospect that a background situation happens or not, or whether a background situation has a relevance to the current situation. Thus, *ta* never occurs in a conditional clause.

A negated clause expresses that a situation-change does not happen and thus, the situation-change marker does not occur in a negative clause. In presenting a habitual/generic situation, the situation is presented as a whole and this can be expressed without any aspectual/modal markers (see §8.5.2).[40]

8.5.4 Continuity marker **be/beta**

The continuity marker *be/beta* indicates continuity of a situation at a reference time as schematised below.

be/beta
↓
[——————————————]
situation

---

[40] A clause that presents a habitual situation may have a prospective marker *pa*, which would indicate a movement or a continuity marker *beta* with its sequential use.

(8.32) *Ke=beta iruruput=ala.*
3PL=CONT work=RCP
'They were working.'

As described in §8.5.2, a VP without an aspectual/modal marker presents a situation as a whole. Example (8.32) without *beta* would mean 'they worked'.

Two forms *be* and *beta* are in complementary distribution. *Be* occurs with transitive verbs and *beta* occurs with intransitive verbs. An analysis of this distribution of *be* and *beta* is presented in §8.5.7 below. The above is an example with an intransitive verb. An example with a transitive verb is:

(8.33) *...sainio ke=be vijari=v=a ko=a votu ale.*
therefore 3PL=CONT keep=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG container in
'...therefore, they continued to keep him in the container.' (34-2-19)

As mentioned in the last section, there is a correlation between imperfective aspect and low transitivity. There is also a correlation between perfective aspect and high transitivity. Although the continuity marker can co-occur with transitive verbs, this rarely happens, since the continuity marker is an imperfective aspect marker.

There are two uses of the continuity marker: a 'continuous' use and a 'sequential' use, both having the semantic core 'continuity'. The choice depends on the tense and lexical semantics of verbs as well as discourse. In the following, first, two uses of the continuity marker are described, and then its relationships with tense and lexical semantics of verbs are presented.

The continuity marker with the continuous use indicates the continuity of a situation, as illustrated by (8.32) and (8.33) above. Another example is:

(8.34) *...niuniu o=beta koazat=a...*
fish 3SG.M=CONT get=PRES
'... he has been getting fish...' (24-7-78)

In §8.5.3, it was shown that the situation-change marker *ta* in the absolute present tense selects the in-situation. When the continuity marker has the continuous use, it also selects the in-situation. The difference between them is the 'continuity' reading of the continuity marker.

(8.35-a) *A=beta ev=a koi.*
1SG=SIT stay=PRES here
'I've been living here (and will continue to live here).'

(8.35-b) *A=ta ev=a koi.*
1SG=SIT stay=PRES here
'I live here.

(8.36-a) *O=beta vuat=a.*
3SG.M=CONT eat=PRES
'He's been eating (and will continue to eat).'

(8.36-b) *O=ta* *vuat=a*.
3SG.M=SIT eat=PRES
'He is eating.'

The continuous use can be interpreted as conveying a sense of continuative. Continuative 'specifies that the agent of the action is deliberately keeping the action going. Continuative is the meaning of "keep on doing" or "continue doing"' (Bybee 1994:127).

(8.37) *O=kail=a* *ti* *o=kail=a* *ti*
3SG.M=go.up=PRES INT 3SG.M=go.up=PRES INT

o=kail=a *ti* *o=kail=a* *ti* *raura*
3SG.M=go.up=PRES INT 3SG.M=go.up=PRES and.then high

o *ol=a.* *Melai* *pui* *o=v=e=a.* *Sole*
3SG.M go=PRES but NEG 3SG.M=3SG.M.O=see=PRES that's.why

o=beta *ol=a.*
3SG.M=CONT go=PRES
'He went up and went up and went up and went up and went high up. But he didn't see him. So he kept going.' (24-5-58~60)

In (8.37), he (the son), is going up, and this event would have stopped if he had seen him (his father), but since the son didn't see him, the son kept going up. Thus, with the continuative use there could be a point where the situation is temporarily stopped and again the same situation continues.

The sequential use of the continuity marker occurs only in coordinated clauses. The sequential use indicates that one situation follows another. For example,

(8.38) *Ke=pa* *k=o=a* *ke=maja* *ti*
3PL=PROS 3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3PL=axe and.then

ke=be *vouvae=v=a*...
3PL=CONT kill=3SG.M.O=PRES
'They went and took their axes and then went on to kill him...' (59-14-125)

In this example, the situation of getting an axe is followed by another situation, their killing him. The second situation is continuous to another situation. Two situations form one superordinate situation. This is schematised as:

be/beta
↓
[——————————][——————————]
situation 1 situation 2
[————————————————————]
superordinate situation

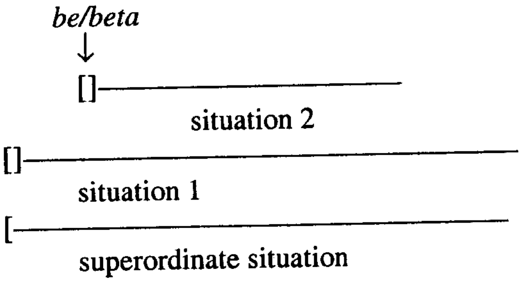
As illustrated above, *be/beta* marks the beginning point of situation 2 but this also indicates the continuity of the superordinate situation. Thus, with the sequential use as well, the continuity marker indicates the continuity of a situation. The clause that contains a continuity marker with the sequential use is usually connected to the preceding clause by a causal coordinator *ti* (see §13.2.6) as in (8.38).

When the first situation is one without an inherent end point, the two situations may overlap. In the following example, both *teku* 'to lie down' and *imado* 'to shut eyes' are terminative-inchoative verbs, and the situation of his lying overlaps with the situation of his closing his eyes.

(8.39)	*...o=teku=a*	*ti*	*o=beta*	*imad=a*
	3SG.M=lie.down=PRES	and.then	3SG.M=CONT	close.eyes=PRES

inio.
FOC.NONF
'...he lay down and he closed his eyes.' (27-8-45)

The above example is schematised as:



Two uses of the continuity marker are distributed to different tenses and semantic classes of verbs. In the future tense, both absolute and relative, the continuity marker has the sequential use only. This, however, does not occur with stative verbs since this use of the continuity marker selects the beginning point of a situation, whereas stative verbs do not have a beginning point. The following is an example with a durative verb.

(8.40)	*"Anga*	*ta*	*a=lupao=va"*	*k=i=ko=vou*	*ti*
	1SG	TOP	1SG=dislike=PRES	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FUT	and.then

ko=beta	*zial=ou*	*inio.*
3SG.F=CONT	cry=FUT	FOC.NONF

'She will say "I dislike (you)," and she will go on to cry.' (21-7-39~40)

In the absolute present tense, the continuity marker has the continuous use only. This, however, does not occur with totally terminative verbs since the continuity marker selects the in-situation, but this class of verbs does not involve an in-situation. Interestingly, this also does not occur with gradually terminative verbs even though they involve the in-situation. Instead, the in-situation can be indicated by the situation-change marker *ta*.

(8.41) Gradually terminative verb

A=da	*ol=a*	*Maravari.*
1SG=SIT	go=PRES	Maravari

'I am going to *Maravari* (I am on the way to *Maravari*).'

(8.42) **A=beta ol=a Maravari.*
1SG=CONT go=PRES Maravari
'I am going to *Maravari* (I am on the way to *Maravari*).'

In contrast to this, in the past and historical present tenses, the continuity marker has the continuous use with gradually terminative verbs. In the example below, the tense is the historical tense.

(8.43) *Lai nio se ta ke=beta kail=ake.*
where FOC.NONF 3PL TOP 3PL=CONT go.up=HIST
'Where are they going up to?' (26-23-122)

In absolute and relative past, and historical present tenses, the continuity marker may have both uses. However, since the sequential use indicates the beginning of a situation, this does not occur with stative verbs, which do not have a beginning point. In the following example with a stative verb, the continuity marker *beta* can only be considered to have the continuous use.

(8.44) *Omadeu taku kake zouke saidi ke=beta ev=a.*
one time INDEF.PL three family 3PL=CONT stay=PRES
'Once upon a time, there was a family of three living.' (43-1-1)

Moreover, with totally terminative verbs, the continuity marker has only the sequential use because these verbs do not involve the in-situation.

(8.45) *...ne=a seqara ta o=musuk=a ti*
PROX.SG.M=LIG betelnut TOP 3SG.M=ripen=PRES and.then

o=beta pi=a...
3SG.M=CONT fall=PRES
'...this betelnut ripened and fell...' (59-1-10)

With other classes of verbs, the continuity marker has both uses, continuous and sequential. The following are examples with gradually terminative verbs.

(8.46) "*...k=e=a komi, ko=beta saqor=a*
3SG.F.O=see=IMP.SG PROX.SG.F 3SG.F=CONT go.down=PRES

ziolo ikio ko."
devil FOC.F 3SG.F
'"...look at her, she is coming down,[41] she is a devil."'(43-4-43)

(8.47) *...sailao ko=k=o=a ti qo=beta*
food 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=get=PRES TOP 3DU=CONT

---

[41] To be precise, the verb *saqolo* 'to go down' indicates a downward movement. This is usually interpreted as 'to go down' but in this example, the subject is moving towards the speaker and thus it is interpreted as 'to come down'.

saqor=a	*inio...*
go.down=PRES	FOC.NONF

'...she got food and they went down...' (27-3-14)

Example (8.46) is uttered when the speaker finds that something, a devil, is coming down, and so the continuity marker has the continuous use. In (8.47), the event of getting food is followed by going down and thus it has the sequential use.

The choice between two uses of the continuity marker here depends on the discourse. The continuous use of the continuity marker can also be predicted from a subordinator *keru* 'when'. When *beta* occurs with this, it has the continuous use only.

(8.48)	*O=beta*	*pekao=va*	*keru*	*inio*	*lekasa*	*ta*
	3SG.M=CONT	dance=PRES	TEMP	FOC.NONF	chief	TOP

eri	*k=i=o=la.*
s.th.like.this	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

'When he was dancing, the chief said something like this.' (26-19-106)

The following table summarises the relationship between different tenses, verb classes, and the two uses of the continuity marker. N/A indicates that use of the continuity marker here is not possible as described above.

Table 8.8: Meanings of *be*/*beta* in different tenses and with different classes of verbs

Classes of verbs	Absolute future Relative future	Absolute present	Absolute past Relative past Historical present
stative	N/A	continuous	continuous
durative	sequential	continuous	continuous sequential
gradually terminative	sequential	N/A	continuous sequential
totally terminative	sequential	N/A	sequential
terminative-inchoative	sequential	continuous	continuous sequential

The continuity marker *be*/*beta* does not occur in negative clauses. This is because when the situation is not realised, one cannot talk about its continuity.

8.5.5 Implicative marker **be**

The implicative marker *be* indicates an expectation that there is a successive situation to follow. It has an implication 'what happens next/what situation this will bring out'.

(8.49) *Ke=baro=a* *sai* *ko=niania* *kasi* *inio* *"Koe*
3PL=arrive=PRES there 3SG.F=mother at SEQ INTJ

me=be *baro=a"* *k=i=ko=la.* *"Loma*
2PL=IMPL arrive=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES what

quli *ikio* *o=k=a* *zari=a."*
thing FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES
'They arrived there at her mother's place and she said, "You have arrived".
"What does he want?"' (67-3-25~26)

In the discourse where the above example appears, she, the mother, did not know that these people who arrived were going to come, and she wonders what happens next or why they came, and this leads her to utter the question 'What does he want?' (she is talking to her daughter whose husband is the leader of this group of people).

Note that the situation expressed by a VP containing the implicative marker is a completed one. Completion of this situation brings out the feeling that something happens next. The function of the implicative marker, however, is a modal one and not an aspectual one, since it does not select boundaries.

Since stative verbs do not have an end point, the implicative marker does not occur with them. In the data, the implicative marker occurs only in the absolute present tense or the historical present tense. The above is an example in the historical present tense. An example in the absolute present tense is:

(8.50) *O=be* *baro=a.*
3SG.M=IMPL arrive=PRES
'He's arrived (what did he come for?).'

The implicative marker occurs with both intransitive and transitive verbs. An example with a transitive verb is:

(8.51) *Nio* *ke=kuimae=v=a* *"Lai* *ta* *juke* *ngo=be*
and.then 3PL=ask=3SG.M.O=PRES where TOP light 2SG=IMPL

k=e=a"?
3SG.F.O=see=PRES
'And then they asked him "Where did you see the light?"' (16-4-51)

The above example occurs in the discourse where they, some children, were left in the bush by their father and they didn't know how to get home or which way to go. One of them climbed a tree and saw a light. In asking this question, they were expecting that some situation, probably a good situation, would rise.

The implicative marker *be* does not occur in negative clauses. This is because if a situation does not eventuate, there would not be an expected situation to follow.

8.5.6 Prospective marker pa

The prospective marker *pa*, generally speaking, indicates a movement towards the realisation of a prospect, a prospective situation. It may also imply a purpose. *Pa* is a modal marker and so there is no correlation between *pa* and verb classes.

(8.52)

“A=ba	*vae=m=a”,*	*k=i=o=la.*
1SG=PROS	leave=3PL.O=PRES	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

‘“I went and left [children],” he said.’ (16-2-24)

In example (8.52), the prospective marker *pa* indicates that the subject went somewhere for the realisation of a prospective situation, viz. ‘to leave them’; the subject planned to abandon the children and so he took them somewhere and left them. Without *pa*, the sentence simply means ‘I left them’ and it does not imply that the speaker planned to leave them or he went somewhere in order to do that.

The use and meaning of the prospective marker *pa* differs depending on tenses and affirmation. In the historical present and past tenses, the prospective marker *pa* indicates movement towards a realisation of a prospective situation. The above is an example in the historical present tense. Below is an example in the past tense.

(8.53)

...*ke=pa*	*vouvae=m=e*	*ne=a*
3PL=PROS	kill=3PL.O=RMP	PROX.SG.M=LIG

vakamaba=ko	*meqorasaidi.*
white.person=3SG.F	family

‘...they went and killed the family of this white man.’ (12-3-19)

With the future tense, the prospective marker *pa* has a different interpretation depending on the person of the subject: intention for first person, request for second person, and supposition for third person. With all persons, *pa* also indicates a movement.

(8.54) Intention (first person)

...*me=ba*[42]	*vairi=k=o.*
1PL.INC=PROS	look.for=3SG.F.O=NRFUT

‘...we are going and looking for her.’ (48-3-24)

(8.55) Request (second person)

Ngo=ba	*nokae=k=ou*	*ko*	*bolo.*
2SG=PROS	call=3SG.F.O=FUT	3SG.F	pig

‘You go and call out for pigs.’ (67-3-40)

(8.56) Supposition (third person)

...*o=kil=ou*	*ti*	*o=pa*	*bori=ng=ou*	*inio.*
3SG.M=come=FUT	and.then	3SG.M=PROS	carry=2SG.O=FUT	FOC.F

‘...he will come, and he will come and carry you.’ (48-1-6)

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[42] The bilabial stop /p/ of *pa* is realised as [*b*] when it follows certain pronominal proclitics, as in this example (see §2.7).

As in (8.56), the movement can be one towards the point where the speaker is, and this is interpreted as 'to come'. The movement can be one from this point to somewhere else as in other examples, and this is interpreted as 'to go'.

The prospective marker *pa* does not occur in the absolute present tense where the situation is still ongoing. To express that the subject is on the move to achieve something, the verb *zio* 'to go' and a purposive dependent clause marked with *le* are used.[43]

(8.57)	*A=da*	*ol=a*	*Sabora*	*k=el=o=le*
	1SG=SIT	go=PRES	Sabora	3SG.F.O=see=NOM=PURP

ko	*Hilda.*
3SG.F	Hilda

'I am going to Sabora in order to see Hilda.'

In positive clauses, *pa* is not obligatory. The lack of *pa* simply results in the lack of movement towards a realisation of a prospective situation.

In negative clauses, the prospective marker does not indicate a movement. This is because there is no movement to be considered when the situation itself is not expected to happen. In the future tense, the interpretation of *pa* differs depending on the person of the subject: negative intention for first person, negative request for second person, and negative supposition for third person.

(8.58) Negative intention (first person)

...pui	*a=ba*	*lulue=ng=ou*	*saka.*
NEG	1SG=PROS	follow=2SG.O=FUT	seaside

'...I am not going to follow you to the seaside.' (39-6-40)

(8.59) Negative request (second person)

...pui	*qe=pa*	*raneo=vou...*
NEG	2DU=PROS	sleep.overnight=FUT

'...you are not going to sleep overnight...' (27-10-109)

(8.60) Negative supposition (third person)

...pui	*ko=pa*	*k=a*	*zario=vou.*
NEG	3SG.F=PROS	3SG.F.O=VAL	want=FUT

'...she will not like it.' (27-4-22)

Pa is not obligatory in negative future clauses. VPs without the prospective marker simply express that situations will not be realised. Or, they imply the speaker's strong feeling that this situation should not be realised. Consequently, this can be interpreted as a strong negative request to the second person as in (8.61).

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[43] The prospective marker can be regarded as a purposive marker in affirmative clauses in the future or past tense. It could be said that it indicates a movement for the purpose of realisation of the situation. However, as shown below, in negative clauses, when *pa* makes a contribution to the meaning of the clause, it indicates a non-prospect rather than a purpose. Therefore, *pa* is categorised as the prospective marker rather than the purposive marker.

(8.61) *Pui qe=raneo=vou sai.*
NEG 2DU=sleep.overnight=FUT there
'You must not sleep overnight there.' (27-18-110)

(8.62) *...enge ta pui nge alili=k=ou matu kubo*
1PL.EXC TOP NEG 1PL.EXC give.birth=3SG.F.O=FUT very many

meqora...
child
'...we will not give birth to many children...' (64-2-15)

(8.63) *...so keru ke=rapuk=ou keru ta pui ke utu*
that TEMP 3PL=grow.up=FUT TEMP TOP NEG 3PL idle

el=ou.
stay=FUT
'...that time when they grow up, they will not live idly.' (70-3-24)

In the past tense, the prospective marker is obligatory when a clause is a negative one. The prospective marker here does not make any contribution to the meaning of the clause. There seems to be no explanation for why the prospective marker is obligatory in a negative past clause.

(8.64) *Pui o=pa vait=e vo Sito.*
NEG 3SG.M=PROS return=RMP 3SG.M Sito
'*Sito* didn't return.' (12-8-81)

(8.65) *Pui a=ba ol=ala.*
NEG 1SG=PROS go=RCP
'I didn't go.'

In absolute present and historical present tenses, the prospective marker never occurs when a clause is a negative one.

(8.66) *...pui o=lulue=k=a kiaro kasi.*
NEG 3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES garden at
'...he didn't follow her to the garden.' (27-9-55)

There is a restriction on the co-occurrence of the prospective marker with verbs which indicate a situation involving motion. Verbs *zio* 'to go', *kilo* 'to come', and *saqoro* 'to go down' are such verbs. The prospective marker cannot occur with these verbs when the tense is past or historical present and when the clause is an affirmative one. This restriction is due to the fact that verbs themselves indicate movement. In the future tense, the prospective marker may occur with these verbs only when the subject is the third person.

(8.67) *Ko=pa kil=ou.*
3SG.F=PROS come=FUT
'She will come (I think she will come).'

This expresses the speaker's supposition. In §8.5.3, it was shown that the speaker's intention can be expressed by using the situation-change marker *ta*. With verbs of motion, the speaker's intention can be expressed by using this situation-change marker *ta* as in (8.68). The speaker's request to the second person with verbs of motion can be expressed by only a simple VP without an aspectual/modal marker as in (8.69).

(8.68) *...o=bazue=k=a vo=ko niania o=bazue,*
3SG.M=tell=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F mother 3SG.M=tell

"Eqe ta qe=ta zio=vou komi=ko
1DU.EXC TOP 1DU.EXC=SIT go=FUT PROX.SG.F=3SG.F

niania=ko mabasisu qe=pa tauve=k=o
mother=3SG.F yam 1DU.EXC=PROS help=3SG.F.O=NRFUT

papat=o...
plant=NOM
'... he told his mother, he told her, "We, we will go, we will go and help to plant her mother's yams, so, we will go to the big village...' (27-20-127)

(8.69) *...kama taku qe=kil=ou nio qe=tauve=l=ou*
INDEF.SG.F time 2DU=come=FUT SEQ 2DU=help=1SG.O=FUT

papat=o ko mabasisu".
plant=NOM 3SG.F yam
'...sometime, you will come and help me to do yam-planting"'. (27-19-120)

The restriction presented above does not, however, apply when the clause is a negative one because in negative clauses *pa* does not indicate a movement.

(8.70) *Pui a=ba zio=vou.*
NEG 1SG=PROS go=FUT
'I am not going.'

Aspectual/modal markers do not co-occur except for the situation-change marker *ta* and the prospective marker *pa*, which can occur together. They can co-occur when the subject is first person and the tense is future. Both aspectual/modal markers here indicate a prospect, and their co-occurrence indicates a strong intention but no movement.

(8.71) *...a=ba ta kurol=o,*
1SG=PROS SIT fish.with.bamboo=NRFUT
'...I am going to fish with a bamboo rod,' (38-1-2)

(8.72) *...me=ba ta talio=vou.*
1PL=PROS SIT walk=FUT
'...we are going for a walk.' (22-6-27)

(For the realisation of *pa* as *ba* see §2.7.)

It was described above that verbs that inherently indicate movement do not co-occur with *pa*. When *pa* is combined with *ta,* however, this restriction does not apply, as this combination does not indicate movement. This is illustrated by example (8.72) in which the verb *talio* 'to walk', which indicates movement, occurs with a combination of *pa* with *ta*.

Pa and *ta* can also co-occur when the tense is past. Here, *ta* indicates a current relevance. Example (8.73) occurs in a story in which a man's eating (of a devil) brought about the situation of the devil's coming down.

(8.73) ...*o=pa ta vuat=ala*.
3SG.M=PROS SIT eat=RCP
'...he went and ate.' (43-4-43)

With the verb *roveo* 'can', when the tense is future, *pa* indicates the speaker's prospect no matter whether it occurs in a negative or positive clause, and no matter what the person of the subject is.

(8.74) ...*enge ta pui nge=ba roveo=vou*
1PL.EXC TOP NEG 1PL.EXC=PROS can=FUT

bori=k=o.
carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
'...we will not be able to carry it.' (67-3-32)

(8.75) *A=ba roveo=vou zio.*
1SG=PROS can=FUT goNOM
'I will be able to go.'

(8.76) ...*puli=a=la o=pa roveo=vou sai zio*
NEG=LIG=3SG.M 3SG.M=PROS can=FUT there goNOM

k=ov=o=le.
3SG.F.O=get=NOM=PURP
'Nobody will be able to go there to get it.' (22-10-38)

Functions of the prospective marker *pa* are summarised in the following two tables.

Table 8.9: Functions of *pa* in positive clauses

Tense	first person	second person	third person
future	movement towards a realisation of prospective situation		
	intention	request	supposition
past historical present	movement towards a realisation of prospective situation		
absolute present	—		

Table 8.10: Functions of *pa* in negative clauses

Tense	first person	second person	third person
	negative intention	negative request	negative supposition
past	no function but *pa* is obligatory		
absolute present historical present	—		

8.5.7 Summary and diachronic analysis of aspectual/modal markers

In the sections above, a description of aspectual/modal markers has been presented. Aspectual/modal markers are optional constituents of VPs, but the prospective marker *pa* is obligatory in the negative past tense. *Pa* here however does not have any aspectual/modal implication. It simply expresses that a situation did not occur. The prospective marker *pa* is the only aspectual/modal marker which can occur in negative clauses, negative future or negative past. Aspectual/modal markers generally do not co-occur but the prospective marker *pa* and the situation-change marker *ta* can co-occur in particular circumstances.

One of the aspectual markers, the situation-change marker *ta,* occurs only with intransitive verbs. There are two forms of the continuity marker *be* and *beta.* They are in complementary distribution: *be* occurs with transitive verbs and *beta* with intransitive verbs. These suggest that *beta* can be segmented into two morphemes: the continuity marker *be* and the situation-change marker *ta.* Now, another aspectual/modal marker, the implicative marker, also has the form *be,* and this always occurs in this form no matter whether the verb is a transitive or intransitive one. Thus, the form *be* may occur with an intransitive verb, but there are two pieces of evidence which illustrate that *be,* when it occurs with an intransitive verb, can only be treated as an implicative marker but not a continuative marker. First, in all examples where *be* occurs with an intransitive verb, it is not pragmatically possible to interpret it as a continuative marker. Second, *beta* can never be replaced with *be.*

There appears to be a diachronic relationship among three aspectual markers—the continuity marker, the situation-change marker, and the implicative marker. The rest of this section presents a hypothesis about this relationship—the continuity marker *be* (*beta*) developed from the implicative marker *be.*

First, the sequential use of the continuity marker probably developed from the implicative marker. This is plausible because with both implicative and sequential, two situations occur one after another (with the implicative marker the second situation is only implied but is not overtly expressed; see §8.5.5). In the course of this development, *ta,* the situation-change marker, was added when the verb was an intransitive one. This would be plausible because the sequential use of the continuity marker introduces a new situation;

that is, it indicates a change of situation, while the situation-change marker introduces a change of situation.[44]

As mentioned in §8.5.4, the sequential use indicates continuity of a superordinate situation consisting of two situations. This meaning 'continuity' was applied to a single situation, and thus the continuous use of the continuity marker evolved.

Thus, the two morphemes *be* and *ta* became one morpheme *beta* in the course of the above development, and because of the origin of *ta* as the situation-change marker, *beta* only occurs with intransitive verbs.

The implicative marker is not realised as *beta* even with intransitive verbs, and this leads to a contention that the implicative marker and the continuous marker became independent of each other: they are different morphemes. That is, *be* and *beta* are lexicalised as continuity markers and are distinguished from the implicative marker *be*. The above hypothesis is summarised in the following figure.

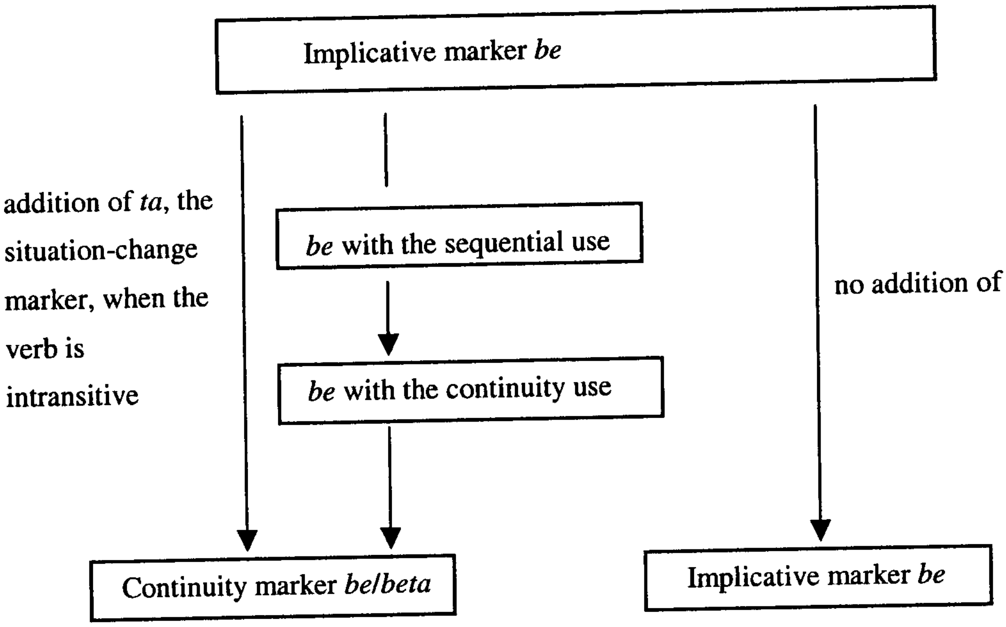
Implicative marker *be*
addition of *ta*, the situation-change marker, when the verb is intransitive
be with the sequential use
be with the continuity use
no addition of *ta*
Continuity marker *be*/*beta*
Implicative marker *be*

Figure 8.3: Development of continuity marker *be*/*beta* from implicative marker *be*

8.6 Modifiers

There are a small number of words that can function as modifiers in VPs. Each of these words also belongs to a different word class, adjective, adverb, general modifier, or noun class:

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[44] This does not mean that *beta* covers all meanings expressed by *ta*.

uri 'good', *ruqe* 'bad', *ukaka* 'careless', and *utu* 'idle' (adjectives);
maba 'truly' (an adverb);
matu 'very' and *sasa* 'a bit' (general modifiers);
tova 'behind' (a relational noun).

Some examples follow. Modifiers are underlined.

(8.77) *Uri* 'good'
...ko *uri=a*[45] *v=e=a,*
3SG.F good=LIG 3SG.M.O=see=PRES
'...she saw him well,' (39-5-34)

(8.78) *Maba* 'truly'
...o=be *maba* *vouvae=v=a* *inio.*
3SG.M=CONT truly kill=3SG.M.O=PRES FOC.NONF
'...he truly killed him.' (43-5-53)

(8.79) *Matu* 'very'
...o=ta *matu* *kora-korai=va.*
3SG.M=SIT very REDUP-be.angry=PRES
'...he became very angry.' (15-5-40)

(8.80) *Tova* 'behind'
...pui *a=ba* *tova* *kail=ou.*
NEG 1SG=PROS behind go.up=FUT
'...I am not going to go up behind [you].' (26-9-54)

Adjectives, as modifiers in VPs, are semantically regarded as manner adverbs. There are some manner adverbs which appear to have originated as adjectives, but these occur outside of VPs and function as adjuncts (see §5.2 and §10.6).

8.7 Complement phrases

8.7.1 Introduction

Two verbs in Bilua, *elo* 'to become' and *iko* 'to put/cause', require a complement. A complement phrase (CompP) always precedes the VP.

(8.81) *...[vo=a* *maba]* *ta* *[dole]* *inio* *[o=beta*
3SG.M=LIG person TOP snake FOC.NONF 3SG.M=CONT
Subject NP CompP VP

ev=a].
become=PRES
'...the man, he became a snake...' (24-11-97)

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[45] An adjective preceding a verb takes a ligature (see §5.17).

(8.82)	...[*tuto*	*ale*]	[*ko*	*i=k=a*]...
	coconut.container	in	3SG.F	put=3SG.F.O=PRES
	CompP		VP	

'...she put [her food] in a coconut container...' (27-12-75)

A complement phrase cannot be marked with a topic marker, but it can be marked with a focus marker.[46] This indicates that the complement is not a part of the VP.

A complement phrase cannot trigger cross-referencing on the VP as this is not a core argument (see §3.2.1 for core arguments). This is illustrated by (8.81)—'snake' is not cross-referenced on the VP.

Like any other VPs, VPs headed with *elo* 'to become' and *iko* 'to put/cause' can have aspectual/modal markers, the possessor-raising marker, and valency-increasing markers, but they cannot have a modifier. The VP in (8.81) has an aspectual/modal marker, the continuity marker *beta* with the sequential use. The following example has a valency-increasing marker *ai*.

(8.83)	*Kasa*	*ko=m=ai*	*i=k=a.*
	sight	3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL	cause=3SG.F.O=PRES

'[The devil] showed it to them.' (12-6-59)
(more literally '[The devil] caused it to become a sight.')

Complement phrases of verbs *elo* 'to become' and *iko* 'to put/cause' are described in §8.7.2 and §8.7.3 respectively.

8.7.2 *With* elo *'to become'*

The verb *elo* 'become' expresses a change of state.[47] The complement phrase with this verb can only be an NP, and this expresses the thing the subject becomes. Example (8.84) expresses a change of state from being a blood stain into being a shark—the subject became a shark.

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[46] There are two realisation of focus markers, *inio* (FOC.NONF) and *ikio* (FOC.F) and it is *inio* (FOC.NONF) that is the default form of focus markers, and thus in this example when the NP *dole* 'snake' has a generic reading, the focus marker is realised in its default form *inio* (FOC.NONF). See §14.3.2 for focus markers.

[47] The verb *elo* 'to become' also forms a complex predicate with an adjective of emotion. The adjective immediately precedes the VP. In the following example, a combination of *elo* 'to become' and *aqasiele* 'surprising' means 'to become surprised'

Aqasiele	*a=da*	*ev=a.*
surprising	1SG=SIT	become=PRES

'I became surprised.'

Aqasiele 'surprising' is not a complement as it cannot be marked with a focus marker. The verb *elo* also has a homonym 'to stay' and this does not require a complement.

(8.84)	...[*rosi=a=ma*	*vaiza*]	[*ko=ta*	*ev=a*]...
	long=LIG=3SG.F	shark	3SG.F=SIT	become=PRES
	Complement NP		VP	

'...[the blood stain] became a long shark...' (34-2-17)

A complement NP can be a headless NP when it contains a modifier phrase. In such a case, the head of a modifier phrase, a pronominal enclitic, is always realised in the second person singular form, *nga* (2SG). It is not understood why this form is chosen. According to informants, however, this can be replaced with one whose person/number/gender agrees with the subject NP. For example, in (8.85), *nga* (2SG) can be replaced with *ma* (3SG.F) which agrees with the person/number/gender of the subject NP, *ko=a muni* (3SG.F=LIG blood.stain) 'the blood stain'.

(8.85)	...[*ko=a*	*muni*]	*ta*	[*tou*	*sa=nga*]	[*ko=ta*
	3SG.F=LIG	blood.stain	TOP	hair	COM=2SG	3SG.F=SIT
	Subject NP			Complement NP		VP

ev=a]...
become=PRES
'...the blood stain became one which has hair (the blood stain got hair)...' (34-1-12)

VPs with *elo* 'to become' as their head cannot include a modifier. However, such a modifier can occur in a complement phrase instead. In (8.86) below, the complement is an NP with a nominalised verb as its head, and this has a modifier *uri* (good).

(8.86)	...[*uri=a*	*maqin=o*]	[*o=ta*	*ev=a*]...
	good=LIG	be.full=NOM	3SG.M=SIT	become=PRES
	Complement NP		VP	

'...he became nicely full...' (43-3-27)

A complement NP may consist of a nominalised verb with a pronoun *eri* (s.th.like.this) preceding it. This kind of complement NP and the VP form an idiom meaning 'as soon as someone does something'. In the following example, *eri* is glossed as 'as soon as'.

(8.87)	...[*eri=a*	*rauve=k=o*]	*inio*
	as.soon.as=LIG	put.hand.in=3SG.F.O=NOM	FOC.NONF
	Complement NP		

[*o=be*	*ev=a*]	*o=vesa,*	*o=k=e=a*
3SG.M=CONT	become=PRES	3SG.M=basket	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES
VP			

ko	*kobaka*...
3SG.F	snail

'...as soon as he put his hands in the basket, he saw a snail...' (38-3-17)

A clause which contains this idiom cannot be regarded as a dependent clause although its meaning suggests that it can. This is because a dependent clause cannot have a constituent marked with a focus marker, and also because there is a restriction on occurrences of aspectual/modal markers in dependent clauses (see Chapter 12). In (8.87), the complement phrase is marked with a focus marker and the VP has an aspectual marker *beta*, the continuity marker.

In (8.87), *o=vesa* 'his basket' is not an argument of the verb *elo* 'to become', but the argument of the nominalised verb *rauveko* 'to put hand in something', which is the head of a complement NP.

There are a few examples where the complement is onomatopoeic. *Po* in (8.88) is a sound created when someone hits water.

(8.88)

O=joupar=a	*ti*	*ivere*	*kolo*	*tiania*
3SG.M=jump.off=PRES	and.then	sea	ocean	middle

[*po*]	[*o*	*ev=a*],
po	3SG.M	become=PRES
Complement NP	VP	

'He jumped off, and he hit the sea, ocean, marking the sound po!' (27-17-95)

Note that a complement NP cannot be one that refers to a profession, for example *titisa* 'teacher'. In fact, there is no way to express 'someone becomes [profession]' in Bilua.[48]

8.7.3 *With* iko *'to put/cause'*

A transitive verb *iko* has two meanings 'to put' and 'to cause (cause someone/something to become)'. Regardless of its meanings, it requires a complement.

When *iko* has the meaning 'to put', it requires a locational phrase as its complement, and this presents a goal (see §10.3 for locational phrases). A PP *bita kale* 'in a string bag' in (8.89) and an NP headed with a relational noun *votonioama vele topi* 'on the front edge of the canoe' in (8.90) are both complements. They are not adjuncts, since without these, the clauses become ungrammatical.

(8.89)

Ti	*ko*	*ina-inae=k=a*	*ko*	*mau,*
and.then	3SG.F	REDUP-get.ready=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	taro

[*bita=le*]	[*ko*	*i=k=a*],
string.bag=in	3SG.F	put=3SG.F.O=PRES
Complement PP	VP	

'And then she got taros ready, she put them in a string bag,' (27-13-081)

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[48] There is a verb *lekasapuo*, which originates in a noun *lekasa* 'chief'. This verb can be glossed as 'to become a chief' but rather means 'to be proclaimed as a chief'. Few speakers accept *dokitapuo* 'to become a doctor', which originates in *dokita* 'doctor', but most find it strange since this would mean 'to be proclaimed as a doctor'.

(8.90) ...*ko=vo* *mama=ko* *lezu* *ta* [*votonio=a=ma*
3SG.F=3SG.M father=3SG.F head TOP front.of.canoe=LIG=3SG.F
Complement NP

vele *topi*] [*ke* *i=k=a*]...
edge.of.canoe on 3PL put=3SG.F.O=PRES
VP
'...as for the head of her father, they put it on the front edge of the canoe...'
(25-4-32)

When *iko* has the meaning 'to cause (cause someone/something to become)', it takes an NP, an AdjP, or a PP headed with the similative *jari* as its complement. *Iko* 'to cause' and its complement form a syntactic causative structure, and this is the only syntactic causative structure in Bilua.

(8.91) ...[*kasa*] [*ko=m=ai* *i=k=a*]...
sight 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
Complement NP VP
'...they showed it to them...' (12-6-59)
(more literally '...they caused it to become a sight to them...'

(8.92) [*Ngo*] *ta* [*kako*] *inio* [*ngo=da* *l=a*
2SG TOP strange FOC.NONF 2SG=POSS 1SG.O=VAL
Subject NP Complement AdjP VP

i=v=ala].[49]
cause=3SG.M.O=RCP
'You caused [my brother] to become strange.' (39-4-28)

(8.93) ...[*mola* *jari*] [*ke* *i=k=a*]...
canoe SIM 3PL put=3SG.F.O=PRES
Complement PP VP
'...they made a canoe-like thing...' (34-1-14)
(more literally '...they made it to become canoe-like...')

In all the examples above, the subject is a causer for the object to change its state: in (8.91) to be seen, in (8.92) to become strange, and in (8.93) 'to become a canoe-like thing'. In (8.91), the VP has a valency-increasing marker, which promotes an allative argument to a core argument. This is the goal of the object *kasa* 'sight'. Example (8.92) illustrates that a complement can take a focus marker.

Notice that *iko* 'to cause (to cause someone/something to become)' is semantically a transitive counterpart of *elo* 'to become', both sharing the meaning 'to become'. The subject of *elo* 'to become' corresponds with the object of *iko* 'to cause'. Similar to the verb *elo* 'to become', with the verb *iko* 'to put/cause', a complement NP cannot be one which presents a profession.[50]

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[49] The clause here is in the possessor-raising construction (see §9.5), and the referent of the object clitic *l* (1SG) 'I' has possessor relation to the referent of the object clitic *v* (3SG.M), 'him', who is in fact the brother of the referent of 'I'. Thus it is translated as 'my brother'.

The head of a complement NP of the verb *iko* 'to put/cause' cannot normally be a concrete common noun. In (8.91) above, it is an abstract noun. In (8.94) and (8.95) below, the head of a complement NP is an abstract noun derived from an adjective *kiada* 'all' and a pronoun *eri* 'something like this' respectively.

(8.94)	...[*kiada=vo*]	[*o*	*i=k=a*]	[*ko=a*
	all=NOM	3SG.M	cause=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F=LIG
	Complement NP	VP		Object NP

seqara=ko	*ore*]...
betelnut=3SG.F	tree

'...he did everything to the betelnut tree...' (5-14-120)
(more literally, 'he caused the betelnut tree to become everything...')

(8.95)	[*Eri*]	*nio*	[*ke*	*i=k=a*]
	s.th.like.this	FOC.NONF	3PL	cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
	Complement NP			VP

[*ko*	*mola*].
3SG.F	canoe
Object NP	

'They cause a canoe to become something like this (They cause a canoe to go through a process like this, in making a canoe).'

Example (8.94) occurs in a text where his wife climbed a betelnut tree and as soon as she touched the leaf of the betelnut tree she became a betelnut, and he did everything to the betelnut tree so that she would become a human being again. Example (8.95) was uttered when the author saw a half-made canoe. The speaker was showing the author what state a log undergoes before a canoe is made out of it.

Like the verb *elo* 'to become', there are a few examples where the complement is an onomatopoeic expression. *Viu* in (8.96) is the sound a fishing rod makes when it is thrown. *Po* 'in (8.97) is the sound the house makes when it is hit.

(8.96)	...*viu*	*o*	*i=k=a...*
	viu	3SG.M	cause=3SG.F.O=PRES

'...he threw the fishing rod making the sound *viu*...' (28-5-38)
(more literally '...he caused the fishing rod to make the sound *viu*...'

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[50] It might be the case that *iko* has only one meaning, with 'to put' paraphrased as 'to cause to be in location X'. However, as the subject of *elo* 'to become' cannot correspond with the object of *iko* as 'to put', two different meanings are recognised.

(8.97) *Po* *ko=v=ati* *i=k=a* *ko=a* *pade,*
po! 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL cause=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG house
'She hit the house [where he was lying inside], making the sound *po*,' (43-5-53)
(more literally 'She caused the house with him to make the sound *po*,')

The following is an idiom with *pato* 'nail'. A combination of *pato* 'nail' with *iko* 'to cause' means 'to snatch'.

(8.98) *Pato* *o* *i=k=a.*
nail 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He snatched it.'

As noted above, an AdjP can become a complement. For some adjectives both the adjectives themselves and abstract nouns derived from these adjectives can be heads of complement phrases.

(8.99) *Puju* *o* *i=k=a.*
short 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He caused it (a rope) to become short. (He made it short).'

(8.100) *Puju=avo* *o* *i=k=a.*
short=NOM 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He made it (a speech) short (he made a short speech).'

(8.101) *Olu* *o* *i=k=a.*
cheap 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He caused it (a canoe) to become cheap. (He made it cheap).'

(8.102) *Olu=avo* *o* *i=k=a.*
easy=NOM 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He made it (exam) easy.'

These examples show that when the head of a complement phrase is an adjective, the object is a concrete noun. On the other hand, when it is an abstract noun derived from an adjective, the object is also an abstract noun.

This chapter presented a description of verb phrases and complement phrases. Two kinds of VP constituents, valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker, were not described here. Their descriptions are included in the next chapter, which deals with valency and transitivity in Bilua.

9 *Valency and transitivity*

9.1 Introduction

A Bilua verb may have a valency of one, two, or three, and the valency of each verb is lexically determined. The valency of a verb, however, may be changed morphologically or syntactically. It may be decreased by a valency-decreasing suffix on the verb, or it may be increased by the valency-increasing construction. The valency-decreasing suffix *-kini* is described in §6.2.1. In this chapter, valency of verbs is described in §9.2. Then §9.3 discusses occurrences of objects with intransitive verbs in Bilua. This section includes a discussion of transitivity. Following this, §9.4 presents a description of the valency-increasing construction. Then, §9.5 presents a description of the possessor-raising construction, which also involves valency increase. Section 9.6 presents a summary.

9.2 Valency of verbs

Bilua verbs can be divided morphologically into two types: intransitive verbs, which can never be bound by an object clitic, and transitive verbs, which are obligatorily bound by an object clitic. They are also semantically distinguished (see §4.4 and §9.3 below). Transitive verbs have two core arguments, while intransitive verbs have one core argument. These are the number of valencies each of these types of verbs have. That is, valency here refers to the number of core arguments a verb may have.

Bilua core arguments are defined as those which are cross-referenced on the VP by bound pronouns (see §3.2.1). With an intransitive verb, only one core argument, subject, is cross-referenced on the VP, while with a transitive verb, two core arguments, subject and object, are cross-referenced on the VP. Subject and object are cross-referenced by a pronominal proclitic and an object clitic respectively. This is illustrated by examples (9.1) and (9.2) below respectively. The VP in (9.1) contains an intransitive verb and only one argument is cross-referenced on the VP, while the VP in (9.2) contains a transitive verb and two core arguments are cross-referenced on the VP.

(9.1) [*O=ta* *zi=ala*]$_{\text{VP}}$.
3SG.M=SIT cry=RCP
'He cried.'

(9.2) [*Ko=pazo=v=ala*]$_{\text{VP}}$.
3SG.F=hit=3SG.M.O=RCP
'She hit him.'

There is a small group of ditransitive verbs in Bilua. Morphologically, this is a subclass of transitive verbs—they are obligatorily bound by an object clitic. Each ditransitive verb has three core arguments of subject, direct object, and second object, and thus they have a valency of three. However, only two of these three core arguments are cross-referenced on the VP—second object is not cross-referenced on the VP and it can only be expressed by an optional NP. Thus, the definition of core arguments given above does not apply to second object. Still, however, the third argument, second object, is treated as a core argument (see §3.2). In example (9.3), the second object is expressed by an NP, *ko lebu* 'mangos', and this is not cross-referenced on the VP.

(9.3)	*Anga*	*inio*	*[a=qati=v=ala]*$_{\text{VP}}$	*ko*	*lebu*	*a=meqora.*
	1SG	FOC.NONF	1SG=give=3SG.M.O=RCP	3SG.F	mango	1SG=child
	subject			second object		direct object

'I gave mangos to my son.'

Bilua ditransitive verbs are *katiko* 'to give', *tabariko* 'to pay', *niaeko* 'to feed', and *tauveko* 'to help'. With verbs *katiko* 'to give', *tabariko* 'to pay', and *niaeko* 'to feed', the second object has the semantic role of gift, as illustrated by (9.3). With the verb *tauveko* 'to help' the second object has the semantic role of concern.[51] In the following example, *papat=o=ko mabasisu* (plant=NOM=3SG.F yam), which is in a possessive NP structure, forms one lexeme meaning 'yam tubers'. It literally means 'yam for planting'. This is the second object and has the semantic role of concern.

(9.4)	*...[qe=pa*	*tauve=l=ou]*$_{\text{VP}}$	*papat=o=ko*	*mabasisu...*
	2DU=PROS	help=1SG.O=FUT	plant=NOM=3SG.F	yam

'...you will come and help me with yam tubers...' (27-19-120)

In Bilua there are two environments where a transitive verb does not occur. First, a transitive verb does not co-occur with the situation-change marker *ta* (§8.5.3). Second, a transitive verb does not occur in the VP of a temporal clause marked with *keru* when this VP includes the continuity marker (§12.4.1). In these two environments, an intransitive verb may replace a transitive verb, and this can occur with an NP that expresses an object, as illustrated by examples (9.5) and (9.6). In both of these examples, the VP head is an intransitive verb, *koito* 'to climb' in (9.5) and *kozato* 'to get' in (9.6), and this is accompanied by an object NP.

(9.5)	*...[rupe]*$_{\text{O NP}}$	*ikio*	*o=ta*	*koit=ala.*	*Rupe*
	cutnut	FOC.F	3SG.M=SIT	climb=RCP	cutnut

o=koi=k=a.
3SG.M=climb=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...a cutnut tree, he climbed. He climbed a cutnut tree.' (39-8-49~50)

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[51] As stated by Andrews, '[n]o presently known system of semantic role comprehensively applied in a convincing manner' (Andrews 1985:70), and so the author introduced her own term, such as the semantic role of concern, in this work.

(9.6)	*Se*	*sai*	*ke=beta*	*koazat=a*	*keru*	*[komi=a*	*bube*]$_{\text{O NP}}$
	3PL	there	3PL=CONT	get=PRES	TEMP	PROX.SG.F=LIG	pollen

kake	*reko-reko*	*uki*	*Kutakabai=mu*	*ta*
INDEF.PL	REDUP-women	somewhere.there	Kutakabai=3PL	TOP

lula	*kiaro*	*kale.*
already	garden	in

'When they were getting this pollen, some women were there, Kutakabai people, were already in the garden.' (22-2-11)

In (9.5), the speaker first tells what tree he climbed, and thus the sentence contains an object NP *rupe* 'cutnut'. Then, the situation-change marker *ta* is employed in order to indicate a change of situation. Because of this, the verb cannot be a transitive one and so an intransitive one, *koito* 'to climb', is employed, resulting in a co-occurrence of an object NP and an intransitive verb. The second clause in (9.5) presents the same information as in the first clause. Since the change of the situation has already been indicated by the first clause, in the second clause the situation-change marker is not employed. Consequently, the verb can now be a transitive one, *koiko* 'to climb'.

In (9.6), the first clause is a temporal clause marked with *keru* and it contains the continuity marker *beta*. Consequently, the verb in this clause can only be an intransitive verb and this is accompanied by an object NP *komia bube* 'this pollen'.

Examples (9.5) and (9.6) are different from a combination of an intransitive verb with an object described in the next section. In (9.5) and (9.6), clearly the object NP is not combined with the verb, as it is separated from the verb by a focus marker in (9.5) and it is a full NP in (9.6).

9.3 Intransitive verbs with objects

In Bilua, an intransitive verb may occur with an object. For example,

(9.7)	*...ko*	*ta*	*ko=nabul=a*	*ko*	*risu...*
	3SG.F	TOP	3SG.F=bake=PRES	3SG.F	coconut.crab

'...as for her, she coconut crab-baked...' (48-1-8)

The combination of the verb with the object is treated as one unit here, expressing a unitary concept 'coconut crab-bake', and this functions as an intransitive predicate.

In the discourse in which example (9.7) occurs, what is the issue is whether she performs an activity of coconut crab-baking or not, as her brothers have told her not to do this. Her brothers were afraid that if she bakes, the smell of baking might attract a giant. Thus, what is salient in example (9.7) is the activity of baking, of which the object 'coconut crab' is simply an incidental part.

Since an object which occurs with an intransitive verb is an incidental part, this is non-referential, non-individuated, and so the object is expressed by a generic NP. Such an NP usually consists of the head on its own as in example (9.8) below. In example (9.7) the object NP, which is a generic NP, contains a distal demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F) because of its position—a postverbal NP cannot be the head on its own in Bilua (see §7.4). The lack of the ligature on the demonstrative here indicates that *ko* is not a determiner.

The object normally occurs in postverbal position, but it can also be pre-posed, as in example (9.8) below. The object and the intransitive verb still however form a unit. Example (9.8) occurs in the discourse where the father had not come back from fishing, and so the mother asked her son to go and look for him. The son found him fishing and came home by himself. When the son came home, he told the mother that he saw the father and the mother asked what the father was undertaking. Then, the son utters example (9.8). The son describes the activity the father was engaged in, that is, fish-getting (fishing). When the son utters (9.8), however, his mind is occupied with fish, as the discourse following this indicates: the son tells the mother that the fish which the father gets are caught by the wound on his father's leg, not with a fishing rod, and these are the fish the father gives to the son and the mother. It is because of this that the object is stated first, that is, it is pre-posed.

(9.8) ...*niuniu* *o=beta* *koaẓat=a,*
fish 3SG.M=CONT get=PRES
object
'...he has been fish-getting (fishing),' (24-7-78)

A similar phenomenon where an intransitive verb occurs with an object has been recorded in a number of languages including some languages in Oceania, and often this is treated as an example of object incorporation (Sugita 1973, Lichtenberk 1982, Mithun 1984, Dixon 1988, and Hill 1992, among others).

> The term 'incorporation' is generally used to refer to a particular type of compounding in which a V and N combine to form a new V—as patients, location, or instrument [...]. The activity or quality designated by the NV compound is viewed as a recognisable, unitary concept. (Mithun 1984:848)

This description of object incorporation accords with the combining of intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua. Mithun (1984:850) further says 'since incorporated objects are non-referential, and thus non-individuated, [constructions which involve an incorporated object] generally describe activities or events whose patients are neither specific nor countable—e.g. habitual, ongoing, or projected activities'. This is also the case in Bilua. An object combined to an intransitive verb is non-referential, as illustrated by examples (9.7) and (9.8). A combination of an intransitive verb with an object may express an on-going situation as in (9.8), or a habitual activity as in (9.9). In this example, an intransitive verb *papato* 'to plant' is accompanied by object NPs.

(9.9) *Niania=ka=ma* *ta* *ko* *iruruput=a* *ko=papat=a*
mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F work=PRES 3SG.F=plant=PRES

ko *sisu,* *ko=papat=a* *ko* *mau...*
3SG.F sweet.potato 3SG.F=plant=PRES 3SG.F taro
object object
'The mother used to work, she used to do sweet potato planting, she used to do taro planting...' (27-3-14)

According to Mithun, it is an N that is combined with a V. This may go against examples in Bilua, as in Bilua this can be an NP. This is always true when the object occurs postverbally as explained above with example (9.7). In preverbal position, however, it can be expressed by a noun on its own, and there is no criterion to determine whether this is treated as just a noun or an NP. Whichever the case, however, it is not only in Bilua that an NP can be combined with a verb. Dixon (1988:226–229) demonstrates that an incorporated object in Boumaa Fijian can be expressed by either a noun or an NP.

There is however one problem in treating combinations of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua as object incorporation—the object can occur either preverbally or postverbally in Bilua, whereas object incorporation is a type of compound, and in compounds, the order of combined words is fixed.[52] In conclusion, a combination of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua can be semantically treated as a case of object incorporation, but syntactically it is questionable. The treatment of combinations of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua requires further research.[53]

It was demonstrated above that an intransitive verb may occur with an object. A transitive verb can naturally occur with an object, and this highlights the affectedness of the object. The intransitive verb *nabulo* 'to bake' seen above has a transitive counterpart, *nabuliko* 'to bake', and *nabulo* and *nabuliko* are in an S=A relationship since the S argument of *nabulo* and the A argument of *nabuliko* coincide. In example (9.10) where the transitive verb *nabuliko* 'to bake' occurs, the affectedness of the object is salient since food needs to be baked before it can be served to people.

(9.10)	*...uri=avo*	*tu*	*o=m=a*	*nabuli=k=o*
	good=NOM	IRR	3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL	bake=3SG.F.O=NRFUT

ko	*sailao...*
3SG.F	food

'...it will be good that he will bake food for them...' (67-3-28)

On the other hand, as demonstrated above, when an object occurs with an intransitive verb, the affectedness of the object is out of scope. This is also the case when there is no object combined with an intransitive verb. In example (9.11) below, what is salient is the activity of baking. The sentence implies that there is an object, the thing she baked, but the affectedness of the object is out of scope. Thus, when the affectedness of the object is within the scope of the speaker's interest, the VP has a transitive verb, while when it is not within the scope, it has an intransitive verb, as in the following example, *nabulo* 'to bake' is an intransitive counterpart of *nabuliko* 'to bake'.

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[52] Sugita (1973) refers to intransitive verbs which occur with an object as 'semi-transitive verbs', verbs which are morphologically intransitive but which can be followed by an object. This term can be applied to intransitive verbs which can occur with an object in Bilua. However, since the occurrence of an object with an intransitive verb could be explained in terms of object incorporation/compound, it is not necessary to adopt this term in describing intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua.

[53] In her description of valency and transitivity in Saliba, an Oceanic language spoken in Papua New Guinea, Margetts (1999) explains occurrences of intransitive verbs with an object in terms of a difference between transitivity at word level and at clause level. This may be applied to the case of Bilua. An intransitive verb itself has a valency of one but a clause (a VP) which has an intransitive verb may have a valency of two.

(9.11) *Ko=ta* *nabul=a.*
3SG.F=SIT bake=PRES
'She baked.'

Furthermore, when the verb is an intransitive verb, the identity of the object is not important. Consequently, in a question asked in order to identify an object, an intransitive verb cannot be used. Only a transitive verb can be used as in example (9.12), while example (9.13) is ungrammatical.[54] On the other hand, in a question asked to identify an agent, the object is not important and so an intransitive verb is used. Example (9.14) is a question to identify an agent.

(9.12) *"Koe loma quli ikio ngo=nabuli=k=a?"*
INTJ what thing FOC.NONF 2SG=bake=3SG.F.O=PRES

k=i=o=la...
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Oh, what are you baking?" said he...' (48-1-11)

(9.13) **Loma quli ikio ngo=nabul=a?*
what thing FOC.F 2SG=bake=PRES
'What are you baking?'

(9.14) *Lama ikio ko ko=pazot=ala=ma?*
who.3SG.F FOC.F 3SG.F 3SG.F=hit=RCP=REL.F
'Who hit?'

In example (9.14), if an intransitive verb *pazoto* 'to hit' is replaced with a transitive verb *pazoko* 'to hit', it would mean 'who did she hit?' because the object, the one who is affected, becomes salient.

Until now, the term transitivity has been used to refer to the number of core arguments a verb has. Hopper and Thompson (1980) describe transitivity as a scalar phenomenon. According to their scale, intransitive verbs with accompanying objects in Bilua are less transitive than transitive verbs. This is not only because of the transitivity of verbs themselves, but also because of the status of non-individuated object, and also the types of on-going situations and habitual activities they express. When a situation is presented as an on-going one, it does not make any reference to the end point. Hopper and Thompson (1980:252) categorise a sentence that presents such a situation as an atelic one. A habitual activity is not a specific event and thus it can be treated as an irrealis event. Non-individuated objects, atelic situations, and irrealis are all indications of low transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980). These are all features of intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua and thus they are lower in transitivity.

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[54] An interjection *koe* or the verb *kio* 'to say' in (9.12) do not have anything to do with the contrast between grammatical example (9.12) and ungrammatical example (9.13). An elicited version without these two words can be presented in (9.12) instead so that the two examples would differ only in verbs. However, the author prefers to present an example from the data rather than the elicitation, and that is why an elicited version is not given in (9.12).

9.4 Valency-increasing construction

As described in §9.2, Bilua intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs have a valency of one, two, and three respectively. These numbers can be increased by the valency-increasing construction. This section presents a description of the valency-increasing construction in Bilua.

The valency-increasing construction consists of a valency-increasing marker, *a*, *ai*, or *ati*, and an object clitic attached to it. This construction introduces a new core argument, which is coded as an object: it is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker or by the object clitic attached to the verb.

The verb *barolo* 'to arrive' is an intransitive verb and this usually has only one core argument, the subject, which has the semantic role of experiencer as in the following example.

(9.15) *Qo=baro=a.*
3DU=arrive=PRES
'The two arrived.' (15-3-30)

In example (9.16-a) below, which contains the same verb, however, the valency of the verb is increased by the valency-increasing construction; the VP contains a valency-increasing marker *ai* bound by an object clitic *m* (3PL). Consequently, there are two core arguments: the original argument, the subject 'the head hunters', and the introduced argument, the object 'the father and his daughters'. The introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic *m* (3PL). This object clitic is attached to the valency-increasing marker, unlike the object clitic that cross-references with the original object of a transitive verb, which attaches to the verb.

(9.16-a) *...so* *keru* *inio* *ke=m=ai* *baro=a,*
that TEMP FOC.NONF 3PL=3PL.O=VAL arrive=PRES

ke=noqoe=m=a.
3PL=hold=3PL.O=PRES
'...that time, [head-hunters] reached [the father and his daughters], and held them.' (25-3-25)

The introduced argument here has the semantic role of goal, which is indicated by the valency-increasing marker *ai*. Semantic roles indicated by each of three valency-increasing markers, *a*, *ai*, and *ati*, are described in §9.4.1 to §9.4.4.

Valency increase in Bilua can be divided into two types: argument promotion and argument addition. They are similar in the sense that they both introduce a new core argument, but they are different from each other. Argument promotion promotes an argument: it promotes a non-core argument to a core argument, while argument addition simply adds an argument which otherwise cannot be included. Both operations, however, are performed by one and the same valency-increasing construction. Indeed, the term valency-increasing construction covers the two different uses of the term 'applicative', which are described as argument promotion and argument addition above: for some linguists, applicative is an operation that promotes a non-core argument (oblique argument) to a core argument, while for others it is an operation that adds an argument. Argument promotion and argument addition are also pragmatically distinguished. This is described later in this section.

Example (9.16-a) above is an example of argument promotion. Without the valency-increasing construction, (9.16-a) would be like (9.16-b), in which 'the father and his daughters' is not a core argument but an adjunct expressed by a postpositional phrase, and therefore it is not cross-referenced on the VP by any bound pronoun.[55]

(9.16-b) *Ke=baro=a* *se kasi.*
3PL=arrive=PRES 3PL at
'[The head-hunters] arrived at [the father and his daughters].'

The following is an example of argument addition.

(9.17-a) *...ke=k=ai* *bazu-bazue-kini=a* *komi,*
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES PROX.SG.F
'...they were telling this to each other,' (26-3-20)

(9.17-b) *Ke=bazu-bazue-kini=a.*
3PL=REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES
'They were telling each other.'

Example (9.17-a) contains the valency-increasing marker *ai*, which introduces an argument with the semantic role of 'topic of speech', *komi* (PROX.SG.F) 'this'. This argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic, *k* (3SG.F), attached to the valency-increasing marker. This argument can by no means be included in a clause like (9.17-b) without the valency-increasing construction; there is no way to express it in a clause without the valency-increasing construction.

Argument promotion and argument addition are illustrated by the following.

argument promotion
non-core argument → core argument

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[55] As discussed in §3.2.1, although the verb *barolo* 'to arrive' is subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of goal, this is not treated as a core argument but as a non-core argument.

argument addition
Ø → core argument

In both (9.16-a) and (9.17-a), the verb is an intransitive one, and the introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker, and thus the introduced argument is an object. The other argument, the original core argument, is a subject. This is the same without the valency-increasing construction; in both (9.16-b) and (9.17-b), the original core argument is the subject.

When the verb is a transitive verb as well, the argument introduced by the valency-increasing marker is cross-referenced by an object clitic. This object clitic which cross-references with the introduced argument is sometimes attached to the valency-increasing marker and other times attached to the verb. In (9.18-a), the introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic, *v* (3SG.M), attached to the valency-increasing marker.

(9.18-a)	*“Kama*	*quli*	*puli=a=ma”*	*k=i=o=la*
	INDEF.SG.F	thing	NEG=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

mati	*o=v=ai*	*podaki=k=a.*
again	3SG.M=3SG.M.O=VAL	make.s.th.appear.to=3SG.F.O=PRES

‘He$_1$ said “something is missing”, and again, he$_2$ presented it to him$_1$.’ (39-11-67)
(more literally ‘He$_1$ said “something is missing”, and again, he$_2$ made it appear to him$_1$’.)

(9.18-b)	*O=podaki=k=a*	*vo*	*kasi.*
	3SG.M=make.s.th.appear to=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.M	at

‘He presented it to him.’
(more literally ‘He made it appear to him’.)

Here, there are two objects, one which is an original core argument and the other which is introduced by the valency increase, and both objects are cross-referenced on the VP by object clitics. Thus, the two objects are not syntactically distinguished in the valency-increasing construction. However, since the introduced argument cannot be an argument without the valency-increasing construction, the original object is treated as ‘normal’, that is, ‘direct object’, and the introduced object is treated as ‘added object’.[56]

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[56] Examples given above may suggest that two objects, an original object and introduced object, are syntactically distinguished: the former is the object of the verb, while the latter is the object of the verbal complex in the valency-increasing construction, and accordingly they are cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the verb and an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker respectively. This is however not always the case. As described below, what motivates for an argument being cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker is affectedness, not the fact of being the introduced argument. This contention is supported by example (9.27-a) below in which the affected argument is the original object and is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. In this example, the introduced argument, which is not the affected argument, is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the verb.

The object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker cross-references the argument affected by the event described (see below), and this can be the original object or the introduced object, and the object clitic attached to the verb cross-references whichever is left between the original object and the introduced object.[57]

The promoted or added argument can be either definite or indefinite. When it is definite, it does not need to be expressed by an NP. In (9.19) below, the promoted argument is definite, and so it is not expressed by an NP in the second clause.

(9.19) *Ni* *ke=noqoe=v=a* *vo* *Sito.* *Maravari*
and 3PL=capture=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M Sito Maravari

ke=v=ati *saqor=a.*
3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL go.down=PRES
'And then, they captured Sito. They took him down to Maravari.' (12-8-72~73)

When the argument is indefinite, it has to be expressed by an NP. In (9.20), the added argument 'a story' is indefinite and so it is expressed by an NP *kala bazubazulao.*

(9.20) *Vairutu* *ta* *anga* *ta* *a=v=ai* *bazu-bazut=o*
now TOP 1SG TOP 1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL REDUP-tell=NRFUT

kala *bazu-bazulao.*
INDEF.SG.M REDUP-story
'Now, I am going to tell a story.' (24-1-1)

Argument addition does not have any pragmatic effect. Its function is solely to add an argument which cannot be expressed otherwise. Argument promotion, on the other hand, carries a pragmatic effect—the valency-increasing construction focuses upon the affectedness of the introduced argument. Argument promotion however may also be employed without this pragmatic function, as described later in this section.

The affected argument is most often the introduced argument and the affected argument is always cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. Example (9.16-a) above highlights the affectedness of the introduced argument, 'the father and his daughters', whom the head hunters reached and captured, as expressed by the clause which follows: '[they] held them'. Example (9.16-a) has an intransitive verb, while example (9.18-a) has a transitive verb. In (9.18-a), the valency-increasing construction is employed in order to highlight that the affectedness of the introduced argument 'him$_i$': he was presented with what he wanted and thus benefited from the described event.

In contrast to the valency-increasing construction which highlights the affectedness of the introduced argument, transitive verbs without the valency-increasing construction highlight the affectedness of (direct) object (see §9.3 above). Compare (9.21-a) to

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[57] This is similar to Mandarin examples discussed in Andrews (1985), with 'the Patient in whose fate one is more interested occupying the *ba*-marked preverbal position, the less interesting "accessory" Patient the post verbal position' (1985:121). Andrews then tentatively suggests that Mandarin may be a language with two 'direct object' relations.

(9.21-b). Example (9.21-a) with the valency-increasing construction highlights the affectedness of the introduced argument, 'their son'. This example occurs in a discourse in which the son finds a girl he wants to marry, and so his parents make plans to ask the parents of this girl on his behalf. The son is thus the affected argument. In (9.21-b) without the valency-increasing construction, the affected argument is 'the parents of the girl'.

(9.21-a)	*Nio*	*qo=vato-vatol=ou*	*tu*	*qo=v=a*
	SEQ	3DU=REDUP-plan=FUT	IRR	3DU=3SG.M.O=VAL

pase=k=o	*nioqa=vo*	*meqora...*
ask=3DU.O=NRFUT	3DU=3SG.M	child

'And then, they will plan to ask [the parents of the girl] on behalf of their son...' (21-1-4)

(9.21-b)	*Qo=vato-vatol=ou*	*tu*	*qo=pase=k=o*	*nioqa=vo*
	3DU=REUP-plan=FUT	IRR	3DU=ask=3DU.O=NRFUT	3DU=3SG.M

meqora	*kaqe.*
child	BEN

'They will plan to ask [the parents of the girl] for him.'

The object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker normally has a human referent, as the affected argument is expected to be a human referent. This can also be a non-human referent, but in such a case it is implied that there is a human referent associated with this non-human referent, and indeed the affected argument is this human referent. In example (9.22) the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker *k* (3SG.F) is co-referential with *koa kolu* 'the smoke', and thus it is non-human, but 'smoke' implies that there is someone who is making this smoke, and the affected argument is this person, not the smoke.

(9.22)	*...ko=a*	*kolu*	*o=lulue=k=a*	*ti*
	3SG.F=LIG	smoke	3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES	and.then

o=k=ai	*saqor=a*	*ti*	*o=k=ai*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL	go.down=PRES	and.then	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

baro=a.
arrive=PRES

'...he followed the smoke, and he went down to the smoke, and he arrived where the smoke (the girl) is.' (59-10-91)

An argument can be affected favourably or adversely depending on the event or discourse. In (9.18-a) and (9.21-a) above, an argument is affected favourably. In example (9.23) below, an argument is affected adversely.

(9.23)	*...ko=be*	*v=ai*	*sipe-sipeit=a...*
	3SG.F=CONT	3SG.M.O=VAL	REDUP-pass.faeces=PRES

'...he passed faeces on him...' (43-5-53)

As discussed above, the valency-increasing construction generally introduces a new core argument, and when the valency-increasing construction promotes a non-argument to a core argument, it usually does this in order to highlight the affectedness of an argument. However, the valency-increasing construction may also be employed so that a non-human referent can be expressed by a pronoun. In such a case, the valency-increasing construction does not carry a function of highlighting affectedness.

In Bilua, when a referent is an active, definite one, it can be expressed by a pronoun. An active human referent can be expressed by a free or bound pronoun. In example (9.24), the pronominal enclitic *o* (3SG.M) and the demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F), which is marked with a comitative postposition *sate*, have definite referents.

(9.24) *...sainio o=beta ev=a ko sate.*
therefore 3SG.M=CONT stay=PRES 3SG.F COM
'...therefore he stayed with her there.' (59-11-94)

There are examples in the data in which a non-human referent is expressed by a free pronoun, but not a free pronoun marked with a postposition. A postpositional phrase functions as an adjunct, and thus a non-human referent cannot be expressed by a free pronoun as an adjunct. Such a referent however can be promoted to a core argument by valency increase, and then it can be expressed by a bound pronoun. In the discourse where example (9.25) occurs, 'the magic stick', is an active referent. This has a semantic role of accompaniment in the second clause and is expressed by a bound pronoun, an object clitic *k* (3SG.F.O), attached to the valency-increasing marker. This cannot be expressed by a free pronoun marked with a postposition as it is non-human. If a postpositional phrase is employed to express this, 'the magic stick' has to be expressed by a full NP, *koa sikiti* 'the magic stick' not by a pronoun, which results in a repetition of the same NP. To avoid this, the valency-increasing construction is employed and this allows 'the magic stick', which is an adjunct, to be expressed by a pronoun. In example (9.26), *ko* (3SG.F) is marked with a comitative postposition *sate* 'with' and this can only be human.

(9.25) *...ko=pa teli=k=a ko=a sikiti, ti*
3SG.F=PROS dig=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG magic.stick and.then

ko=k=ati o=la...
3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL go=PRES
'...she went and dug the magic stick, and then she went with it...' (22-9-37)

(9.26) *Ko ol=a ko sate.*
3SG.F go=PRES 3SG.F COM
'She went with her.'

In (9.25), although a non-argument is promoted to an argument by the valency-increasing construction, it does not highlight the affectedness of any argument. As discussed above, it occurs only for the non-human referent to be expressed by a pronoun. Example (9.25) contains an intransitive verb. Below is such an example with a transitive verb. 'This story' in (9.27-a) is an active referent and is expressed by the object clitic attached to the verb *k* (3SG.F).

(9.27-a)	*...komi=a*	*bazu-bazulao*	*ta*	*pui*	*matu*
	PROX.SG.F=LIG	REDUP-folktale	TOP	NEG	very

tuvevo=a=ma	*melai*	*silo-silo=a=mu*	*ke=m=ai*
true=LIG=3SG.F	but	REDUP-small=LIG=3PL	3PL=3PL.O=VAL

ibue=k=a,
make.quiet=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...this folktale, it is not very true, but [people] make children quiet with [this story],' (27-1-1)

Compare now (9.27-b) to (9.27-a).

(9.27-b)	*Ke*	*ibue=m=o*	*silo-silo=a=mu*	*ko=a*
	3PL	make.quiet=3PL=NRFUT	REDUP-small=LIG=3PL	3SG.F=LIG

bazu-bazulao	*kale.*
REDUP-folktale	with

'They will make the children quiet with this story.'

In both (9.27-a) and (9.27-b), 'children' is a core argument. In (9.27-b) this is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the verb. In (9.27-a) it is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. This is because 'children' is the affected argument in both examples—in (9.27-a) it is not 'the story' that is the affected argument. Both examples highlight the affectedness of the object, 'children', and there is no pragmatic difference between (9.27-a) and (9.27-b). Thus, in (9.27-a) the valency-increasing construction is not employed for the purpose of highlighting the affectedness on the 'children', as this is already done by the verb, a transitive verb, itself. Similarly to (9.25), the valency-increasing construction here is employed only in order that 'this story' can be expressed by a pronoun.

As illustrated above the introduced argument by the valency-increasing marker is always coded as an object, and the increase of the number of core arguments is indicated by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker.[58] This object clitic takes the preverbal position. Object clitics attached to verbs, on the other hand, usually take a postverbal position—they immediately follow the verb, but there are exceptions to this. Four verbs, *kelo* 'to see', *kovo* 'to get', *kuo* 'to eat', and *kio* 'to say', take an object clitic preverbally, but in this case, they are attached to the verb, not to the valency-increasing marker. Thus there are two different preverbal slots for object clitics and these are clearly distinguished from each other. Object clitics attached to the verb are obligatory for the occurrence of the verb, while object clitics attached to the valency-increasing marker are not. These aforementioned four verbs may occur with the valency-increasing construction (see §9.4.1 and §9.4.3).

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[58] As noted above, the introduced argument is not always cross-referenced with the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker, and so one can say only that this slot for an object clitic indicates an increase of the valency, and not that this slot is the slot for the added object (introduced argument).

Each of three valency-increasing markers, *a*, *ai*, and *ati* indicates different semantic roles of an introduced argument as shown in the following table. In other words, the speaker selects one of three valency-increasing markers, *a*, *ai*, and *ati*, depending on what semantic role he/she wants to assign to the introduced argument. The table below also shows whether the introduced argument is a promoted or added one.

Table 9.1: Semantic roles of introduced arguments by valency-increasing markers

Markers	Semantic roles	Promotion or addition
a	beneficiary (benefactive)	promotion
	source (ablative)	promotion
	topic of quotation	addition
ai[59]	instrument (comitative)	promotion
	goal (allative)	promotion
	gift	addition
	topic of speech	addition
	name	addition
	cause/reason	addition
	experiencer	addition
ati	accompaniment (comitative)	promotion

'Topic' of speech means what the subject of the sentence is talking about, while 'topic' of quotation means what the subject of the sentence is quoting about.

In the subsequent sections, the semantic roles which each valency-increasing marker indicates are examined: *a* in §9.4.1, *ai* in §9.4.2, and *ati* as in §9.4.3. The valency-increasing marker *a* can also add an argument with the semantic role of cause/reason or a source, but this requires the co-occurrence of the possessor-raising marker. This is described in §9.4.4. Furthermore, the valency-increasing marker *a* may also promote an argument with the semantic role of possessor in the possessor-raising construction. This is described in §9.5.

9.4.1 Valency-increasing marker a

The valency-increasing marker *a* refers to semantic roles of beneficiary, source, and topic of quotation. The first two are examples of argument promotion while the last one is an example of argument addition. The valency-increasing marker *a* promotes an ablative argument in combination with a transitive motion verb[60] and it can add an argument with the semantic role of topic of quotation in combination with the verb *kio* 'to say'. In combination with other verbs than these, *a* promotes a benefactive argument.

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[59] In (9.18-a), the introduced argument is a goal, in other words a recipient. This argument can be interpreted as a beneficiary as he benefits from receiving something.

Table 9.2: Semantic roles of arguments introduced by a valency-increasing marker *a* and verbs

Semantic roles	Kinds of verbs	Examples
beneficiary (benefactive)	verbs other than below	*ereko* 'to make' *paseko* 'to ask' *rabuto* 'to weed'
source (ablative)	transitive motion verbs	*votutiko* 'to move' *soqoeko* 'to chase'
topic of quotation	only one verb	*kio* 'to say'

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *a* promotes a benefactive and an ablative argument.

(9.28-a) Benefactive
A=v=a *rabut=ala.*
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL weed=RCP
'I weeded for him.'

(9.28-b) *A=rabut=ala* *Joni kaqe.*
1SG=weed=RCP John BEN
'I weeded for John.'

(9.29-a) Ablative
Ko=m=a *vatuti=k=ala.*
3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL move=3SG.F.O=RCP
'She moved it from them (she moved it away from them).'

(9.29-b) *Ko=vatuti=k=ala* *se kasi azo.*
3SG.F.move=3SG.F.O=RCP 3PL at ABL
'She moved it from them (she moved it away from them).'

The verb *kio* 'to say' is a direct speech verb, and the actual words of an utterance are expressed by a juxtaposed independent clause. For example,

(9.30) *"Uri" k=i=ko=la.*
good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Good," said she.' (16-1-3)

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[60] See §9.4.4 for intransitive motion verbs.

With this verb *kio* 'to say', the valency-increasing marker *a* introduces an argument which presents the topic of a quotation. When *a* occurs with *kio* 'to say', the verb is always marked with a relative clause marker, and this forms a headless relative clause. Both the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker and the relative clause marker agree with the topic argument. The quotation is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the verb.

(9.31) *Nio "Nei ta ngo=da v=a*
SEQ PROX.SG.M TOP 2SG=SIT 3SG.M.O=VAL

lupao=vi=ni, "a=da v=a
refuse=RMP=REL.NONF 1SG=POSS 3SG.M=VAL

lupao=va vo siele"
refuse=PRES 3SG.M dog
v=a k=i=ngo=ve=ni nio"
3SG.M=VAL 3SG.F.O=say=2SG=RMP=REL.NONF FOC.NONF

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'She said, "this is the one you refused, you said, "I refuse a dog" talking about him."' (27-18-114)
(more literally, 'She said, "this is the one you refused, him about whom you said, "I refuse a dog.'"")

As described in §8.2.2, the verb *kio* 'to say' morphologically behaves in a different way from other verbs—a pronominal enclitic which cross-references with the subject follows the verb instead of taking a VP-initial position. Thus, in this example, *ngo* (2SG) cross-references with the subject.

The valency-increasing marker *a* can also occur with a few transitive verbs, *kelo* 'to see', *kovo* 'to get', and *kuo* 'to eat', which take object clitics as proclitics. Bilua object clitics have either a C or CVC structure, and when the object clitic which cross-references the direct object has a CVC structure, VPs headed with the aforementioned verbs obligatorily employ the valency-increasing construction, but the valency-increasing construction here neither promotes nor adds an argument. That is, the number of core arguments does not increase and stays two. The slot for an object clitic preceding the valency-increasing marker is filled by the object clitic in a CVC structure, which cross-references with the direct object. The slot for an object clitic on the verb is always filled with the first person singular object clitic *l*, but this does not have any referent. In the following example, there are three bound pronouns, a pronominal enclitic *a* (1SG), an object clitic *qel* (2DU.O) attached to the valency-increasing marker *a*, and another object clitic *l* (1SG.O) attached to the verb, as underlined. However, there are only two arguments involved: 'I', the subject, and 'you', the direct object, which are cross-referenced on the VP by *a* (1SG) and *qel* (2DU.O) respectively, and there is no referent of the object clitic *l* (1SG.O). Note that *l* (1SG.O) here has nothing to do with the subject 'I'—this stays as *l* even when the subject is non-first person singular.

(9.32-a) *...a=ba* *qel=a* *l=el=o...*
1SG=PROS 2DU.O=VAL 1SG.O=see=NRFUT
'...I am going to see you...' (21-2-9)

Example (9.32-a) cannot be paraphrased as example (9.32-b), which does not employ the valency-increasing construction. Example (9.32-b) is not grammatical.

(9.32-b) **A=ba* *qel=el=o.*
1SG=PROS 2DU.O=see=NRFUT
'I am going to see you.'

When the object clitic that cross-references with the direct object has a C structure, the valency-increasing construction is never employed.

(9.33) *A=ba* *k=el=o.*
1SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=see=NRFUT
'I am going to see her.'

It is not well understood why the valency-increasing construction has to be employed under the above environment. It may be hypothesised that the valency-increasing construction is employed so that the stress falls on the verb. In Bilua, stress falls on the first syllable of phonological words. Thus, in (9.32-a) in which an object clitic in a CVC structure is attached to a valency-increasing marker, the stress falls on the verb, but in (9.32-b), in which the same object clitic is attached to the verb and which is ungrammatical, it would fall on the object clitic.[61]

(9.32'-a) *...'a=ba* *'qel=a* *'l=el=o...*
1SG=PROS 2DU.O=VAL 1SG.O=see=NRFUT
'...I am going to see you...' (21-2-9)

(b) **A=ba* *'qel=el=o.*
1SG=PROS 2DU.O=see=NRFUT
'I am going to see you.'

9.4.2 Valency-increasing marker **ai**

The valency-increasing marker *ai* refers to the semantic roles of instrument, goal, topic of speech, cause/reason, gift, name, and stimulus. The first two are examples of argument promotion while the rest are argument addition. In combination with a verb which describes an action, *ai* promotes an instrumental argument, while in combination with a motion verb, it promotes an allative argument. *Ai* adds arguments with semantic roles of topic of speech and cause/reason, combined with verbs of speech and emotion verbs respectively. *Ai* adds arguments with semantic roles of gift, name, and stimulus combined with verbs listed in the following table. *Ai* is often elided to *a*, especially when it occurs with verbs *zario* 'to want/need' and *nianiio* 'to know'. Whether *a* is in fact *a* or an elided form of *ai* can be decided from the kind of the verb or from the context.

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[61] This hypothesis itself is based on the assumption that object clitics affect the stress on their host, unlike pronominal proclitics, which do not. Pronominal proclitics, which have either a CV or V structure, do not affect the stress on their host verbs (see §2.6). There is no evidence however that proves this assumption is true, but one may further postulate that a proclitic in a CVC structure, but not a CV or a V structure, may affect stress on the host.

Table 9.3: Semantic roles of arguments introduced by a valency-increasing marker *ai* and verbs

Semantic roles	Kinds of verbs	Examples
instrument (instrumental)	verbs which express an action	*erekato/ereko* 'to make' *pazoto/pazoko* 'to hit' *roeto/roeko* 'to cut' *tauvezio* 'to help oneself' *tauvezato/tauveko* 'to help'
goal (allative)	motion verbs	*zio* 'to go' *kilo* 'to come' *vatuto/vatutiko* 'to move'
topic of speech	verbs of speech	*pesio* 'to speak' *bazuto* 'to tell' *bazubazekinio* 'to tell each other'
cause/reason	emotion verbs	*zialo* 'to cry' *aqasiele* + *elo* 'to become surprised' *duki* + *elo* 'to become sad'
gift	two verbs	*besiekinio* 'replace each other' *tatabarao* 'to trade'
name	two verbs	*nokaeko* 'to call' *katiko* 'to give'
stimulus	two verbs	*zario* 'to want' *nianiio* 'to know'

The valency-increasing marker *ai* is also employed to mark a strong negation with the verb *roveo* 'can'. In the following example, there are two bound pronouns, *a* (1SG) and *k* (3SG.F.O), but there is only one argument, 'I', involved, and thus there is no referent of the object clitic *k* (3SG.F.O) attached to the valency-increasing marker. It is not transparent what syntactic/semantic motivation lies behind this use of the valency-increasing marker *ai*.

(9.34)	*Pui*	*a=ba*	*k=ai*	*rove=a*	*zio.*
	NEG	1SG=PROS	3SG.F.O=VAL	can=PRES	goNOM

'I (definitely) cannot go.'

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *ai* promotes arguments with the semantic roles of instrument and goal.

(9.35-a) Instrumental

Ko=v=ai	*saqae=k=ala*	*ko*	*suma.*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL	brush=3SG.F.O=RCP	3SG.F	cloth

'She brushed (cleaned) him with a cloth.'

(9.35-b)

Ko=saqae=v=ala	*suma*	*kale.*
3SG.F=brush=3SG.M.O=RCP	cloth	with

'She brushed (cleaned) him with a cloth.'

(9.36-a) Allative

Ke=ngel=ai	*kue=vi*	*enge.*
3PL=1PL.EXC.O=VAL	come=RMP	1PL.EXC

'They came to us.'

(9.36-b)

...eqe	*ta*	*qe=kue=va*	*koi*	*ngo*	*kasi.*
1DU.EXC	TOP	1DU.EXC=come=PRES	here	2SG	at

'...we came here to you.' (26-8-44)

Ai may add an argument with a semantic role of gift, something which is transferred from one person to another. In the data, there are two verbs which occur with this semantic role as listed above. In fact, combinations of *ai* with these two verbs are considered to form one lexical entry.

(9.37-a) Gift

Nge=q=ai	*tatabaraov=ou*	*maketi*	*kale.*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL	pay=FUT	market	in

'We will sell it in a market.'

(9.37-b) *Nge=databaraov=ou.*
1PL.EXC=pay=FUT
'We will pay.'

(9.38-a) Gift

Melai	*ko=a*	*sailao*	*ikio*	*ke=k=ai*
but	3SG.F=LIG	food	FOC.F	3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL

besi-besie-kini=ou.
REDUP-replace-RECP=FUT
'But they will exchange the food between them.' (21-4-23)

(9.38-b)

...kubo	*missionary*	*poso*	*ta*	*ke=basi-besie-kini=a*
many	missionary	PL.M	TOP	3PL=REDUP-replace-RECP=PRES

Sabora.
Sabora
'...many missionaries replaced each other in Sabora.' (10-14-117)

In the above two pairs of examples, the meaning of the verb used with the valency-increasing marker is not so transparent. Unlike other examples given above, there is a modification of the meaning of the verb. In (9.37-b), the verb *tatabarao* means 'to pay' but when this occurs with *ai* as in (9.37-a), this means 'to sell.[62] In (9.38-b), *besiekinio* means 'to replace each other' and when this verb occurs with *ai* as in (9.38-a), it means 'to exchange between them'. Thus, it could be said that *ai tatabarao* and *ai besiekinio* form one lexical entry.

With two verbs listed above, *ai* adds an argument with the semantic role of name.

(9.39-a) Name

A=v=ai	*kati=k=ala*	*[ko*	*ngi]*$_{\text{NP}}$	*[vo*	*John]*$_{\text{NP}}$.
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL	give=3SG.F.O=RCP	3SG.F	name	3SG.M	John
		second object		added object	

'I gave him the name "John".'

(9.39-b)

A=qati=v=ala	*ko*	*ngi.*
1SG=give=3SG.M.O=RCP	3SG.F	name

'I gave him a name (I named him).'

The verb *katiko* 'to give' is a ditransitive verb and so example (9.39-a) has a valency of four. The subject, direct object, and the added object are cross-referenced by the pronominal clitic *a* (1SG), the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker *v* (3SG.M.O), and the object clitic *k* (3SG.F.O) attached to the verb respectively. The argument 'the name' is the second object and is not cross-referenced on the VP. In this example, both second and added objects are further expressed by NPs. Among three ditransitive verbs in Bilua, only *katiko* 'to give' can occur with the valency-increasing construction.

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *ai* adds arguments with semantic roles of topic of speech and a cause/reason.

(9.40-a) Topic of speech

Komi=a	*taku*	*kale*	*anga*	*ta*	*a=q=a*
PROX.SG.F=LIG	time	in	1SG	TOP	1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL

zari=a	*k=ai*	*pesi=o*	*ko=paloas=a=ko*	*taku*
want=PRES	3SG.F.O=VAL	speak=NOM	3SG.F=pass=PRES=3SG.F	time

keru=a=ma	*saev=o.*
TEMP=LIG=3SG.F	survive=NOM

'I want to speak about the life in the past.' (64-1-1)

(9.40-b)

Vo=a	*beku*	*inio*	*o=ta*	*pesi=a...*
3SG.M=LIG	idol	FOC.NONF	3SG.M=SIT	speak=PRES

'It was the idol that spoke...' (39-8-52)

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[62] They do however share some meaning—'to sell' and 'to pay' share the meaning 'trading'.

(9.41-a) Cause/reason
A=v=ai *zia=la.*
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL cry=RCP
'I cried because of him (for example, because my father went away and I am sad).'

(9.41-b) *O=ta* *zi=a.*
3SG.M=SIT cry=PRES
'He is crying.'

Note that with a few emotion verbs, a cause or a reason is introduced by a combination of a valency-increasing marker *a* and the possessor-raising marker *ta*. See §9.4.4 below.

Two intransitive verbs *zario* 'to want/need' and *nianiio* 'to know' never occur without *ai*, and thus *ai* plus *zario* 'to want/need' or *nianiio* 'to know' each form one lexical entry. With these verbs, *ai* signals the presence of an argument with the semantic role of stimulus.

(9.42) *...ke=v=ai* *matu* *zari=a* *rorot=o* *vo*
3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL very want=PRES marry=NOM 3SG.M

Koro-koroqanisi.
REDUP-Korokoroqanisi
'...they wanted to marry Korokoroqanisi very much.' (39-12-82)

(9.43) *A=v=ai* *nianii=a.*
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL know=PRES
'I know him.'

9.4.3 Valency-increasing marker ati

The valency-increasing marker *ati* indicates the semantic role of accompaniment or addressee, the person someone is speaking with.[63] It always promotes a comitative argument.

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[63] An observant reader may wonder whether the valency-increasing marker *ati* is related to a verb *katiko* 'to give'. There is no evidence however to support this contention. The verb initial *k* of *katiko* is a part of the verb and not the default form of an object clitic *k* (3SG.F.O)—*katiko* is segmented as *kati=k=o* (give=3SG.F.O=NOM) not **k=ati=k=o* (3SG.F.O=give=3SG.F.O=NOM).

Table 9.4: Semantic role of arguments introduced by the valency-increasing marker *ati* and verbs

Semantic roles	Kinds of verbs	Examples of verbs
accompaniment addressee (comitative)	any kinds	*vinaeko* 'to tie' *rokasiko* 'to tear' *kailo* 'to go up' *zulao* 'to play' *kio* 'to say'

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *ati* promotes a comitative argument.

(9.44-a) Comitative (accompaniment)
...o=k=ati *saqor=a.*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL go.down=PRES
'...he went down with her (he took her down).' (48-4-37)

(9.44-b) *Ke=saqor=a* *vo* *sate.*
3PL=go.down=PRES 3SG.M COM
'They went down with him.'

(9.45-a) Comitative (accompaniment)
...ko=v=ati *roka-rokasi=k=a...*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL REDUP-tear=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...[the devil] tore [the house] with him in it...' (43-5-53)

(9.45-b) *Ko=roka-rokasi=k=a* *vo* *sate.*
3SG.F=REDUP-tear=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M COM
'[The devil] torn [the house] with him.'

In (9.45-b), in which the comitative argument is expressed by a postpositional phrase, it would be unclear, without a context, whether 'he' accompanies 'the devil' or 'the house'.

Two motion verbs *zio* 'to go' and *kilo* 'to come', in combination with *ati*, can be translated as 'to take' and 'to bring' respectively.

(9.46) *...se* *ta* *ke=v=ati* *ol=a* *Fiji.*
3PL TOP 3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL go=PRES Fiji
'...they took him to Fiji.' (12-8-78)

(9.47) *Kama* *rekorusu* *ta* *ke=k=ati* *kue=la.*
INDEF.SG.F girl TOP 3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL come=RCP
'They brought a girl.' (25-7-51)

With the verb *kio* to 'say', the promoted argument can be treated as having the semantic role of addressee—the person who the subject is speaking with can be treated as an addressee.

(9.48-a) Comitative (addressee)

...nio	*se*	*ta*	*eri*	*v=ati*
and.then	3PL	TOP	s.th.like.this	3SG.M.O=VAL

k=i=ke=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3PL=PRES
'...and then they say to him something like this.' (25-7-50)

(9.48-b)

Ni	*omadeu*	*taku*	*kurou*	*ta*	*eri*
and	one	time	pigeon	TOP	s.th.like.this

k=i=o=la	*kobaka*	*kasi.*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES	snail	at

'And, once (one day), the pigeon told the snail something like this.'
(15-1-3)

A combination of the verb *jouro* 'to jump' and *ati* has an unpredictable meaning, 'to follow'.

9.4.4 Valency-increasing marker a *with* ta

The valency-increasing marker *a* can promote an argument with the semantic role of source in combination with an intransitive motion verb, while it adds an argument with a semantic role of cause/reason with some verbs of cognition. However this requires a co-occurrence of the possessor-raising marker *ta*.

Table 9.5: Semantic roles of arguments introduced by the valency-increasing marker *a* in combination with *ta* and verbs

Semantic roles	Kinds of verbs	Examples of verbs
source	intransitive motion verbs	*soqoilo* 'to run away' *zio* 'to go' *kilo* 'to come'
cause/reason	some verbs of cognition including emotion verbs	*ngalo* 'to be frightened' *lupao* 'to refuse' *ukaka* + *elo* 'to be careless'

For example,

(9.49-a) *Source*

Me=da	*v=a*	*soqoil=ou.*
1PL.INC=POSS	3SG.M.O=VAL	run.away=FUT

'We will run away from him.'

(9.49-b)	*Me=soqoil=ou*	*vo*	*kasi*	*azo.*
	1PL.INC=run.away=FUT	3SG.M	at	ABL

'We will run away from him.'

(9.50-a) *Cause/reason*

	...o=ta	*v=a*	*nga=va*	*vo*	*qili...*
	3SG.M=POSS	3SG.M.O=VAL	be.frightened=PRES	3SG.M	giant

'...he is frightened of the giant...' (48-3-28)

(9.50-b)	*O=ta*	*nga=va.*
	3SG.M=SIT	be.frightened=PRES

'He is frightened.'

Note that *ta* here cannot be treated as the situation-change marker. This is because the situation-change marker *ta* cannot occur with a valency-increasing marker (see §9.6). This is further demonstrated by the fact that such a sentence can have the negation marker. The situation-change marker never occurs with the negation marker (see §8.5.3), but the possessor-raising marker can.

(9.51)	*Pui*	*o=ta*	*k=a*	*soqoi=va.*
	NEG	3SG.M=POSS	3SG.F.O=VAL	run.away=PRES

'He didn't run away from her.'

(9.52)	*Pui*	*a=da*	*k=a*	*nga=va.*
	NEG	1SG=POSS	3SG.F.O=VAL	be.frightened=PRES

'I am not frightened by her.'

Thus *ta* here is the possessor-raising marker. The possessor-raising marker usually indicates that one of the arguments has a possessor relation to another argument (see §9.5). The possessor-raising marker here however does not have such a function. For example, (9.49-a) does not mean that 'we' and 'him' are in a possessor–possessee relationship. An occurrence of the possessor-raising marker here is simply due to the fact that the valency-increasing marker *a* requires the slot for the possessor-raising marker to be filled. As discussed in §8.2.1, both the possessor-raising and valency-increasing markers are constituents of a preverbal complex. This complex contains five slots which can be filled with certain kinds of morphemes. Valency-increasing markers always require the slot for object clitics to be filled, and when the valency-increasing marker *a* occurs with the function described in this section, it also requires another slot, one which precedes the slot for object clitics, to be filled. This is the slot for the possessor-raising marker. It is because of this that *ta*, the possessor-raising marker, occurs here.

9.5 Possessor-raising construction

A possessor-raising construction is defined as:

> [a] construction in which a semantic Possessor-possessed relation is expressed via coding the Possessor as a core grammatical relation of the verb, regardless of whether it is expressed as subject, direct object, or indirect object. (Payne 1997:395)

A Bilua possessor-raising construction consists of the possessor-raising marker *ta* and one of the valency-increasing markers attached with an object clitic. The valency-increasing marker here always promotes an argument. This argument is viewed as being in a possessor–possessee relationship, and the person/number/gender of the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker agrees with the person/number/gender of the possessor. Pragmatically, the possessor-raising construction indicates that the possessor is affected by an event involved with the possessee. Accordingly, the possessee can only be in an inalienable relationship with the possessor (see §4.3 for nouns which can be inalienably possessed).

Example (9.53-b) has two core arguments, 'they' and 'trees', which are cross-referenced on the VP by *ke* (3PL) and *k* (3SG.F.O) respectively. In this example, 'his chainsaw' is not an argument, as clearly indicated by a comitative postposition marking the NP *vo=ko chainsaw* (3SG.M=3sg chainsaw), and it is not cross-referenced on the VP. In (9.53-a) 'his chainsaw' is promoted to a core argument by the valency-increasing marker *ai*. The object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker agrees with the possessor 'his', rather than with the promoted argument itself 'his chainsaw', and is thus realised as *v* (3SG.M). The possessee alone is expressed by the NP *ko=a chainsaw* (3SG.F=LIG chainsaw). Thus, in (9.53-a) the argument 'his chainsaw' is expressed by a combination of the object clitic and the NP. This example expresses that the possessor 'his' is affected by an event of their cutting trees with the chainsaw, which belongs to him. Note that a chainsaw has a special significance for Vella La Vella island people and thus can be an inalienably possessed noun.

(9.53-a) *Ke=ta* *v=ai* *kobue=k=ala* *ko=a*
3PL=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL cut=3SG.F.O=RCP 3SG.F=LIG

chainsaw.
chainsaw
'They cut [trees] with his chainsaw.'

(9.53-b) *Ke=kobue=k=ala* *vo=ko* *chainsaw* *kale.*
3PL=cut=3SG.F.O=RCP 3SG.M=3SG.F chainsaw with
'They cut [trees] with his chainsaw.'

In (9.53-a), the possessor 'his' and the possessee 'chainsaw' cannot be treated as separate arguments. If that were the case, it would mean that there are four arguments in this example, 'they', 'trees', 'his', and 'chainsaw' and accordingly there should be four bound pronouns, agreeing with each of these four arguments. However, there are only three bound pronouns indicating there are only three arguments, which are 'they', 'tree', and 'his chainsaw'.

In (9.53-a), the valency-increasing marker *ai* introduces an argument with the semantic role of instrument. In combination with the possessor-raising marker, the valency-increasing marker *a* always introduces an argument with the semantic role of possessor.

The comparison between (9.54-a) and (9.54-b) illustrates that in (9.54-a) the 'his' alone is the introduced argument, and 'all rubbish' is the original object. These two arguments are in a possessor–possessee relationship. Notice that unlike in (9.53-a), in (9.54-a) the possessor and the possessee do not form a single argument. Thus, there are three core arguments in (9.54-a): the subject, 'she', the object, 'all rubbish', and the added object 'he/his'. In this example, the possessee 'all rubbish' is treated as a body part of the possessor, as the rubbish is in the mouth of the possessor—the brother-in law of the possessor put the rubbish in his mouth and sealed the mouth.

(9.54-a)	*...ko=ta*	*v=a*	*ngamu=k=a*	*kiada=ma*	*voti-voti...*
	3SG.F=POSS	3SG.M.O=VAL	throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES	all=3SG.F	REDUP-rubbish

'...she threw away all his rubbish...' (39-5-36)

(9.54-b)	*Ko=ngamu=k=a*	*kiada=ma*	*voti-voti.*
	3SG.F=throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES	all=3SG.F	REDUP-rubbish

'She threw away all rubbish.'

The following is another example in which the introduced argument has the semantic role of possessor and the possessor and the possessee do not constitute one argument. In this example, the verb is intransitive, but there are two core arguments—'my' and 'the son'—because of the valency increase. Example (9.55-a) expresses that the possessor, the mother, will be distressed if the possessee, the son, dies.

(9.55-a)	*"Koe*	*o=ta*	*l=a*	*vouv=ou*	*vo=a*	*meqora",*
	INTJ	3SG.M=POSS	1SG.O=VAL	die=FUT	3SG.M=LIG	child

'"Oh, my son will die on me,"' (27-9-56)

(9.55-b)	*"O=vouv=ou*	*vo=a*	*meqora".*
	3SG.M=die=FUT	3SG.M=LIG	child

'"The son will die."'

The possessor-raising marker *ta* can occur with any valency-increasing markers. The following is an example with *ati.* In example (9.56), there are two core arguments, the original argument, the subject, 'they', and the introduced argument, the object, 'his boot', with the semantic role of accompaniment. The object clitic agrees with the possessor 'his'.

(9.56)	*...ke=ta*	*v=ati*	*soqoi=va.*
	3PL=POSS	3SG.M.O=VAL	run.away=PRES

'...they ran away with his [boots].' (16-6-77)

With a possessor-raising construction, 'the Possessor may or may not be simultaneously expressed by a pronoun, clitic, or affix internal to the NP which contains the possessed item' (Payne 1997:395). In example (9.57), the possessor is expressed by a bound pronoun, a possessor marker, in the NP *o=loilo* (3SG.M=face) 'his face', in which 'face' is the possessee. This NP is a direct type of a possessive NP (see §7.3 for structures of possessive NPs).

(9.57)	...*ko=ta*	*v=ai*	*sivoez=a*	*o=loilo*...
	3SG.F=POSS	3SG.M.O=VAL	urinate=PRES	3SG.M=face

'...she urinated on his face...' (43-5-53)

9.6 Summary

In the sections above, the valency of verbs and valency-changing mechanisms in Bilua were described. The valency-increasing construction functions to introduce a new core argument. With argument promotion, affectedness of one of the arguments, often the introduced argument, is highlighted, and the affected argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. The valency-increasing construction may also be employed so that a non-human referent can be expressed by a pronoun. Here, it promotes a non-argument to a core argument but it does not function to highlight the affectedness of an argument.

Valency-increasing markers do not occur with the situation-change marker *ta* (see §8.5.3. This is because *ta* highlights the change of situation instead of the affectedness of an argument. One clause cannot highlight both. That is, there is complementary distribution here; the situation-change marker *ta* highlights the change of situation, while valency-increasing markers highlight the affectedness of an argument. Example (9.58) below highlights the new situation that the war is here, and thus it has the situation-change marker.

(9.58)	...*ko=a*	*kana*	*ta*	*lula*	*ko=ta*	*amaqe=la*	*anime*
	3SG.F=LIG	war	TOP	already	3SG.F=SIT	enter=RCP	1PL.INC

kasi...
at
'...the war has already entered into our area...' (22-7-30)

When the sentence is one that highlights the affectedness of an argument, it will be one in the valency-increasing construction.

(9.59)	*Ko=a*	*kana*	*ta*	*lula*	*ko=m=ai*	*amaqe=a.*
	3SG.F=LIG	war	TOP	already	3SG.F=1PL.O=VAL	enter=PRES

'The war has already entered into our area (the war has already come to us).'

Transitive verbs on their own highlight the affectedness of an argument with the semantic role of patient, while intransitive/transitive verbs accompanied by a valency-increasing marker can highlight the affectedness of an argument with various other kinds of semantic role. A valency-increasing marker may co-occur with the possessor-raising marker, and this highlights the affectedness of a participant with the semantic role of possessor.

This concludes the description of valency and transitivity in Bilua. The next chapter deals with adjuncts.

10 *Adjuncts*

10.1 Postpositional phrases

This chapter presents a description of adjuncts, but first a brief description of postpositional phrases (PPs) is presented, as PPs typically function as adjuncts and there is no chapter/section which deals with a description of PPs elsewhere in this work.

The head of a postpositional phrase is a postposition, and this governs an NP or a locational/temporal phrase (see below). Postpositions in Bilua are as follows, repeated from §5.7. There is also a complex postposition of reason *kale avo* 'because of'.

locative	*kasi* and *kale*
vicinity	*vasi*
ablative	*azo*
temporal	*keru*
comitative	*sate*
benefactive	*kaqe*
privative	*pide*
similative	*jari*

Two locative postpositions, *kasi* and *kale,* are also realised as *asi* and *ale.* In the data *asi* occurs only when it follows a noun *pade* 'house' or a pronominal enclitic *mu*, but *kasi* can also follow these. Therefore, *kasi* is considered to be the basic form. Both *kale* and *ale*, on the other hand, occur with any nouns. Furthermore, *kale/ale* may also be realised as a clitic *le* when the preceding word ends with *a* or when it follows a nominalised verb.

(10.1) *...a=qaka=ko* *lezu* *melai* *ikoana* *ko=a*
1SG=elder.sibling=3SG.F head too EXT.SG.F 3SG.F=LIG

mola=le.
canoe=in
'...my older sister's head too was on the canoe.' (25-5-36)

It is not the case, however, that *le* is always chosen after a word ending with *a* or a nominalised verb. Sometimes when the preceding word ends with *a*, *kale* is used, but never *ale*, or when the preceding word is a nominalised verb, both *kale* and *ale* can be used. There appears to be no criterion which determines which of *kale* and *ale* is the basic form. However, since *kasi* is considered to be the basic form between *kasi* and *asi*, one might say that between *kale* and *ale*, *kale* is the basic form.

The ablative postposition *azo* and the postposition of vicinity *vasi* are distinguished from all other postposition, which can only govern NPs. *Azo* can govern any temporal and locational phrase, while *vasi* can govern any locational phrase. Temporal and locational phrases can be a PP headed with a locative postposition, a temporal/locational adverb, or a temporal/locational NP (see §10.3 and §10.4). A PP headed with *vasi* itself is also a locational phrase.

PPs headed with all postpositions except similative *jari* 'like' can function as adjuncts, as described below. PPs headed with *jari* can function as complements of the verb *iko* 'to cause' (see §8.7.3) or a non-verbal predicate (see §11.2). The word *jari* can also function as a general modifier (see §10.10 below).[64] A PP may also function as an NP modifier (see §7.2.1.3.1).

10.2 Introduction

As defined in §3.2.2, adjuncts are peripheral components of clauses, and they take the form of an NP, a PP, an adverb, the negation marker, a general modifier, or an adverbial clause. This chapter presents a description of NPs, PPs, adverbs, and general modifiers as adjuncts. The negation marker is described in §3.2.2 and §11.5. Adverbial clauses are described in §12.4.

Bilua adjuncts can be divided into different semantic types. The following table sets out different semantic types of adjuncts in Bilua and constituents which can function as each semantic type.

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[64] It may be postulated that the morpheme *jari* is categorised as just a general modifier, and not as a postposition as well. The following example, however, illustrates that *jari* can govern an NP and can also be a postposition. In this example, *jari* governs an NP *ngo=ko zaloni* 'your ornament', and the postpositional phrase *ngo=ko zaloni jari* 'your ornament-like' functions as a modifier in a modifier phrase. This modifier phrase modifies the head of the NP *zaloni* 'decoration'.

[[*ngo=ko*	*zaloni*]NP	*jari*]PP=*a=ma*	*zaloni*
2SG=3SG.F	ornament	SIM=LIG=3SG.F	ornament

'ornaments like your ornaments'

Table 10.1: Semantic types of adjuncts and constituents

Semantic types of adjuncts	Constituents
locational	• locational adverbs • NPs headed with a locational noun • PPs headed with *kasi*, *kale*, or *vasi*
temporal	• NPs headed with a temporal noun • PPs headed with *kale*, *keru* • temporal adverbs
ablative	• PPs headed with *azo*
manner	• manner adverbs
linking	• linking adverbials
circumstantial	• circumstantial adverbs
restrictive	• general modifier *pala* 'only'
similative	• general modifier *jari* 'something like'
simultaneous	• PPs headed with *kale*
instrumental	• PPs headed with *kale*
comitative	• PPs headed with *sate*
privative	• PPs headed with *pide*
benefactive	• PPs headed with *kaqe*
reason	• PPs headed with *kale avo*

Each semantic type of adjuncts is described below. One clause may have more than two adjuncts, and these occur in a certain order. The order of adjuncts is also described below.

10.3 Locational

Locational adjuncts can be a locational adverb, an NP headed with a locational noun, or a PP headed with a postposition *kasi* 'at', *kale* 'in', or *vasi* 'adjacent to'. These constituents are referred to as locational phrases, and they can all be the predicate of a locational clause as well (see §11.3).

As set out in §4.3, open subclasses of nouns are divided into two types: locational nouns and non-locational nouns. An NP headed with a locational noun can function as a locational adjunct by itself, while an NP headed with a non-locational noun requires a postposition in order to function as a locational adjunct.

10.3.1 Locational adverbs

Locational adverbs, two deictic adverbs *koi* 'here' and *sai* 'there', and an indefinite locational adverb *uki* 'somewhere there', and a distance adverb *vanga* 'far', function as locational adjuncts.

(10.2) *Se* *ta* *ke=pazo-kini=e* *sai.*
3PL TOP 3PL=hit-RECP=RMP there
'They fought there.' (12-9-85)

(10.3) *"Uki* *nio* *ngo=ba* *tare=k=ou...*
somewhere.there FOC.NONF 2SG=PROS wait=3SG.F.O=FUT
'"Somewhere there you will go and wait...' (2-5-31)

(10.4) *Qo=ta* *ol=a* *vanga...*
3DU=SIT go=PRES far
'The two went far...' (59-6-47)

The word *koi* also functions as a locational noun meaning 'place' (see next section). Unlike *koi* 'place' as a noun, *koi* 'here' as a deictic adverb cannot be the head of an NP and forms a phrase on its own. Thus, unlike a noun *koi* 'place' it cannot co-occur with an optional constituent of NPs. In example (10.5) *koi* can only be treated as a noun, 'place', as it is modified by a modifier phrase. *Koi* in example (10.6) on the other hand can only be treated as an adverb 'here' — treating it as a noun results in a semantic idiosyncrasy.

(10.5) *...sai* *ta* *ile-ile=a* *koi...*
there TOP REDUP-beautiful=LIG place
'...that was a beautiful place...'(26-12-68)
'*...that was a beautiful here...'

(10.6) *Anga* *ta* *koi.*
1SG TOP here
'I am here.'
'*I am place.'

10.3.2 Locational NPs

An NP headed with a locational noun, that is a placename, a relational noun, or the noun *koi* 'place', can function as a locational adjunct.

(10.7) NP headed with a placename
...vo *ta* *o=vou=vi* *sai* *Fiji.*
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=die=RMP there Fiji
'...he, he died there in Fiji.' (12-8-80)

(10.8) NP headed with a relational noun

...o=koit=a *ko=a okate.*
3SG.M=climb=PRES 3SG.F=LIG high
'...he climbed that high (high up on the tree).' (48-3-26)

(10.9) NP headed with *koi* 'place'

...se ta ke=vae=k=ake kiada=ma piza omadeu
3PL TOP 3PL=leave=3SG.M.O=HIST all=3SG.F bone one

koi.
place
'...they left all bones at one place.' (26-24-131)

10.3.3 Locational PPs

A PP headed with a postposition, *kasi*, *kale*, or *vasi* functions as a locational adjunct. *Kasi* and *kale* are locative postpositions, and *vasi* is a postposition of vicinity. *Kale* can mark not only a spatial location but also a temporal location. Thus, a PP headed with *kale* can also function as a temporal adjunct (see §10.4.3). It can also function as an adjunct which presents a simultaneous situation, or as an instrumental adjunct (see §10.11 and §10.12).[65]

Kasi and *kale* only govern an NP headed with a non-locational noun. *Vasi* 'adjacent to', on the other hand, governs any locational phrase—a PP headed with *kasi* or *kale*, a locational NP, or a locational adverb.

10.3.3.1 Kasi *'at' and* kale *'in'*

Each of *kasi* 'at' and *kale* 'in' governs NPs headed with certain kinds of non-locational nouns. *Kasi* can govern an NP headed with a personal name, a kinship term, an independent pronoun, a demonstrative, or a human common noun. That is, it governs an NP which has a human referent. *Kasi* can also govern an NP headed with a concrete common noun such as *kiti* 'leg' and *ore* 'tree'.

(10.10) Personal name

Hilda kasi a ev=e.
Hilda at 1SG stay=RMP
'I stayed at Hilda's.'

(10.11) Kinship term

Aniqe ta lea ta qe=pa barol=o
1DU.INC TOP tomorrow TOP 1DU.INC=PROS arrive=NRFUT

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[65] Manner adverbs appear to have originated in postpositional phrases headed with *le*, a contracted form of *kale*. This is discussed in §5.2.

anga=ko mama ni niania kasi saita.
1SG=3SG.F father and mother at first
'We, tomorrow, we will reach my father and mother, first.' (27-17-104)

(10.12) Independent pronoun
...koi ngo kasi a=da raneo=vou.
here 2SG at 1SG=SIT sleep.overnight=FUT
'...here at your place I will sleep overnight.' (59-11-90)

(10.13) Demonstrative
A=da rane=la vo kasi.
1SG=SIT sleep.overnight=RCP 3SG.M at
'I slept overnight at his place.'

(10.14) Human common noun
...pui qe=rurukao=vou maba madu kasi...
NEG 3DU=relax=FUT person COLL.PL at
'...you will not relax at/with people...' (27-21-131)

(10.15) Non-spatial common noun
...ko=kue=va ko niuniu vo=ko potu=a=ma
3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F fish 3SG.M=3SG.F wound=LIG=3SG.F

kiti kasi.
leg at
'...fish came to his wounded leg.' (24-6-69)

Kale can govern an NP which has a large area as a referent; that is, an NP whose head is *peuru* 'village/home town', *udu* 'island', *toupa* 'lake', or *siqo* 'bush'. It can also be an NP whose head is an abstract noun such as *kerukeru* 'thought'. An abstract noun can be a de-adjectival noun such as *tapata* 'hardship' and *duki* 'sad', or a nominalised verb such as *pazokinio* 'fight' and *saevo* 'life'.

(10.16) Common noun of large area
Vo ta o=beta papu=a toupa kale...
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES lake in
'He was sitting in a lake...' (24-5-62)

(10.17) Abstract common noun
Ango=ko keru-keru kale anga ta
1SG=3SG.F REDUP-thought in 1SG TOP

a=qeru-kerue=k=a.
1SG=REDUP-think=3SG.F.O=PRES
'In my thinking, I thought about it.' (12-9-86)

(10.18) Abstract common noun (de-adjectival noun)
Vo ta o=vae=m=ake duki kale
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=leave=3PL.O=HIST sadness in

o=tou-tou ni o=meqorasaidi.
3SG.M=REDUP-tribe and 3SG.M=family
'He left his tribe and his family in sadness.' (23-3-35)

(10.19) Abstract common noun (nominalised verb)
Nge elo=u enge=ko saev=o kale.
1PL.EXC stay=FUT 1PL.EXC=3SG.F survive=NOM in
'We will stay in our life.' (64-4-24)

In examples (10.11) and (10.15) above and also (10.22) and (10.23) below, the entity marked with a locative postposition is a goal. This interpretation is due to the semantics of their respective verbs; goals are part of the semantic representation of verbs.

NPs headed with a noun which refers to a small area, such as *kiaro* 'garden' or a three dimensional space (a building or a container), such as *pade* 'house' and *sope* 'shrine', can be the object of both *kasi* and *kale.*

(10.20) Common noun of three dimensional place (building) with *kasi* 'at'
...qo=baro=a ke=pade kasi...
3DU=arrive=PRES 3PL=house at
'...they arrived at their house...' (24-4-35)

(10.21) Common noun of three dimensional place (building) with *kale* 'in'
...o=beta butai=va inio pade kale...
3SG.M=CONT hide=PRES FOC.NONF house in
'...he kept hiding in the house...' (59-6-45)

(10.22) Common noun of small area with *kasi* 'at'
...niania=ka=ma ko ol=a kiaro kasi...
mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F go=PRES garden at
'...the mother went to the garden...' (27-2-13)

(10.23) Common noun of small area with *kale* 'in'
...aniqe ta qe ol=a kiaro ale,
1DU.INC TOP 1DU.INC go=PRES garden in
'...we went to the garden,' (39-1-4)

Notice that in (10.22) and (10.23), an NP headed with *kiaro* 'garden' is marked with *kasi* 'at' and *kale* 'in' respectively, and it expresses a goal of the same verb *zio* 'to go' in both examples. Example (10.23) does not mean that the subject went 'into' the garden. The postpositional phrase simply indicates a goal.[66]

The distributions of *kasi* and *kale* are summarised in the following table.

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[66] There may be a subtle semantic difference here, but the author has not been able to find it from the data or elicitation.

Table 10.2: Distribution of *kasi* and *kale*

Type of head of NP		Postposition
Type I	• person names • kinship terms • demonstratives • human common nouns • non-spatial concrete common nouns	*kasi*
Type II	• common nouns of large area • abstract common nouns (including de-adjectival nouns and nominalised verbs)	*kale*
Type III	• common nouns of small area • common nouns of three dimensional place (buildings and containers)	*kasi* and *kale*

With speech verbs, a locative PP headed with *kasi* 'at' presents an addressee. Thus, *kasi* can also mark an entity with the semantic role of addressee.

(10.24) *"Qe=kil=ou* *nio* *qe=tauve=l=ou"*
2DU=come=FUT SEQ 2DU=help=1SG=FUT

k=i=ko=ve *ko=ko* *megora* *kasi.*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP 3SG.F=3SG.F child at
'"You will come and help me", she said to her daughter.' (27-20-122)

When the predicate implies an entry, *kale* can be interpreted as 'into', as in the following example.

(10.25) *...o=pa* *raibi=k=a* *ko=a* *duruo* *kale.*
3SG.M=PROS pour=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG string.bag in
'...he went and poured them into a string bag.' (2-4-22)

Kale can also mean 'on (top of)' or indicate physical contact, and *kale* can then co-occur with nouns of Type I as well as of Type II.

(10.26) *Kale* 'on' with a non-spatial common noun (Type I)
...o=turoe=k=a *o=lezu* *kale...*
3SG.M=strike=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=head on
'...he struck it against his head...' (59-2-20)
(more literally '...he struck it on his head...')

(10.27) *Kale* 'on' with a common noun of large area (Type II)
Miduku *kale* *ko=papu=vou...*
ground on 3SG.F=sit=FUT
'It will sit on the ground...' (2-6-33)

With common nouns of three dimensional place (Type III), *kale* can only mean 'in', and a relational noun *topi* 'on' is used instead of *kale* for 'on' or a physical engagement.[67] Note that relational nouns are becoming postpositions and may follow an NP in present Bilua (see §4.3.5). This is the case in the following example.

(10.28)	*Ke=papue=v=e*	*komi=a*	*jari*	*topi.*
	3PL=sit=3SG.M.O=RMP	PROX.SG.F=LIG	copra.house	on

'They sat him on this copra house.' (43-2-19)

As mentioned above, *toupa* 'lake' belongs to Type II and can occur only with *kale* 'in'. There is no expression for 'to be at the lake', but instead one can say 'to be at water', using an NP headed with *ju* 'water'. *Ju* means 'water' in general, and it can refer to a river, a stream, a lake etc. *Ju* 'water' belongs to Type III, and an NP headed with *ju* 'water' can be marked by both *kasi* 'at' and *kale* 'in'.

(10.29)	*...ko=baro=a*	*sai*	*ju*	*kasi...*
	3SG.F=arrive=PRES	there	water	at

'...she arrived there at the water...' (27-22-142)

(10.30)	*Vo*	*ta*	*ju*	*kale*	*o=vae=k=a.*
	3SG.M	TOP	water	in	3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES

'He left it in the water.' (2-1-4)

An NP headed with a non-locational noun is obligatorily marked with a locative postposition when it is used with a locational sense. This applies even when an NP is marked with another postposition, such as the postposition of vicinity *vasi* 'adjacent to' or the ablative postposition *azo* 'from'. Thus, *vasi* and *azo* can govern a locative PP (see §10.3.3.2 and §10.5).

10.3.3.2 Vasi *'adjacent to'*

As noted above, *vasi* 'adjacent to' can govern any kind of locational phrase. A PP headed with *vasi* 'adjacent to' refers to the vicinity of the area described by the governed phrase. The following is an example of *vasi* governing an NP headed with a locational noun.

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[67] When *topi* 'on' indicates physical contact, it can also follow an NP headed with a non-spatial common noun. That is, with an NP headed with a non-spatial common noun, physical contact can be indicated by either the postposition *kale* or the relational noun *topi*. In the following example, *topi* 'on' indicates physical contact between an axe and a hand.

...puli=a=ma	*maja*	*enge=ko*	*ngase*	*topi...*
NEG=LIG=3SG.F	axe	1PL.EXC=3SG.F	hand	on

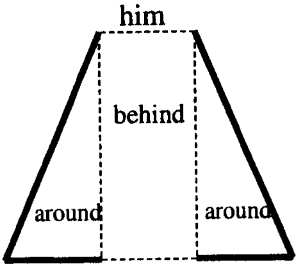
'...there is no axe on our hand...'

Topi is a relational noun, not a postposition. Like other relational nouns, it occurs as the possessee of an indirect type of possessive NP (see §4.3.5 for relational nouns).

(10.31) *...vo* *ta* *tova* *vasi* *inio*
3SG.M TOP behind adjacent.to FOC.NONF

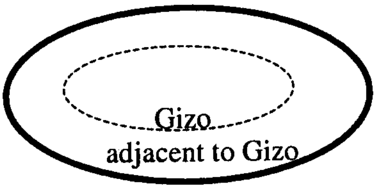
o=lilit=a...
3SG.M=look.back=PRES
'...he looked back at the area adjacent to behind [him]...' (28-4-33)

In the example above, the area referred to is not right behind him but the area surrounding it. The following diagram illustrates the area *tova vasi* 'the area adjacent to behind him' refers to. In diagrams given in this section, the dotted line indicates the area covered by a governed constituent and between the dotted line and the bold line is the area covered by a PP headed with *vasi* 'adjacent to'. For example in the following diagram, the dotted line indicates the area covered by *tova* 'behind', while the area between the dotted line and the bold line marks the area covered by a PP *tova vasi* 'the area adjacent to behind him'.



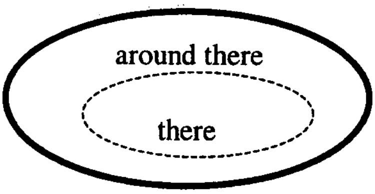
The following is an example of *vasi* governing a PP headed with a locative postposition.

(10.32) *Ke=ta* *ol=ala* *Gizo* *udu* *kale* *vasi.*
3PL=SIT go=RCP Gizo island in adjacent.to
'They went to the area adjacent to Gizo island.'

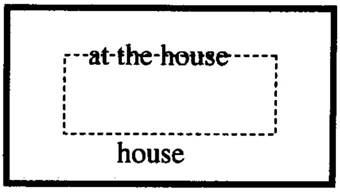


In (10.33), *vasi* governs a deictic adverb *sai* 'there'. *Sai* 'there' and *vasi* 'adjacent to' are contracted into *savasi.*

(10.33) *...vo* *ta* *sa-vasi* *kuleto.*
3SG.M TOP there-adjacent.to first
'...he was around there (that place) first.' (15-4-37)



Vasi 'adjacent to' does not govern an NP which can be marked with a locative postposition *kasi* 'at', as *kasi* refers to immediate vicinity itself as well as the area expressed by the governed NP. For example, *pade kasi* 'at the house' indicates the area within the bold line in the following diagram. The dotted line indicates the area of the house.[68]



10.4 Temporal

A temporal adverb, an NP headed with a temporal noun or a relational noun *tova* 'behind', or a PP headed with a postposition *kale* or *keru* can function as a temporal adjunct. These are categorised as temporal phrases.

NPs headed with all temporal nouns except for *taku* 'time' function as a temporal adjunct without postpositionally marked. An NP headed with a temporal noun *taku* 'time' may optionally be marked with a postposition.

10.4.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs function as temporal adjuncts. The list of temporal adverbs is given in §5.2. All temporal adverbs except for *lula* 'already', *mainio* 'later', and *sipole* 'soon' can occur either before or after the predicate. The aforementioned temporal adverbs always occur before the predicate.

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[68] *Vasi* and *kasi* are similar in their forms and they both mean something like 'the vicinity'. It may be postulated then that they are different realisations of a postposition of vicinity. Incidentally, the first consonants of each of *vasi* and *kasi*, *v* and *k*, are identical with third person singular masculine and feminine object clitics respectively, and this might suggest that *vasi* and *kasi* are masculine and feminine forms respectively. However, there appears to be no syntactic motivation why there should be different forms for only this type of postposition. Furthermore, if *vasi* and *kasi* were masculine and feminine forms, it is expected that they would agree in gender with the governed NP, but this proves to be not true. *Kasi* is always the form that marks a personal name regardless of whether it is a male or female name.

(10.34) *...vairutu ngo=didie=k=a anga=ko pesi-pesi...*
now 2SG=listen=3SG.F.O=PRES 1SG=3SG.F REDUP-story
'...now you are listening to my story...' (10-18-151)

(10.35) *...qo=pa v=el=ou lea...*
3DU=PROS 3SG.M.O=see=PRES tomorrow
'...the two will go and see him tomorrow...' (26-6-34)

(10.36) *lula o=ta vou=la...*
already 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES
'He has already died...' (16-6-83)

10.4.2 Temporal NPs

NPs headed with a temporal noun or a relational noun *tova* 'behind' can function as temporal adjuncts. The following are examples of an NP headed with a temporal noun.

(10.37) *...so inio nioqa=ko saev=o kiada=ma taku.*
that FOC.NONF 3DU=3SG.F survive=NOM all=3SG.F time
'...that was the life of the two all the time.' (27-3-18)

(10.38) *...o=ta marong=a kubo nganiu...*
3SG.M=SIT sleep=PRES many day
'...he slept for many days...' (27-4-24)

It is mentioned in the next section that the NPs *koa taku* 'that time' and *komia taku* 'this time' may be marked with a postposition *kale* or *keru*. Other NPs headed with *taku*, for example *kiadama taku* 'all the time' as in (10.37), cannot be marked with any postposition.

In (10.39) below, the head of the underlined temporal NP is *taku* 'time'. This is modified by a modifier phrase, *kevadomukoama* 'one (the time) which they planned' (see §7.2.1.3.1 for modifier phrases), in which the modifying constituent is a future clause and the future tense marker *ou* is realised as *o*. Note that here the future tense marker, not a past tense marker, is employed even though the situation of planning occurred in the past. This is because the time set up by the plan itself is situated in the future.

(10.39) *Ko=barol=ou ko=a taku*
3SG.F=arrive=FUT 3SG.F=LIG time

ke=vadomu=k=o=a=ma inio ke=k=ati
3PL=plan=3SG.F.O=FUT=LIG=3SG.F FOC.NONF 3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL

padoil=ou *ko* *sailao.*
gather=FUT 3SG.F food
'It is when the time they have planned (to have a wedding) arrives that they will gather with food.' (21-4-24)

When a temporal NP is headed with *tova* 'behind', it is always a possessive NP. A possessive NP headed with *tova* 'behind' means 'after such and such time', where 'such and such time' is expressed by a possessor NP (see §7.3.2). It may be said that a relational noun *tova* 'behind' is becoming a postposition meaning 'after'.

(10.40) *Se=ko* *tova* *inio* *ko* *ta* *ko=ta*
3PL=3SG.F behind FOC.NONF 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=SIT

nabul=a *ko* *risu.*
bake=PRES 3SG.F crab
'It was after them (after they went), she baked a crab.' (48-1-8)

10.4.3 Temporal PPs

A PP headed with *keru* or *kale* can function as a temporal adjunct. *Keru* can govern an NP headed with a numeral referring to a year and the pronoun *so* 'that', or an NP *koa taku* 'that time' or *lulama taku* 'past'. *Keru* is optional when its governed NP is headed with *taku* 'time', and the NP by itself can function as a temporal adjunct. *Keru* can also mark a clause, functioning as a subordinator (§12.4.1).

(10.41) *...kiada=ma* *quli* *ti* *ikoana* *ko=a* *taku* *keru.*
all=3SG.F thing TOP EXT.SG.F 3SG.F=LIG time TEMP
'...there was everything at that time.' (64-1-5)

(10.42) *Omadeu* *vuro* *siotolu* *paizana* *keru* *ta*
one thousand eight hundred TEMP TOP

komi=a *udu* *kale* *ta* *puli=a=ma*
PROX.SG.F=LIG island in TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F

pazo-kini=o.
hit-RECP=NOM
'In 1800, there was no fighting in this island.' (12-9-88)

Kale can govern only NPs *koa taku* 'that time' and *komia taku* 'this time', but like *keru* described above this *kale* is optional, and these NPs by themselves can function as temporal adjuncts (see §10.4.2 above).

(10.43) *Komi=a* *taku* *kale* *ta* *kubo* *quli* *ta* *ikoana*
PROX.SG.F=LIG time in TOP many thing TOP EXT.SG.F

komi=a *Solomoni* *ailadi.*
PROX.SG.F=LIG Solomon island
'In this time, there are many things in the Solomon Islands.' (64-2-8)

According to informants, when the governed NP is *koa taku* 'that time', the two postpositions *keru* and *kale* are interchangeable, and it appears that there is no semantic difference between *koa taku keru* and *koa taku kale*.

The distribution of *keru* and *kale* is summarised in the following table.

Table 10.3: Distribution of *kale* and *keru*

Type of NP	Postposition
Numerals referring to a year *koa taku* 'that time' the pronoun *so* 'that' which refers to a clause *lula=ma taku* (already=3SG.F time) 'past'	*keru*
koa taku 'that time' *komia taku* 'this time'	*kale*

Kale can also mark a possessive NP *ko=ko rane=o* (3SG.F=3SG.F sleep.overnight=NOM), forming an idiom *koko raneo kale*. This means 'the next day'.

(10.44)

...*ko=ko*	*rane=o*	*kale*	*ti*	*nioqa*	*ta*
3SG.F=3SG.F	sleep.overnight=NOM	in	TOP	3DU	TOP

qo=koi=va.
3DU=go.up=PRES
'...the next day, they went up.' (59-4-32)

Keru forms an idiom with an adjective *kiada* 'all'; for example, *kiada keru* 'always/all the time'.

(10.45)

...*kiada*	*keru*	*aniqe*	*ta*	*qe*	*ol=a*	*kiaro*	*ale...*
all	TEMP	1PL.EXC	TOP	1PL.EXC	go=PRES	garden	in

'...always, we, we go to the garden...' (24-8-83)

10.5 Ablative

The ablative postposition *azo* 'from' governs a locational phrase, a temporal phrase, or an NP headed with a demonstrative. In addition to these, *azo* can also govern an interrogative *lai* 'where'.

Azo marks a source/origin when it governs a locational phrase or an interrogative *lai* 'where'.

(10.46)

Pujuavole	*anga*	*ta*	*a=q=ai*	*bazut=a*
making.it short	1SG	TOP	1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL	tell=PRES

ko=kue=vi=ma *vakapeuru ale azo...*
3SG.F=come=RMP=REL.F western.country in ABL
'Making it short, I am going to tell a story which came from a western country...' (10-14-121)

(10.47) *Koi kazo ke=rorao=va.*
here ABL 3PL=travel.through.bush=PRES
'From here they travelled through a bush.' (10-10-85)

(10.48) *Lai kazo inio ko=kue=va.*
where ABL FOC.NONF 3SG.F=come=PRES
'Where did she come from?' (59-3-25)

Azo marks a starting point of extension of time, when it governs a temporal phrase.

(10.49) *So keru azo inio kiada=mu ta ke=kue=vi*
That TEMP ABL FOC.NONF all=3PL TOP 3PL=come=RMP

Vonunu.
Vonunu
'From that time, everyone came to Vonunu.' (12-5-49)

Note that in (10.46) and (10.49), *azo* follows other postpositions. These postpositions cannot be omitted. *Azo* is the only postposition which can co-occur with another postposition.

The postposition *azo* is interpreted as 'of' when the demonstrative it governs refers to a group of people and when this ablative PP is followed by an indefinite pronoun.

(10.50) *Eqe azo kala inio koi o el=ou.*
1DU.EXC ABL INDEF.SG.M FOC.NONF here 3SG.M stay=FUT
'One from/of us will stay here.' (59-4-30)

10.6 Manner

There are several manner adverbs in Bilua as listed in §5.2. A manner adverb can be modified by an intensifier *matu* 'very'. A manner adverb can occur either before or after the predicate.

(10.51) *...taukavole ko=ta aer=a.*
quickly 3SG.F=SIT separate=PRES
'...it would separate quickly.' (34-1-9)

(10.52) *O=nokae=v=a matuvole.*
3SG.M=call=3SG.M.O=PRES loudly
'He called him loudly.' (12-7-71)

10.7 Linking

As noted in §5.2, linking adverbials indicate the successional relationship between one situation presented by the clause in which a linking adverbial occurs and another situation presented by the clause which precedes or follows this. They link two clauses semantically but not syntactically because they do not necessarily occur in a sentence consisting of two or more clauses. Thus, they are treated as a constituent of the clause and not as coordinators. The following is a list of linking adverbials repeated from §5.2.

sainio	'therefore/then'
soinio	'accordingly'
saitainio	'afterwards
saikazo	'following that'
sole	'that's why'

Except for *sole* 'that's why', linking adverbials all occur only before the predicate.

(10.53)	*"Ki*	*esa*	*inio*	*ko=beta*	*siusiut=a*	*inio,*
	INTJ	maybe	FOC.NONF	3SG.F=CONT	swim=PRES	FOC.NONF

soinio	*pui*	*ko=kue=va"*	*k=i=ko=la.*
accordingly	NEG	3SG.F=come=PRES	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

'"Maybe, she is still swimming, accordingly, she hasn't come," said she.' (27-23-151)

Sole 'that's why' can occur either before and or the predicate.

(10.54)	*Sito*	*ta*	*matu*	*piza=ka=la*	*maba.*	*Sole*	*pui*
	Sito	TOP	very	strong=LIG=3SG.M	person	that's.why	NEG

ke=rove=a	*noqoe=v=o.*
3PL=can=PRES	capture=3SG.M.O=NOM

'Sito was a very strong person. Because of that, they could not capture him.' (12-7-64/65)

(10.55)	*...se*	*ta*	*ke=ziaroli=oke,*	*ako*	*se=ko*
	3PL	TOP	3PL=mourn=HIS	INTJ	3PL=3SG.F

maba=mu=ko	*piza*	*se*	*ta*	*ke=k=e=ake*
person=COLL.PL=3SG.F	bone	3PL	TOP	3PL=3SG.F.O=see=HIST

sole.
that's why
'They, they mourned, because they saw their people's bones.' (26-24-129)

Two linking adverbials *sainio* 'therefore' and *soinio* 'accordingly' may be used to mark significant points in the speaker's argumentation. In such a case, they take strong intonational stress. The speaker gives strong stress to a linking adverbial in order to warn the hearer that he/she is going to present a significant point of argumentation.

(10.56) *Komi=a* *Vella La Vella* *udu* *kale* *ta* *puli=a=ma*
3SG.F=LIG Vella La Vella island in TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F

sailao *komi=a* *taku* *enge* *ta*
food 3SG.F=LIG time 1PL.EXC TOP

nge=madoe=k=a *melai* *pui* *nge=rove=a* *sole.*
1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=PRES but NEG 1PL.EXC=can=PRES that's.why

Soinio *ko=kue=va=ko* *taku* *kaitu=a=ma*
accordingly 3SG.F=come=PRES=REL.F time future=LIG=3SG.F

enge=ko *saev=o* *ta* *esa* *olaqua=vo*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F survive=NOM TOP maybe suffering=NOM

enge *ta* *nge=rove=a* *tu* *el=o.*
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=can=PRES IRR stay=NOM
'In this Vella La Vella island, we tried [to get food], but because we cannot [get it] there is no food this time. Accordingly, in the time which is coming, in the future, maybe our life will be a suffering one, we are likely to stay [in suffering].' (64-3-20~21)

10.8 Circumstantial

As set out in §5.2, circumstantial adverbs are a group of adverbs, which give surrounding information about the situation presented by the predicate and which are neither temporal nor locational. The following is a list of circumstantial adverbs repeated from §5.2:

muli	'altogether'
saita	'first' (this is done first)
maba	'truly'
esa	'maybe'
lula	'already'
mainio	'later'
kuleto	'first'
sipole	'soon'
mata/mati	'again'

Among circumstantial adverbs, some occur only before the predicate and others occur only after the predicate. An exception to this is *mata/mati* 'again', which can occur before or after the predicate.

(10.57)

Kiada	*keru*	*ti*	*ko*	*ikio*	*se=a*	*saidi=ko*	*saev=o.*
all	TEMP	TOP	3SG.F	FOC.F	3PL=LIG	family=3SG.F	survive=NOM

Nioqa	*ti*	*qo*	*ol=a*	*kiaro*	*kale...*
3DU	TOP	3DU	go=PRES	garden	in

Nioqa=vo	*mama*	*mati*	*o*	*ol=a*	*ju*	*kale*	*niuniu*
3DU=3SG.M	father	again	3SG.M	go=PRES	water	in	fish

vaili=k=o=le.
look.for=3SG.F.O=NOM=PURP

'All the time, that was their life. The two went to the garden... As for the father of the two, he went to the water (lake) again in order to look for fish.' (24-3-27~30)

(10.58)

Ni	*vo*	*ta*	*o=ta*	*ke=ve*	*mata*	*abu=le.*
and	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=SIT	go=RMP	again	fishNOM=PURP

'And, he went fishing as usual.' (24-3-34)

Esa 'maybe', *lula* 'already', *mainio* 'later', *kuleto* 'first', and *maba* 'truly' occur only before the predicate.

(10.59)

...maba	*uri=a*	*maqin=o*	*o=ta*	*ev=a...*
truly	good=LIG	be.full=NOM	3SG.M=SIT	become=PRES

'...truly he became nicely full...' (43-3-27)

Muli 'altogether' and *saita* 'first' occur only after the predicate.

(10.60)

Erisanga	*ta*	*kiada=mu*	*ta*	*ke*	*ev=a*
today	TOP	all=3PL	TOP	3PL	stay=PRES

keta=le	*muli*	*kiada=mu*	*Vella La Vella*	*maba*	*poso.*
edge=in	altogether	all=3PL	Vella La Vella	person	PL

'Today, everyone stays together at the coast, every one, Vella La Vella people.' (9-6-42)

Mata/mati means 'again' as in (10.61) below but this can be interpreted as 'as expected/as usual'. This is the case in example (10.58) above, in which it is suggested that this kind of situation customarily/repeatedly occurs. In (10.61), the context tells that the same situation occurred before, and thus *mata/mati* is simply interpreted as 'again'.

(10.61)

...o=pekao=va,	*o=dokol=a*	*mati*
3SG.M=dance=PRES	3SG.M=stop=PRES	again

o=pekao=va...
3SG.M=dance=PRES

'...he danced, he stopped, and then again he danced...' (26-12-67)

10.9 Restrictive

The general modifier *pala* 'only' has scope over the clause and thus functions as a restrictive adjunct. *Pala* 'only' can occur only after the predicate.

(10.62)	*...me=q=ati*	*vail=ou*	*pala.*
	1PL.INC=3SG.F.O=VAL	look=FUT	only

'...we will only look after her.' (59-9-74)

10.10 Similative

The general modifier *jari* 'like' has scope over the verbal predicate and thus functions as a similative adjunct. *Jari* 'like' can occur only after the predicate.

(10.63)	*...ke=ta*	*kule=a*	*jari*	*se=ko*	*zaloni*	*kale.*
	3PL=SIT	be.first=PRES	SIML	3PL=3SG.F	ornament	in

'It was like they won with their ornaments.' (67-5-50)
(more literally '...It was like they were the first in their ornaments.')

The above example occurs in a discourse where different groups of people decorated with ornaments got together for a feast, and one group of people was wearing such beautiful ornaments that other people felt as if there was an ornament competition, and the beautifully ornamented group of people won the competition.

10.11 Simultaneous

A PP headed with locative *kale* can present a simultaneous situation. When a PP presents a simultaneous situation, the governed NP can have only a nominalised verb as its head, and *kale* is often contracted to *le* and cliticised to the preceding nominalised verb.

(10.64)	*...o=pekao=va*	*vo=ko*	*tali=o*	*kale...*
	3SG.M=dance=PRES	3SG.M=3SG.F	walk=NOM	in

'...he danced in his walk (he danced walking)...' (26-12-65)

(10.65)	*Ko*	*ta*	*siu=le*	*ju*	*kale.*
	3SG.F	TOP	swimNOM=in	water	in

'She was in water, in swimming (she was swimming).' (59-7-57)

Siule 'in swimming' and *ju kale* 'in water' in example (10.65) may be analysed as one postpositional phrase filled by two postpositional phrases in apposition. If so, both postpositional phrases refer to one and the same situation, not two different situations occurring simultaneously. There is no evidence which determines whether this is the case or not, and here it is treated as separate PPs.

10.12 Instrumental

The locative postposition *kale* can govern an NP which has a semantic role of instrument. This use is an extension of its locative marking function.

(10.66) *Ko=a* *niuniu* *ta* *pui* *tali* *kale* *inio*
3SG.F=LIG fish TOP NEG fishing.rod with FOC.NONF

o=k=o=a...
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
'As for the fish, it wasn't with a fishing rod he got them...' (24-6-65)

(10.67) *...ke=vinae=k=a* *qusini* *kale...*
3PL=tighten=3SG.F.O=PRES rope with
'...they tightened it with a rope...' (28-2-16)

10.13 Comitative

A PP headed with the comitative postposition *sate* 'with' presents a referent, either animate or inanimate, which accompanies some other referent.

(10.68) *Melai* *koi=za=mu* *ta* *ke* *ev=a* *Barakoma* *se=vo*
but here=LIG=3PL TOP 3PL stay=PRES Barakoma 3PL=3SG.M

lekasa *sate.*
chief COM
'But, people from here, they stayed in Barakoma with their chief.' (23-1-2)

(10.69) *...ko=a* *niania=ka=ma* *ta* *kora-korail=o* *sate*
3SG.F=LIG mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP REDUP-angry=NOM COM

inio *eri* *k=i=ko=la.*
FOC.NONF s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'...the mother said something like this in anger.' (24-9-88)

10.14 Privative

The privative postposition *pide* is the opposite of *sate* presented in the last section: a PP headed with *pide* presents a referent which does not accompany another referent.

(10.70) *Ko* *ol=ala* *zari-zari* *pide.*
3SG.F go=RCP REDUP-baggage PRIV
'She went without baggage.'

(10.71) *Ko=vait=ala* *meqora* *pide.*
3SG.F=return=RCP child PRIV
'She returned without [her] child.'

10.15 Benefactive

A PP headed with the benefactive postposition *kaqe* presents a beneficiary.[69]

(10.72)

A	*ere=k=ala*	*ko*	*mola*	*vo*	*kaqe.*
1SG	make=3SG.F.O=RCP	3SG.F	canoe	3SG.M	BEN

'I made a canoe for him.'

(10.73)

A=m=ati	*vail=ala*	*meqora*	*poso*	*titisa*	*kaqe.*
1SG=3PL.O=VAL	look=RCP	child	PL	teacher	BEN

'I looked after the children for the teacher.'

10.16 Reason

A PP headed with a complex postposition *kale avo* presents a reason. *Kale avo* governs an NP headed with *kio* 'saying/words' or a pronoun *so* 'that'.

(10.74)

Ngo	*ta*	*gospel=ko*	*k=i=o*	*kale avo*	*inio*
2SG	TOP	Gospel=3SG.F	3SG.F.O=say=NOM	because.of	FOC.NONF

koi	*vairutu...*
here	now

'You are here now because of the word of the Gospel...' (10-18-151)

(10.75)

Alil=o	*melai*	*matu*	*kubo*	*se*	*ta*	*ke*	*alil=a*
be.born=NOM	also	very	many	3PL	TOP	3PL	be.born=PRES

ni	*enge=ko*	*atatai*	*melai*	*matu*	*kubo*	*komi=a*
and	1PL.EXC=3SG.F	count	also	very	many	PROX.SG.F=LIG

taku	*so*	*kale avo*	*inio*	*anga*	*ta*	*eri*
time	that	because.of	FOC.NONF	1SG	TOP	s.th.like.this

k=i=a=la...
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES

'The birth rate is also very high, [babies] are born, and our population is also very high this time; because of that I say something like this...' (64-3-22)

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[69] An expression like 'this is for you' is expressed by a (headless) possessive NP.

Komi	*ta*	*ngo=ko.*
PROX.SG.F	TOP	2SG=3SG.F

'This is yours. (This is for you).'

In the above example, there is ellipsis of the possessee noun.

10.17 Order of adjuncts

A clause may have two unmarked adjuncts, unmarked by a topic or a focus marker, on the same side of the predicate. When this happens, they occur in a certain order according to their types. Different semantic types of adjuncts are divided into four groups according to the positions they take: manner/similative adjuncts, locational/temporal/ablative adjuncts, linking adjuncts, and other adjuncts.

When two adjuncts occur after the predicate, they occur in the order of: a manner/similative, locational/temporal/ablative, other, and linking adjuncts. When they both occur before the predicate, the order is reversed. That is, the distance between the predicate and each group of adjuncts is the same regardless of whether they occur before or after the predicate. This order reflects the semantic function of each type of adjunct. Adjuncts which present information more concerned about the situation presented by the predicate occur closer to the predicate. Manner/similative adjuncts present information about the predicate head and so they occur closest to the predicate, while linking adjuncts do not give any information about the predicate and so they occur furthest from the predicate. In (10.76), a locational adjunct precedes a circumstantial adjunct.

(10.76)	*...kiada=ma*	*maba*	*madu*	*se*	*ta*	*ke=soqoi=va.*
	all=3SG.F	person	COLL.PL	3PL	TOP	3PL=run.away=PRES

Ni	*ke=kue=va*	*Vonunu*	*muli.*
and	3PL=come=PRES	Vonunu	altogether
		locational adjunct	circumstantial adjunct

'...everyone, they ran away. And came to Vonunu altogether.' (12-5-42~43)

One circumstantial adverb, *mata/mati* 'again', is an exception. It occurs in any position. In (10.77), *mata* 'again' precedes a locational adjunct and takes a closer position than the locational adjunct.

(10.77)	*...ko=ta*	*koiv=a*	*mata*	*seqara*	*topi...*
	3SG.F=SIT	climb=PRES	again	betelnut	on
			circumstantial adjunct	locational adjunct	

'...she climbed to a top of the betelnut tree again...' (59-2-17)

In (10.78) *mata* 'again' occurs further from the predicate than the locational adjunct.

(10.78)	*...se*	*ta*	*mata*	*sai*	*ke=ta*	*ev=e...*
	3PL	TOP	again	there	3PL=SIT	stay=RMP
			circumstantial adjunct	locational adjunct		

'...they stayed there as usual...' (27-24-154)

This concludes the description of adjuncts. In the next chapter, different types of non-verbal clauses are described.

11 Equational, locational, and existential clauses

11.1 Introduction

As introduced in §3.3, the minimum constituents of non-verbal clauses are a subject NP marked with a topic marker and a predicate. The following is an example of a non-verbal clause.

(11.1)	*Anga*	*ta*	*titisa=lala.*
	1SG	TOP	teacher=1SG
	subject NP		predicate NP
	'I am a teacher.'		

This shows that a non-verbal clause typically has a topic-comment structure (see §14.2.2). A topic is what the sentence is about. The predicate of a non-verbal clause gives some information about the subject. Therefore, it is plausible that the subject is marked with a topic marker.

The subject NP or the predicate of a non-verbal clause can be a focus, marked by a focus marker. In such a case, the subject NP is not marked with a topic marker (see example (11.9) below). Furthermore, the predicate may be fronted and may precede the subject NP. In this case too, the subject NP is not marked with a topic marker (see example (11.12) below).

A non-verbal clause can have an optional constituent which functions as an adjunct, and this occurs clause-initially or -finally. Non-verbal clauses cannot have a grammatical specification of tense, but time can be specified by a temporal adjunct. A temporal adjunct is often marked with a topic or focus marker, as illustrated by the following example.

(11.2)	*Puliako*	*omadeu*	*vuro*	*siotolu*	*paizana*	*keru*
	before	one	thousand	eight	hundred	TEMP
			temporal adjunct			

ta	*komi=a*	*udu*	*kale*	*ta*	*puli=a=ma*
TOP	PROX.SG.F=LIG	island	in	TOP	NEG=LIG=3SG.F
	subject NP				predicate NP

pazok-ini=o.
hit-RECP=NOM
'Before 1800, in this island, there was no fighting.' (12-9-88)

Non-verbal clauses can be divided into three types on syntactic and semantic grounds: equational (§11.2), locational (§11.3), and existential (§11.4). Each type of non-verbal clause has a different type of phrase as its predicate. The syntactic distinction between the three types of non-verbal clauses is neutralised in negative clauses. This is described in §11.5.

11.2 Equational clauses

The predicate of an equational clause can be an NP. The head of an NP can be any non-locational noun as in (11.3). Equational clauses express what the subject is.

(11.3)	*...vo*	*ta*	*siele...*
	3SG.M	TOP	dog
	subject NP		predicate NP

'...he is a dog...' (27-7-48)

The predicate of an equational clause can also be a PP headed with the similative *jari* 'like'.

(11.4)	*Komi*	*ta*	*pui*	*muni*	*jari...*
	PROX.SG.F	TOP	NEG	blood.stain	SIM
	subject NP			predicate NP	

'This is not like a blood stain...' (34-1-10)

The predicate NP always agrees with the subject NP in person. Thus, in example (11.5), in which the subject NP is first person, the predicate NP is marked as first person, and also singular, by a pronominal enclitic *lala* (1SG). In example (11.6), the subject NP is third person, and there is no occurrence of a pronominal enclitic since a common noun *dokita* 'doctor' is third person by default and does not require a special marking for the third person (see §7.4). Notice that in both examples, the predicate NP is non-referential as it denotes a category. Thus, in (11.5) the predicate NP is syntactically encoded as first person singular but semantically it is neutral to person, number, and gender distinction as it refers to a category.[70]

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[70] Also, as described §7.2.1.6, first/second person marking is obligatory in first/second person NP. In the following example, the predicate NP is co-referential with the subject NP and thus it is second person, and this triggers a second person marking by a pronominal enclitic on the predicate NP.

Ngo	*ta*	*matu=la*	*lasiverusu=nga.*
2SG	TOP	big=3SG.M	boy=2SG
subject NP			predicate NP

'You are a big boy.'

(11.5) *Anga ta dokita=lala.*
1SG TOP doctor=1SG
'I am a doctor.'

(11.6) *Vo ta dokita.*
3SG.M TOP doctor
'He is a doctor.'

This pronominal enclitic is omitted when the predicate NP is a headless possessive NP, as illustrated by (11.7).

(11.7) ...*ngo ta enge=ko*...
2SG TOP 1PL.EXC=3SG.F
subject NP predicate NP
'...you are ours (our person)...' (59-9-64)

As illustrated by examples given above, the predicate of an equational clause is always an NP. In §7.2.1.3.1, an example was presented in which the predicate is just an adjective, but this is a result of ellipsis of the head of an NP as well as the head of an MP. The following example is repeated from §7.2.1.3.1.

(11.8) *Komi=a siele ta silo.*
PROX.SG.F=LIG dog TOP small
'This dog is a small one.'

In this example, the predicate is realised as *silo* 'small' as a result of ellipsis of the head of an NP, *siele* 'dog', and ellipsis of the head of an MP, a pronominal enclitic *ma* (3SG.F), which modifies the head of an NP. Thus the full realisation of this predicate is *silo=a=ma siele* (small=LIG=3SG.F dog) 'a small dog'. In this example, the head of an NP *siele* 'dog' is ellipsed first, as the head is recoverable from the subject NP *komi=a siele* 'this dog'. Then, the head of an MP is further ellipsed. In the data, there are not many examples in which the head of an MP is ellipsed and the predicate of an equational clause is realised as an adjective only.

11.3 Locational clauses

The predicate of locational clauses can be any locational phrase (see §10.3 for locational phrases). Locational non-verbal clauses describe the location of the subject NP.

(11.9) ...*ko=ko kolu ikio sai*...
3SG.F=3SG.F smoke FOC.F there
subject NP predicate AdvP
'...it was her smoke that was there.' (59-10-81)

(11.10) *Qe* *ta* *koi* *komi=a* *pade* *kasi.*
2DU TOP here PROX.SG.F=LIG house at
subject NP predicate AdvP predicate PP
'You are [staying] here at this house.' (43-1-3)

11.4 Existential clauses

Existential clauses describe an existence of an entity described by the subject NP. The predicate of an existential clause is always an existential marker. There are two types of existential markers: non-specific location existential markers which indicate the existence of an entity in a non-specific location, and distal existential markers which indicate the existence of an entity at some distance. Both types of existential marker inflect for number and gender. The following are the forms of each type of existential markers repeated from §5.10.

Table 5.8: Existential markers

Number/gender	Non-specific	Distal
singular masculine	*inevoana*	*une*
singular feminine	*ikoana*	*uko*
dual	*inioqiana*	*unioqa*
plural	*inisiana*	*uni*

Example (11.11) and (11.12) have a non-specific location existential marker and distal existential marker respectively.

(11.11) *So=a=ma* *bazu-bazu* *ta* *ikoana.*
that=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-story TOP EXT.SG.F
subject NP predicate
'There was that kind of story.' (10-8-67)

(11.12) *...o=koi=k=a,* *uko* *bare=ko* *epa,*
3SG.M=climb=3SG.F.O=PRES D.EXT.SG.F bare=3SG.F fruit
predicate subject NP

o=luap=ake *sole.*
3SG.M=be.hungry=HIST because
'...he climbed, fruits of bare tree were there, he was hungry, that was why [he climbed].' (47-2-9)

There are two factors which distinguish existential clauses from other types of non-verbal clauses. First, the subject can only be third person. Second, its predicate, the existential marker, shows agreement with the subject NP.

Existential clauses often contain a locational adjunct which presents the location of an existing entity.

(11.13)	*Kala*	*maba*	*ta*	*inevoana*	*anga*	*kasi.*
	INDEF.SG.M	person	TOP	EXT.SG.M	1SG	at
	subject NP			predicate	locative PP	

'There is a man with me.' (59-11-97)

When the existing entity is clear from the discourse, the subject NP, the NP referring to the existing entity, may be omitted.

(11.14)	*...inevoana*	|	*o=beta*	*teku=a.*
	EXT.SG.M		3SG.M=CONT	lie=PRES
	predicate			

'...he is there, he is lying.' (26-21-116)

(11.15)	*...ke=pa*	*lelepi=k=a*	*ta*	|	*ikoana*	*sai.*
	3PL=PROS	shake=3SG.F.O=PRES	and.then		EXT.SG.F	there
					predicate	

'...they shook it and there was food there.' (59-3-27)

Example (11.14) occurs in a discourse where people are talking about him, the existing entity. In the preceding discourse of (11.15) one day they found there was some food in their baskets when they returned from fishing. Next day, when they came back from fishing, they shook the basket to see whether there was some food in the basket again. Example (11.15) appears then. It is understood from the discourse that what exists is food.

The semantic distinction between existential clauses and locational clauses presented in the last section is not clear-cut. A locational clause inherently tells the existence of an entity by telling its location. On the other hand, an existential clause implies that there is a location where an entity exists, and so it often contains a locational adjunct. The fundamental difference between them is that in locational clauses the subject is talked about in terms of its location, while in existential clauses, it is talked about in terms of its existence. This difference is reflected on the type of the predicate in each type of clause.

11.5 Summary

Different types of non-verbal clauses are described above. They all have the same clause structure but their predicates are different, as summarised in the following table.

Table 11.1: Predicates of non-verbal clauses

Types of clause	Predicates
equational	NPs headed with a non-locational noun or a pronominal enclitic
	PPs headed with the similative *jari* 'like'
locational	locational phrases
existential	existential markers

Negative non-verbal clauses are all treated as equational clauses in terms of their predicate type; they always have an NP or a PP headed with *jari* as their predicates. However, there is a distinction between equational clauses on the one hand and locational and existential clauses on the other. In the first case, an equational clause can be negated by placing the negation marker *pui* between the topic marker and the predicate. The negation marker functions as an adjunct.

(11.16) ...*komi=a* *bazu-bazulao* *ta* *pui* *matu*
PROX.SG.F=LIG REDUP-folktale TOP NEG very

tuvevo=a=ma...
true=LIG=3SG.F
'...this folktale is not a very true one...' (27-1-1)

In the second case, in a negative locational or equational clause, the predicate is realised as a headless NP which contains a modifier phrase consisting of the negation marker and a pronominal enclitic. Example (11.17) expresses that the referent of subject NP does not exist in the location presented by a locational adjunct, and thus it is a negative locational clause, while (11.18) expresses non-existence of an entity and thus it is a negative existential clause.

(11.17) ...*kake* *maba* *madu* *ta* *puli=a=ma* *ko=a*
INDEF.PL person COLL.PL TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=LIG

peuru *kale,*
village in,
'...some people were missing in the village,' (26-2-13)

(11.18) *Vo=ko* *taka* *ta* *lula* *puli=a=ma...*
3SG.M=3SG.F claw TOP already NEG=LIG =3SG.F
'His claws were already gone...' (26-23-125)

This concludes the description of different types of non-verbal clauses. The next chapter describes different types of dependent clauses.

12 *Dependent clauses*

12.1 Introduction

Dependent clauses are clauses which cannot stand on their own. Their occurrence is dependent on a main clause, an independent clause. Following Thompson and Longacre (1985:172), Bilua dependent clauses can be divided into three types: relative clauses which function as an NP modifier, complement clauses which function as an argument, and adverbial clauses which function as a modifier of a VP or an entire proposition.

In Bilua dependent clauses, no constituent can be marked with a topic or a focus maker. Occurrences of aspectual/modal markers are very restricted in the VPs of dependent clauses.[71] These two factors distinguish dependent clauses from independent clauses. Furthermore, an independent clause is always finite, while a dependent clause can be either finite or non-finite. In a non-finite dependent clause, the verb is bound by a nominal derivational enclitic *o*, which marks non-finiteness.

Each type of Bilua dependent clause is described below: relative clauses (§12.2), complement clauses (§12.3), and adverbial clauses (§12.4). §12.5 presents a summary.

12.2 Relative clauses

12.2.1 Introduction

A relative clause in Bilua is marked with a relative clause marker on the VP. This relative clause may be embedded into an NP, modifying the head of that NP (headed relative clause; see §12.2.3). In example (12.1) below, two relative clauses modify the head *maba* 'person'. In this section relative clauses (RCs) and NPs which contain a relative clause are both marked by square brackets. The underline indicates the constituent which is modified by a relative clause. This constituent is referred to as 'object of relativisation'.

(12.1)	[*Kala*	*maba*	[*o=lilijio=vi=ni*]$_{\mathrm{RC}}$]$_{\mathrm{NP}}$	[*vo*
	INDEF.SG.M	person	3SG.M=convert=RMP=REL.NONF	3SG.M

---

[71] This excludes *pa* which obligatorily occurs in a negated past clause (see §8.5.6). There is no restriction on this *pa* in dependent clauses.

sate *o* *ev=e=ni*]] *ta* *Daniela* *Bula.*
COM 3SG.M stay=RMP=REL.NONF TOP Daniel Bula
'One man who converted, the one who was staying with him, was Daniela Bula.' (10-9-79)

Example (12.1) is analysed as one relative clause filled by two relative clauses in apposition since both relative clauses have *maba* 'person' as their head.

The relative clause may also form an NP on its own (headless relative clause, see §12.2.4) as in example (12.2). In a headless relative clause, there is no overt object of relativisation, but a bound pronoun in the relative clause, that is, a pronominal proclitic or an object clitic, indicates the absent but understood referent by agreeing in person, number, and gender with it. In (12.2), this is indicated by the double underlined object clitic *k* (3SG.F).

(12.2) *A=q=ea=la* [*o=pazo=k=ala=ma*]$_{\text{RC/NP}}$.
1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.M=hit=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F
'I saw [the woman] whom he hit.'

A relative clause can be non-restrictive or restrictive. A non-restrictive relative clause presents additional information about an already identifiable referent. Headless relative clauses in Bilua, except for ones marked with a relative clause marker *vi* (REL), are always non-restrictive. A restrictive relative clause gives information essential to the identification of the referent of an NP. Without this information, the hearer would not be able to identify the referent. The first relative clause in example (12.1) above is a restrictive one. If the speaker just says *kala maba* 'one man', the hearer would not be able to identify which man the speaker is talking about. A headed relative clause can also be non-restrictive. In example (12.4) in the next section, the headed relative clause is non-restrictive, and the demonstrative *vo* (3SG.M) identifies the referent.

The tense of relative clauses in Bilua can only be present or past. A future clause forms a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic and this functions as an NP modifier (see §7.2.1.3.1). In the following example the NP is headless, and it contains a modifier phrase which consists of the future clause marked with a dotted underline, the pronominal enclitic *mu* (3PL), and the ligature *a* which links the future clause to the enclitic.

(12.3) [*Sai ke=zio=vo=a=mu*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ta* *kake* *ta* *reko-reko...*
there 3PL=go=FUT=LIG=3PL TOP INDEF.PL TOP REDUP-woman
'As for people who will go there, some are women...' (21-9-54)

The main clause and the relative clause share a common argument. In (12.1), the common argument is 'man', and this is the subject of both main and relative clauses. In (12.2), the common argument is 'her', and this is the object of both main and relative clauses. Functions of common arguments are discussed in §12.2.5.

12.2.2 Structure of relative clauses

There are four relative clause markers: *ko* (REL.F), *ma* (REL.F), *ni* (REL.NONF), and *vi* (REL), which are enclitics and which attach to the right edge of the VP in relative clauses. *Vi* is used with a limited set of verbs and is described later in this section. *Ko*, *ma*, and *ni* are distributed according to the person/number/gender of an NP containing a relative clause and also according to the tense marker in the VP of a relative clause. *Ni* can be used only when the NP is not third person singular feminine. In a third person singular feminine NP, *ko* is used when the relative clause contains the present tense marker, while *ma* is used when it contains the recent/remote past tense marker. The distribution of *ko*, *ma*, and *ni* is summarised in the following table.

Table 12.1: Distribution of relative clause markers

Person/number/gender of NPs	Tense markers	
	present	recent and remote past
third singular feminine	*ko* (REL.F)	*ma* (REL.F)
non-third singular feminine	*ni* (REL.NONF)	

Above is the distribution for human referents. With non-human referents, either *ko* or *ma* is chosen depending on the tense marker in the relative clause.

It appears that these four relative clause markers historically have the same origin as some of Bilua inflectional pronouns. *Ko*, *ma*, *ni*, and *vo* are the third person singular feminine distal demonstrative, the third person singular feminine pronominal enclitic, the third person plural proximate demonstrative, and the third person singular masculine distal demonstrative respectively. Their distributions, however, show some differences: *ni*, as a pronoun, is third person plural, but as a relative clause marker, it is non-third person singular feminine. In §7.2.1.3.1, we saw that third person singular masculine and feminine forms of pronominal enclitic show a third person singular masculine vs. non-third person singular masculine distribution when they are the head of MPs. This distribution of the two third person singular forms also applies to demonstratives on possessor NPs (§7.3.2). Thus, with pronominal enclitics in MPs and demonstratives in possessor NPs, two third person singular forms are chosen and distributed. On the other hand, with relative clause markers, it is the third person singular feminine and third person plural forms that are in distribution, and they show a third person singular feminine vs. non-third person singular feminine distribution.[72] It is not all that clear why *vo*, which is the third person singular masculine distal demonstrative, is used with a limited set of verbs as a relative clause marker.

In example (12.4) the referent of the NP containing a relative clause is third person singular masculine, as indicated by the demonstrative *vo* (3SG.M), and so the VP of the relative clause is marked with *ni* (REL.NONF), which is the form employed for non-third person singular feminine. Example (12.5) contains two relative clauses. In the first instance, the referent of the NP containing a relative clause is third person singular feminine, as indicated by the demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F), and the verb in the relative clause has the present tense marker, and accordingly the relative clause is marked with *ko* (REL.F). This NP is the subject of a non-verbal clause and its predicate is expressed by the second relative clause, which is a headless relative clause. The subject NP and the predicate NP in this example are co-referential and so the predicate NP, which is realised as a headless relative clause, is also third person singular feminine. This relative clause contains a remote past tense marker, unlike the first relative clause. Accordingly, the relative clause is marked with *ma* (REL.F).

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[72] This distribution is in fact the same distribution as focus markers (§14.3.2), but focus markers are not pronouns.

(12.4) *Pujuo* *inio* *[vo=a* *maba* *[ko=a* *niabara*
Pujuo FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG person 3SG.F=LIG war.canoe

o=k=ati *ke=ve=ni*]$_{\text{RC}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$.
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL go=RMP=REL.NONF
'It was Pujuo, the man who went with the canoe.' (25-1-8)

(12.5) ...*[komi=a* *maba* *[anga=ko* *pesi-pesi* *ko=ta*
PROX.SG.F person 1SG=3SG.F REDUP-speech 3SG.F=POSS

l=a *k=o=a=ko*]$_{\text{RC}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ta* *[ko=kue=vi=ma*
1SG.O=VAL 3SG.F=get=PRES=REL.F TOP 3SG.F=come=RMP=REL.F

Japani *azo*]$_{\text{RC/NP}}$.
Japan ABL
'...this person, who is taking my story, is one who came from Japan.'
(10-17-142)

The VP of a relative clause cannot contain aspectual/modal markers, but there is one exception to this. The VP of a headless relative clause may take the situation-change marker *ta* (see §12.2.4). Since the continuous marker cannot occur in a relative clause, a relative clause cannot present an on-going situation.[73]

Similar to an independent clause, a relative clause can be negated by placing a negation marker in front of the predicate, as in example (12.6). An NP modified by a relative clause itself can be negated when this is a non-verbal predicate, as in (12.7).

(12.6) *Komi* *ta* *[ko=a* *suma* *[pui* *a=ba*
PROX.SG.F TOP 3SG.F=LIG cloth NEG 1SG=PROS

tatabarae=k=ala=ma *ravi*]$_{\text{RC}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$.
buy=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F yesterday
'This is the cloth which I didn't buy yesterday.'

---

[73] To express a situation in which one saw someone doing something, two juxtaposed clauses are used, and the VP of the second clause takes the continuous marker (see §13.3).

(12.7)	*Komi*	*ta*	*pui*	*[ko=a*	*suma*	*[a=ba*
	PROX.SG.F	TOP	NEG	3SG.F=LIG	cloth	1SG=PROS

tatabarae=k=ala=ma	*ravi*]$_{\text{RC}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$.
buy=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F	yesterday

'This is not the cloth I bought yesterday.'

Notice that the VP of the relative clauses in both (12.6) and (12.7) contains the prospective marker *pa*. The prospective marker *pa* is obligatory in any negated clause in past tense, yet *pa* here does not carry any aspectual/modal function. In (12.7), even though the relative clause itself is not negated, since its head is negated, the VP of the relative clause contains the prospective marker.

Vo (3SG.M) as a relative clause marker can attach to only a few verbs: *viqo* 'to hear', *ereilo* 'to happen', and *kalo* 'to occur'. Relative clauses of this kind are always headless relative clauses and consist of the VP on its own. They always represent a story or an event—they mean 'something one heard', 'something which happened', and 'something which occurred'.

(12.8)	...*[a=q=ai*	*viq=e=vo*]$_{\text{RC/NP}}$	*komi=a*	*bazu-bazu*
	1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL	hear=RMP=REL	PROX.SG.F=LIG	REDUP-story

ta	*eri*	*nio.*
TOP	s.th.like.this	FOC.NONF

...something I heard, this story is something like this. (22-1-2)

(12.9)	...*ko*	*pui*	*[ko=pa*	*erei=vo*]$_{\text{RC/NP}}$	*ni*	*pui*
	3SG.F	NEG	3SG.F=PROS	happenRMP=REL	and	NEG

[ko=pa	*ka=e=vo*]$_{\text{RC/NP}}$.
3SG.F=PROS	occur=RMP=REL

'...it is not something which happened or which occurred.' (27-1-1)

12.2.3 Headed relative clauses

A headed relative clause may precede or follow the head it modifies. The position of the headed relative clause depends on whether the NP contains a determiner or not. When it does not contain a determiner, the relative clause precedes the head. In example (12.10), there is no determiner and the relative clause precedes the head.

(12.10)	*[[Ivangana*	*ke=k=ai*	*ere=k=a=ko*]$_{\text{RC}}$
	hook	3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL	make=3SG.F.O=PRES=REL.F

quli]]$_{\text{NP}}$	*ta*	*kile.*
thing	TOP	shell

'The thing with which they made a hook was a shell.' (28-1-7)

When the NP contains a determiner, the relative clause follows the head. This NP can also have other optional NP constituents, and all optional NP constituents including the determiner occupy the position they normally do. Determiners always take the NP initial position, as in examples (12.1), (12.4), (12.6) and (12.7), while a modifier may precede or follow the head. In example (12.11), a modifier *kiadama* 'all' follows the head and the relative clause follows this.

(12.11)	*...ke=bori=k=a*	*[ko=a*	*ore*	*kiada=ma*
	3PL=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	tree	all=3SG.F

[se	*ke=vae=k=e=ma*]$_{RC}$]$_{NP}$.
3PL	3PL=leave=3SG.F.O=RMP=REL.F

'...they$_i$ carried all the trees they$_j$ left.' (22-5-19)

When the head of a relative clause is a temporal noun or a locational noun *koi* 'here', the relative clause always precedes the head. When a relative clause modifies the head *koi* 'place' it is never marked with a pronoun, as in example (12.13). This is because a modifier of *koi* 'place' cannot have a morpheme that has a reference to a person/number/gender (see §7.2.2.4). The clause here is regarded as a relative clause because of its modifying function.

(12.12)	[[*Ko=kue=va=ko*]$_{RC}$	*taku*]$_{NP}$	*ta*	*enge*	*Vella La Vella*
	3SG.F=come=PRES=REL.F	time	TOP	1PL.EXC	Vella La Vella

udu	*kale=a=ma*	*maba*	*poso=ngela*	*ta*
island	in=LIG=3SG.F	person	PL.M=1PL.EXC	TOP

tapata	*nge=da*	*el=ou.*
hard	1PL.EXC=SIT	become=FUT

'In the time which is [just] coming, [the lives of] we Vella La Vella island people will become hard.' (64-3-16)

(12.13)	*Kasa*	*ko=m=ai*	*i=k=a*	[[*se*	*ke=mutai=va*]$_{RC}$
	sight	3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL	cause=3SG.F.O=PRES	3PL	3PL=hide=PRES

koi]$_{NP}$.
place

'[The spirit] showed the place they$_i$ were hiding to them$_j$.' (12-6-59)

The referent of an NP which contains a headed relative clause can only be third person, and its number/gender can be specified by a determiner. In (12.4), (12.5), (12.6), (12.7), and (12.11) it is specified by a demonstrative. In (12.1) it is specified by an indefinite pronoun.

12.2.4 Headless relative clauses

As noted above, in a headless relative clause, there is no overt object of relativisation. A headless relative clause may form an NP on its own and a bound pronoun in the relative clause indicates the person/number/gender of the NP. This bound pronoun can be an object clitic as in examples (12.2) and (12.8) or a pronominal proclitic as in examples (12.9) and (12.14) below.

The referent of a headless relative clause may be identified only from the discourse. In the discourse where the following example occurs, there is no mention of 'story' at all.

(12.14) *Anga* *ta* *a=q=a* *bazu-bazut=a*
1SG TOP 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL REDUP-tell=PRES

[*ko=kue=vi=ma* *vakapeuru* *kale* *azo*]$_{\text{RC/NP}}$.
3SG.F=come=RMP=REL.F western.country in ABL
'I am telling the story which came from a western country.' (10-14-121)
(more literally 'I am telling it which came from white people's village.')

The NP which consists of a headless relative clause (hereafter, headless relative clause) can be any person. In examples (12.2), (12.8), (12.9), and (12.14), it is third person. It is second person in (12.15) and it is first person in (12.16) and (12.17) below.

As described in §7.2.1.6, a Bilua NP which has a first or second person referent obligatorily contains a pronominal enclitic phrase-finally. With a headless relative clause, this pronominal enclitic is attached to the relative clause marker. Thus, in (12.15) the second person singular pronominal enclitic *nga* is attached to the pronoun *ni* (3PL).

(12.15) *A=ng=e=ala* [*ngo* *ol=ala=ni=nga* *Gizo*]$_{\text{RC/NP}}$.
1SG=2SG.O=see=RCP 2SG go=RCP=REL.NONF=2SG Gizo
'I saw you [the one] who went to Gizo.'

Moreover, the predicate NP of a non-verbal equational clause in Bilua agrees with the subject NP in person (§11.2). Thus, in (12.16) and (12.17), the subject NP is first person, and the predicate NP is expressed by a headless relative clause, and first person is marked by a pronominal enclitic attached to the relative clause marker. Notice that in these examples, the predicate tells what category of people/things the subject belongs to and thus the predicate NP is non-referential,[74] but it is still coded as first person because of the agreement between subject and predicate NPs.

(12.16) *Enge=a* *saidi* *ta* [[*puli=a=ma* *niuniu*
1PL.EXC=LIG family TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F fish

nge=q=u=a=ni]$_{\text{RC}}$=*ngela*]$_{\text{NP}}$.
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=eat=PRES=REL.NONF=1PL.EXC
'We, [members of] our family are ones who eat no fish.' (24-2-19)

(12.17) ...*anga* *ta* [[*a=zaulao=va=ni*]$_{\text{RC}}$=*lala*]$_{\text{NP}}$...
1SG TOP 1SG=hunt=PRES=REL.NONF=1SG
'...I am one who hunts (a hunter)...' (59-10-87)

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[74] Notice however, the relative clause is non-restrictive; although it has no referent, one can identify the category.

A headless relative clause functioning as a non-verbal predicate can also be referential, but this requires the situation-change marker *ta*. As noted in §8.5.3, the situation-change marker *ta* occurs only in a clause which presents a non-habitual/generic situation. This is the only environment where an aspectual/modal marker can occur in a relative clause.

(12.18)	*Vo=a*	*meqora*	*ta*	[*o̱=ta*	*ke=ve=ni*
	3SG.M=LIG	child	TOP	3SG.M=SIT	go=RMP=REL.NONF

Australia]$_{\text{RC/NP}}$.
Australia
'That child is the one who went to Australia.'

12.2.5 *Functions of common arguments*

A relative clause shares a common argument with the main clause. The common argument can be any of S/A/O arguments of the relative clause. It is more frequently the S/O argument than the A argument. In (12.2), (12.6), (12.7), (12.8), and (12.11) it is the O argument, and in (12.1), (12.9), (12.14), (12.15), (12.17), and (12.18), it is the S argument. In (12.4) and (12.16), it is the A argument. In (12.5), the first one is A argument and the second one is the S argument.

The common argument can also be a second object of the headed relative clause, as in the following example.[75]

(12.19)	*A=q=ea=la*	[*ko=a*	*chainsaw*
	1SG=3SG.F.O=see=RCP	3SG.F=LIG	chainsaw

[*ke=kati=v=e=ma*]$_{\text{RC}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$.
3PL=give=3SG.M.O=RMP=REL.F
'I saw the chainsaw which they gave to him.'

Keenan and Comrie (1977) present a hierarchy for the functions of the common argument in the relative clause as follows: Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison.

In Bilua case, a subject (S/A) or a direct object (O) of the relative clause can be a common argument. An oblique can be realised as an added object (see §9.4 for added objects) in the valency-increasing construction, and this then can be a common argument, as illustrated by example (12.20) below. Note that it was stated in §3.2.1 that there is no category of oblique core arguments in Bilua. Oblique here is interpreted as non-arguments which are realised as core arguments in added object relation in the valency-increasing construction, and this includes arguments with the semantic role of possessor.

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[75] In Bilua, the argument with the semantic role of recipient is in direct object relation, while the argument with the semantic role of gift is in second object relation (see §3.2.1), although the English translation suggests that the relations are the other way around.

Thus, Bilua fits in the hierarchy presented by Keenan and Comrie—any argument on the left side of Genitive can be relativised. Bilua has no specific expression for comparisons.

The common argument *maba* 'person' in example (12.20) below has the semantic role of possessor, and this is realised as an added object by valency increase: *maba* 'person' in (12.20) cross-references on the VP by the object clitic *v* (3SG.M.O) on the valency-increasing marker. The relative clause in (12.4) is another example. In this relative clause, the common argument has the semantic role of accompaniment and this is realised as an added object.

(12.20)	[*Vo=a*	*maba*	[*ko=ta*	*v=a*	*vou=vi=ni*
	3SG.M=LIG	person	3SG.F=POSS	3SG.M.O=VAL	die=RMP=REL.NONF

o=reko$]_{\mathrm{RC}}]_{\mathrm{NP}}$	*ta*	*matu*	*duki*	*o=ta*	*ev=a.*
3SG.M=wife	TOP	very	sad	3SG.M=SIT	become=PRES

'The man whose wife died became very sad.'

12.3 Complementation

12.3.1 Introduction

Complementation is defined as 'the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate' (Noonan 1985:42). In his complement types, Noonan includes nominalised complements (an NP whose head is a nominalised verb) as one type of complement. 'Nominalised complements are predications with the headless structure of noun phrases', and '[t]he argument [in nominalised complements] may assume associative (genitival) relationships with the predicate' (1985:60).

Formally, Bilua complement clauses can be divided into three types:

finite complement clauses
non-finite complement clauses
nominalised complement

The structure of finite and non-finite complement clauses is the same as that of independent clauses, but in finite and non-finite complement clauses, the VP always takes clause-initial position and optional constituents follow this. Furthermore, finite and non-finite complement clauses are distinguished from independent clauses in terms of the VP structure/constituents as described below. Finite and non-finite complement clauses can be the object of a verbal clause or the subject of a non-verbal clause.

Bilua nominalised complements have a basic or a possessive NP structure, and they can take any role. They can be the subject or the object of a verbal clause as well as the subject or the predicate of a non-verbal clause.

In both non-finite complement clauses and nominalised complements, the verb is bound by a nominal derivational enclitic *o* for a non-finite marking, but they are distinguished from each other in terms of the expression of arguments. In a nominalised complement, an argument is expressed by an embedded possessor NP, and this and the nominalised verb form a possessive NP.[76] This fits with the description of nominalised complements by Noonan above. On the other hand, in a non-finite complement clause, an argument is expressed by a non-embedded, independent NP, just as in independent clauses.

When a complement clause is an object, it always follows the main clause. This is the basic position of O NPs. Like O NPs, O complement clauses are cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic. The object clitic here is realised in the default form, the third person singular feminine form. This is because clauses are not specified for person/number/gender (see Corbett 1991:203–212 for a discussion about the selection of a particular form for agreement with clauses). Only a small group of verbs can take a finite/non-finite complement clause or a nominalised complement as the O argument. This is discussed in §12.3.5, after a description of each of the three types of complement clauses: finite complement clauses in §12.3.2; non-finite complement clauses in §12.3.3; and nominalised complements in §12.3.4.[77]

12.3.2 Finite complement clauses

The VP of a finite complement clause is distinguished from the VP of an independent clause by restrictions for tense markers and the non-occurrence of modifiers. The tense of a Bilua finite complement clause can be future only, and hence its VP contains either the near future tense marker or the future tense marker. The situation described by a finite complement clause is thus always an unrealised one, and because of this, the finite complement clause is always preceded by the irrealis marker *tu*. The complement clause, preceded by *tu*, immediately follows the VP of the main clause. The complement clause has the VP clause initially and other constituents follow this. The subject of the main clause and the subject of the finite complement clause can be co-referential or not co-referential. The following are some examples. In this section, underlines mark complement clauses.

(12.21) *...o=k=a* *zari=a* *tu* *ko=k=ai*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES IRR 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL

zoman=o *se* *sate...*
join=NRFUT 3PL COM
'...he wanted her to join it with them...' (67-2-21)

(12.22) *Enge* *ta* *nge=madoe=k=a* *tu* *nge=jisil=ou*
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=PRES IRR 1PL.EXC=dive=FUT

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[76] However, when a nominalised complement has two arguments, one of the arguments is expressed by a non-embedded NP (see §12.3.4).

[77] There is no interrogative complement clause in Bilua. An English sentence like 'I don't know where he went' is expressed by two juxtaposed independent clauses (see §13.3).

ni	*nge=q=o=vou*	*ko*	*niuniu*	*ma*	*bio*...
and	1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT	3SG.F	fish	or	shell

'We try to dive and get fish or shell...' (64-2-12)

Tu is not a complementiser but rather a morpheme which indicates that the clause which follows presents an unrealised situation. This contention is supported by the fact that it can occur between two independent clauses as well (see §13.3).

It was previously stated that the subject of the main clause and the subject of the finite complement clause can be co-referential or not co-referential, and this is illustrated by examples above. A finite complement clause may contain aspectual/modal markers except for the implicative marker *be*, but this is limited to when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are not co-referential.

(12.23)	*A=v=ai*	*zari=a*	*tu*	*o=pa*	*iruruput=ou*.
	1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL	want=PRES	IRR	3SG.M=PROS	work=FUT

'I want him to go and work.'

In the examples above, complement clauses are objects. A finite complement clause can also be the subject of a non-verbal clause. In a non-verbal clause whose subject is a complement clause, the order of subject and predicate is reversed; the predicate precedes the subject, and the subject—which is a complement clause—is preceded by the irrealis marker *tu*. The predicate can only be an adjective. Thus,

Adjective Irrealis marker Complement clause

When a finite complement clause is the subject of a non-verbal clause, it may contain an aspectual marker, the prospective marker *pa*, but not other aspectual markers. For example,

(12.24)	...*uri*	*tu*	*a=ba*	*mumae=m=ou*	*sigo*	*kale*.
	good	IRR	1SG=PROS	have.lost=3PL.O=FUT	bush	in

'...[it will be] good for me to go and get them lost in the bush.' (16-1-12)

12.3.3 Non-finite complement clauses

The VP of non-finite complement clauses shows many differences from the VP of independent clauses. It lacks a phrase-final tense marker and instead it takes a nominal derivational enclitic *o*. It also lacks a pronominal proclitic and it can never contain an aspectual/modal marker or a modifier. An exception to this is when it is the subject of a non-verbal clause and when the predicate of this clause is an NP headed with *male* 'match'; it may contain a pronominal proclitic. Furthermore, in such a case, the complement clause may take an optional NP in preverbal position (see below).

When a non-finite complement clause is an object, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the non-finite complement clause are always co-referential, and so in the non-finite complement clause the subject is never expressed.

(12.25)

...vo	*ta*	*o=tanie=k=a*	*vairizat=o*	*ko*
3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=begin=3SG.F.O=PRES	look.for=NOM	3SG.F

niuniu.
fish

...he began to look for fish.' (24-2-21)

A non-finite complement clause can present either an unrealised situation or a realised situation. In example (12.25), the main verb is *tanieko* 'to begin', which points at the beginning of an event, and the complement clause presents a realised situation, since as soon as an event starts, this event becomes realis. In the following example, the non-finite complement clause presents an unrealised situation. The verb *zario* 'to want' expresses the subject's wish that a situation will/would be accomplished, and thus it presents an unrealised situation. When a non-finite complement clause presents an unrealised situation, it can optionally be preceded by the irrealis marker *tu*.

(12.26)

...a=q=a	*zari=a*	*tu*	*k=ai*	*bazut=o...*
1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES	IRR	3SG.F.O=VAL	tell=NOM

'...I want to tell a story...' (12-1-1)

The structure of example (12.26) is very similar to the structure of example (12.21), which is an example of a finite complement clause. The difference here is that there is no occurrence of a pronominal proclitic in (12.26) as this is a non-finite complement clause, while there is an occurrence of a pronominal proclitic in (12.21) as a finite complement clause requires this.

It might be considered that indeed there is only one type of complement clause that covers both finite and non-finite complement clauses. That is, there is only one type of complement clause, either finite or non-finite. It is not possible to treat all complement clauses as non-finite since there are examples in which complement clauses are definitely finite—examples (12.22), (12.23), and (12.24). Now suppose they are all finite and what is treated as a nominal derivational enclitic *o* in a non-finite complement clause is in fact a near future tense marker, this would result in some semantic contradiction. For example, in example (12.41) below, suppose the complement clause is finite, *o* on the verb *nabulo* 'to bake' then should be treated as the near future tense marker. This is semantically problematic as the situation described by the complement clause here is a realised one—she finished baking, which means she already baked. Thus, it is not possible to treat all complement clauses as finite either, and two types of complement clauses, finite and non-finite complement clauses, should be distinguished.

A non-finite complement clause can also be the subject of a non-verbal clause, and this takes the sentence structure presented in the last section; the predicate precedes the subject and the irrealis marker *tu* occurs between them.

(12.27)

"Uri	*tu*	*niae=v=o*	*ko*	*sailao*	*saita,*
good	IRR	feed=3SG.M.O=NOM	3SG.F	food	first

"'[It will be] good to feed him some food first,' (26-22-119)

When the predicate of a non-verbal clause is an NP headed with the noun *male* 'match', there is no occurrence of the irrealis marker, and the VP of the complement clause may contain a pronominal proclitic which expresses the subject. In example (12.28), the pronominal enclitic *o* (3SG.M) expresses the subject and this is further expressed by an NP *omadeu maba* 'one man'.

(12.28)	*...pui*	*[ko=male]*	*omadeu*	*maba*	*o=bori=k=o...*
	NEG	3SG.F=match	one	person	3SG.M=carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
		predicate			subject

'...[the huge string bag] was not equal to one person's carrying it.' (67-3-30)
(more literally '...one man's carrying it was not a match...')

The noun *male* 'match' obligatorily occurs with a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references the subject. This pronoun does not necessarily have a referent. In (12.28), *ko* does not have any referent. In (12.29a) below, it has a referent.

(12.29-a)	*Pui*	*[ke=male]*	*bori=k=o.*
	NEG	3PL=match	carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
		predicate	subject

'They were not equal to carrying [the huge string bag].'
(more literally 'Carrying it wasn't their match.')

The pronoun *ke* here in fact indicates the subject of the nominalised verb. *Ke* can be shifted onto the nominalised verb, and *male* is then bound by *ko* (3SG.F), the default form. Example (12.29a) can be paraphrased as:

(12.29-b)	*Pui*	*ko=male*	*[ke=bori=k=o].*
	NEG	3SG.F=match	3PL=carry=3SG.F.O=NOM

'[The huge string bag] was not equal to their carrying it.'
(more literally 'Their carrying it was not a match.')

12.3.4 Nominalised complement

A nominalised complement in Bilua is an NP headed with a nominalised verb. In the following example, the nominalised verb *saev=o* means 'life'.

(12.30)	*...uri=a=ma*	*saev=o*	*qo=k=o=e.*
	good=LIG=3SG.F	survive=NOM	3DU=3SG.F.O=get=RMP

'...the two had a good life.' (43-6-70)

In the above example, the NP is a basic NP. A nominalised complement may be realised as an indirect type of possessive NP as well (see §7.3.2), and the embedded possessor NP presents the subject or the object of the nominalised verb. In example (12.31), the demonstrative *vo* (3SG.M) forms the possessor NP and this presents the subject of the nominalised verb, while in example (12.32), the noun *meqo* 'bonito' forms the possessor NP and this presents the object of the nominalised verb.

(12.31)	*A=q=e=a*	*vo=ko*	*vouvat=o...*
	1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES	3SG.M=3SG.F	kill=NOM

'I saw his killing (of someone)...' (12-13-113)

(12.32)	*Ko*	*ikio*	*meqo=ko*	*k=ov=o.*
	3SG.F	FOC.F	bonito=3SG.F	3SG.F=get=NOM

'That was [the way to catch bonitos].' (28-5-45)

A nominalised complement may have two arguments. In such a case, the subject is expressed by a possessor NP and the object is expressed by a non-embedded NP. The possessive NP which includes the subject expression always precedes the NP which expresses the object. In example (12.33), a possessor NP *vo* (3SG.M) and an NP *ko=a maba* (3SG.F=LIG person) present the subject and the object respectively. As noted in §6.5.1.4, the object clitic on a nominalised verb cross-references the object. In (12.33), this is 'the person (the woman)'.

(12.33)	*Vo=ko*	*vouvae=k=o*	*ko=a*	*maba*	*ta*
	3SG.M=3SG.F	kill=3SG.F.O=NOM	3SG.F=LIG	person	TOP

matu	*ruqe.*
very	bad

'His killing (murder) of that person (woman) was very bad.'

A nominalised complement thus, except for when the object is expressed by an independent basic NP, takes the form of a regular NP, and therefore it can contain a modifier phrase as in (12.30), or a determiner as in (12.34), and also it can have any function: they are objects in (12.30) and (12.31), the predicate of a non-verbal clause in (12.32), the subject of a non-verbal clause in (12.33), and the subject of a verbal clause in (12.34) below. Notice that unlike when a finite or non-finite complement clause is the subject of a non-verbal clause, a non-verbal clause in (12.33) is in the basic non-verbal clause structure; the subject, which is marked with a topic marker, precedes the predicate (see §11.1 for the basic non-verbal structure).

(12.34)	...*komi=a*	*pazokini=o*	*ta*	*ko*	*erei*	*siolotlu*
	PROX.SG.F=LIG	fight=NOM	TOP	3SG.F	happenRMP	eight

paizana	*sabere*	*keru.*
hundred	year	TEMP

'this fighting happened in 800.' (9-5-37)

12.3.5 Main verbs

In the last three sections, three different types of complement clauses in Bilua are described. The first two types of complement clause, the finite complement clause and the non-finite complement clause, can be the object but not the subject of a verbal clause. The third type of complement clause, the nominalised complement, can be the subject as well as the object of a verbal clause. When complement clauses are objects, finite and non-finite complement clauses and nominalised complements are in complementary distribution. A nominalised complement can be the object of any Primary verb, as long as this is semantically possible. Primary verbs are 'those directly referring to some activity or state, i.e. verbs which can make up a sentence by themselves with appropriate NPs filling the various semantic roles' (Dixon 1991:88). A finite or non-finite complement clause can be the object of only several Secondary verbs. 'Secondary verbs all provide semantic modification of some other verbs' (Dixon 1991:90). Syntactically, secondary verbs are main verbs but semantically, the complement verb is the central verb. For example, in a sentence, 'he finished eating', semantically 'to eat' is the central verb, but syntactically 'to finish' is the main verb.

Verbs which can take a finite or non-finite complement clauses are:

roveo	'can'
tanito/tanieko	'to begin'
epezo	'to stop'
lupao	'to refuse'
paiko	'to finish'
zario	'to want'
madoeko	'to try'

Some of the verbs above such as *roveo* 'can', *tanito* 'to begin', *epezo* 'to stop', and *lupao* 'to refuse', are morphologically intransitive verbs—they are not bounded by an object clitic, but they can still take an O complement clause. With these verbs the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are always co-referential and the complement clause is realised as a non-finite complement clause.

Roveo 'can' is a unique verb both syntactically and semantically. It is an intransitive verb, but can have an object complement clause, and its meaning, 'can', is a modal one.

(12.35) *...nge=rove=a* *tu* *k=o=vo* *ko* *takula...*
1PL.EXC=can=PRES IRR 3SG.F.O=get=NOM 3SG.F money
'...we could get money...' (64-2-11)

The fact that *roveo* 'can' is the main verb is demonstrated by the following example in which a relative clause marker goes on this verb, the main verb.

(12.36) *...anga* *ta* *pui* *a=rove=a=ni=lala* *talio*
1SG TOP NEG 1SG=can=PRES=REL.NONF=1SG walk.fastNOM
ni *akaz=o.*
and fly=NOM
'...I am not one who can walk fast or fly.' (15-1-6)

Tanito 'begin' and *epezo* 'to stop' are both intransitive verbs and never occur with an O NP but can occur with an O complement clause.

(12.37) *...o=tanit=ake* *tali=o...*
3SG.M=begin=HIST walk=NOM
'...he started walking...' (26-11-60)

(12.38) *Melai pui o epez=a keru-kerue=k=o...*
but NEG 3SG.M stop=PRES REDUP-think=3SG.F.O=NOM
'But, he didn't stop thinking about her...' (27-23-152)

Lupao 'to refuse' is an intransitive verb but can still take an O NP, though this requires the valency-increasing construction as in example (12.39), while it can take an O complement clause without employing the valency-increasing construction as in example (12.40).[78]

(12.39) *...ko=ta ng=a lupao=vou.*
3SG.F=SIT 2SG.O=VAL refuse=FUT
'...she will refuse you.' (27-4-22)

(12.40) *...a=lupa rae=v=o...*
1SG=refuse marry=3SG.M.O=NOM
'...I refuse to marry him...' (27-7-48)

Paiko 'to finish' is a transitive verb. Similar to the intransitive verbs listed above, with this verb, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are always co-referential and the complement clause is realised as a non-finite complement clause.

(12.41) *Ko=pai=k=a nabul=o.*
3SG.F=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES bake=NOM
'She finished baking.' (67-3-29)

Zario 'to want' is an intransitive verb, but it is always used in the valency-increasing construction and thus this takes two core arguments. *Madoeko* 'to try' is a transitive verb and so it takes two core arguments. *Madoeko* 'to try' and *zario* 'to want' can take either a finite or a non-finite complement clause. With these verbs, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause can be either co-referential or not co-referential. When they are not co-referential, the complement clause can only be finite. For example,

(12.42) *A=madoe=v=ala tu o=studyput=o melai pui*
1SG=try=3SG.M.O=RCP IRR 3SG.M=study=NRFUT but NEG

---

[78] *Lupao* 'refuse' with the present tense-marking enclitic, *lupao=va* (refuse=PRES) is often realised as *lupa*.

o=k=a	*zari=a.*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES

'I tried to get him to study but he doesn't want to.'[79]
(more literally 'I tried him so that he will study but he doesn't want to.')

(12.43)	*A=v=ai*	*zari=la*	*tu*	*o=zio=vou*	*Gizo*
	1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL	want=RCP	IRR	3SG.M=go=FUT	Gizo

ravi	*melai*	*pui*	*o=pa*	*ol=ala.*
yesterday	but	NEG	3SG.M=PROS	go=RCP

'I wanted him to go to Gizo yesterday, but he didn't go.'
(more literally 'I wanted him so that he would go to Gizo yesterday, but he didn't go.')

The object clitic on the main verb in (12.42) and the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker preceding the verb *zario* 'to want' in (12.43) both show agreement with the subject of the complement clause. These clitics can be replaced with a default form, *k* (3SG.F.O), agreeing with the complement clause instead. It might be hypothesised that when these object clitics agree with the subject, the speaker is addressing his interest to the person whom he tried or he wanted, while when they agree with the complement clause, the speaker's interest is addressed to the event expressed by the complement clause. More data with appropriate discourse is required to prove this hypothesis.

When two subjects are co-referential, the complement clause can be either finite or non-finite. Below example (12.22) is repeated from §12.3.2.

(12.44)	*Nge=madoe=k=a*	*tu*	*reri=k=o...*
	1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=PRES	IRR	chase=3SG.F.O=NOM

'We try to chase [wild animals] (but unsuccessfully)...' (64-3-19)

(12.45)	*...a=v=ai*	*zari=a*	*bazu-bazut=o*	*kala*
	1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL	want=PRES	REDUP-tell=NOM	INDEF.SG.M

bazu-bazulao.
REDUP-folktale

'...I want to tell a folktale.' (24-1-1)

(12.22')	*Enge*	*ta*	*nge=madoe=k=a*	*tu*	*nge=jisil=ou*
	1PL.EXC	TOP	1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=PRES	IRR	1PL.EXC=dive=FUT

ni	*nge=q=o=vou*	*ko*	*niuniu*	*ma*	*bio...*
and	1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT	3SG.F	fish	or	shell

'try to dive and get fish or shell...' (64-2-12)

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[79] As the translation in the brackets suggests, this is not a causative clause, and thus the verb 'to study' is not causativised.

(12.46)	*...o=k=a*	*zari=a*	*tu*	*o=rae=ng=o...*
	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES	IRR	3SG.M=marry=2SG.O=NRFUT

'...he wants to marry you...' (27-7-38)

The following table presents a summary of verbs which take finite and non-finite complement clauses.[80]

Table 12.2: Finite and non-finite complement clauses

<table>
<tr><th>Verbs</th><th>Finite/non-finite</th><th>Co-referentiality of subjects</th></tr>
<tr><td><i>tanito/tanieko</i> 'to begin'
<i>epezo</i> 'to stop'
<i>lupao</i> 'to refuse'
<i>roveo</i> 'can'
<i>paiko</i> 'to finish'</td><td rowspan="2">non–finite</td><td rowspan="2">co-referential</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"><i>madoeko</i> 'to try'
<i>zario</i> 'to want'</td></tr>
<tr><td>finite</td><td>co-referential or not co-referential</td></tr>
</table>

12.4 Adverbial Clauses

There are four types of adverbial clauses in Bilua: temporal, purposive, imaginative conditional, and absolutive clauses. Adverbial clauses are marked with a relator which takes the form of a subordinator or a postposition. Adverbial clauses can be finite or non-finite. Similar to non-finite complement clauses, non-finite adverbial clauses do not contain tense and aspect markers, and their verbs take the nominal derivational enclitic *o*.

The four types of adverbial clauses can be divided into two groups: those which can be substituted by a single word and those which cannot (Thompson & Longacre 1985: 177). Among Bilua adverbial clauses, only temporal clauses can be substituted by a single word, whereas others cannot. Temporal clauses are also distinguished by their ability to be a focus or a topic. Others do not have such an ability.

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[80] Some speakers also use a complement clause with the verb *inainao* 'to get ready', but some do not accept this. The following example, which contains the verb *inainao* 'to get ready' and its complement clause, was found in the data:

...qo	*ina-inao=va*	*tu*	*zio*	*kiaro*	*kasi*
3DU	REDUP-get.ready=PRES	IRR	goNOM	garden	at

saila-sailaot=o=le,
REDUP-get.food=NOM=PURP
'... the two got ready in order to go to the garden to get food,' (27-12-72)

This example, however, is not accepted by some speakers. It may be the case that this clause is a result of an influence from English expression, 'get ready to do'.

12.4.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses can be finite or non-finite. Both types precede the main clause. A finite temporal clause is marked with *keru,* which always occurs immediately after the VP. If the clause has constituents other than the VP, they follow *keru. Keru* can also govern an NP (see §10.4.3); that is, it is a postposition.

(12.47) ...*kubo maba madu ke=kail=a keru kiaro kasi*
many person COLL.PL 3PL=go.up=PRES TEMP garden at

se ta ke=rove=a tu barol=o se=ko peuru kale.
3PL TOP 3PL=can=PRES IRR arrive=NOM 3PL=3SG.F village in
'...when many people went up to their gardens, they could return to their village.' (26-8-48)

Example (12.47) occurs in a narrative in which one person went up to his/her garden but never returned to the village, while when more than one person went up to their gardens, they would come back.

Finite temporal clauses may present a situation which immediately precedes a situation described by the main clause, as in (12.47) above, when the verb in the temporal clause is a totally terminative verb or a gradually terminative verb (see §8.4 for a classification of verbs). When this verb is a durative verb, the two situations described by the main clause and the temporal clause are simultaneous, as in example (12.48).

(12.48) *Nio so keru ke=m=e=a keru se=a*
SEQ that TEMP 3PL=3PL.O=see=PRES TEMP 3PL=LIG

reko-reko se lasiverusu ta se=ko kiaro kale.
REDUP-women 3PL boy TOP 3PL=3SG.F garden in
'And, that time, when women saw them, the boys were in their garden.' (22-3-12)

Furthermore, a finite temporal clause may present a situation that is happening when the situation described by the main clause occurs. In such a case, the VP in the temporal clause has an intransitive verb accompanied by the continuity marker *beta,* as in example (12.49). A transitive verb never occurs in such a temporal clause (see below).

(12.49) ...*ke=beta koazat=a keru inio, ni=a*
3PL=CONT get=PRES TEMP FOC.NONF PROX.PL=LIG

kana madu ta ke=ta baro=a.
war COLL.PL TOP 3PL=SIT arrive=PRES
'...while they were getting them, these warriors arrived.' (25-2-19)

A non-finite temporal clause never contains a subject-marking pronominal proclitic, and its VP always consists of the head, an intransitive verb or a transitive verb accompanied with an object clitic, and the nominal derivational enclitic *o.* There are three different subordinators which mark non-finite temporal clauses: *maqa* and *palate* are both translated as 'while' and *puliako* is translated as 'before'.

The subordinator *maqa* 'while' follows the clause it marks. The non-finite temporal clause here obligatorily takes an S NP in preverbal position.

[S NP VP] *maqa*

VP ⇒ V(=object clitic)=NOM

(12.50)	*So*	*keru*	*vo*	*teku*	*maqa*	*inio*	*kurou*	*ta*
	that	TEMP	3SG.M	lie.downNOM	while	FOC.NONF	pigeon	TOP

o	*atait=ake.*
3SG.M	count=HIST

'That time, while he is lying down, the pigeon counted.' (15-3-24)

Maqa may mark an NP whose head is *so* 'that', the pronoun which has a clause as an antecedent as in (12.51). That is, *maqa* can be treated as a postposition. However, since *so* 'that' refers to a clause and since *maqa* 'while' can only govern an NP *so* 'that' but no other NPs, *maqa* 'while' is categorised as a subordinator.

(12.51)	*Kasa*	*ko=m=ai*	*i=k=a*	*se*	*ke=matu*
	sight	3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL	put=3SG.F.O=PRES	3PL	3PL=very

mutai=va	*koi.*	*So*	*maqa*	*inio*	*se*	*ta*	*ke=pa*
hide=PRES	place	that	while	FOC.NONF	3PL	TOP	3PL=PROS

v=ati	*inot=a*	*vo*	*Sito*	*o*	*ev=a*	*koi*
3SG.M.O=VAL	look.for=PRES	3SG.M	Sito	3SG.M	stay=PRES	place

Maravari	*kingu*	*kale.*
Maravari	forest	in

'It showed them$_i$ the place they$_j$ were hidden. While they$_j$ were hidden, they$_i$ went to look for the place where Sito was staying in Maravari forest.' (12-6-59~61)

The subordinator *palate* 'during' also follows the clause it marks. It may contain an S NP or an adjunctival phrase preverbally.

[(S NP/adjunctival phrase) VP] *palate*

VP ⇒ V(=object clitic)=NOM

(12.52)	*Australia*	*el=o*	*palate*	*inio*	*a=qe=ve*	*kubo*
	Australia	stay=NOM	while	FOC.NONF	1SG=see=RMP	many

aza-aza=ma	*quli.*
REDUP-various=3SG.F	thing

'While living in Australia, I saw many, various things.'

The subordinator *puliako* 'before' precedes the clause it marks. An optional S NP occurs between *puliako* and the verb, and an optional adjunctival phrase occurs in postverbal position.

puliako [(S NP) VP (adjunctival phrase)]   VP ⇒ V(=object clitic)=NOM

(12.53) ...*puliako nioqa tada=o* *nio* *o* *ol=a*
before 3DU depart=NOM FOC.NONF 3SG.M go=PRES

o=pa *k=o=a* *ko* *kokoro.*
3SG.M=PROS 3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3SG.F pole
'...before they departed, he went, he went and got a pole.' (59-6-44)
(more literally 'not that the two had departed, and he went, he went and got a pole.')

(12.54) *Puliako komi=a lotu saev=o*
before PROX.SG.F=LIG Christianity survive=NOM

barol=o koi,
arrive=NOM here
'Before Christian life arrived here,' (10-1-1)

It may be hypothesised that *puliako* originated in three morphemes: *puli* (NEG) *a* (LIG), and *ko* (3SG.F), and that this combination is lexicalised as a subordinator. The pronoun *ko* appears to refer to the following non-finite clause, but note that a clause is normally substituted by a pronoun *so* 'that', not *ko* (3SG.F). In (12.53), *ko* (3SG.F) refers to *nioqa tadao* 'they depart'. Thus, *puliako nioqa tadao* literally means 'not that the two had departed'. Their departure had not occurred when the situation expressed by the main clause occurred 'he went, he went and got a pole'; it happened after the situation expressed by the main clause happened. Thus, *puliako* can be interpreted as 'before'. *Puliako* has a homonym 'that's nothing/that's not a big deal/that's Okay'.

There is no semantic difference between *maqa* 'while' and *palate* 'while', but *maqa* can be used only when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are not co-referential. In (12.50), they are not co-referential. *Palate* can be used both when they are co-referential and when they are not co-referential. In (12.52), they are co-referential. *Puliako* can also be used when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are co-referential or not co-referential. In (12.53), they are not co-referential.

Temporal clauses with *maqa/palate* 'while' present a situation as atelic, while those with *puliako* present an unrealised situation with reference to the situation described by the main clause. Atelic and irrealis situations are characteristic of low transitivity as described in Hopper and Thompson (1980). Because of this, these temporal clauses can have only an intransitive verb as noted above. This is also the case when *keru* has the meaning 'while', as in (12.49). On the other hand, when *keru* has the meaning 'when', as in (12.47) and (12.48), the situation is not presented as atelic, as it is a realised one with reference to the situation described by the main clause. Consequently, when *keru* is interpreted as 'when', the verb can be either transitive or intransitive.

Both finite and non-finite temporal clauses may express the meaning 'while' as shown above. There seems to be a semantic difference between them. Example (12.49) in which the finite temporal clause has the meaning 'while' highlights the subject's involvement with the event of getting them, and thus the S argument is always expressed by a pronominal proclitic, and additionally by an S NP. On the other hand, examples (12.50) and (12.52), which are non-finite temporal clauses, do not highlight the subject's involvement with the event. Because of this, the S argument in a non-finite temporal clause may not be expressed as in (12.52).

12.4.2 Purposive clauses

A purposive clause presents a purpose for movement. Consequently, the main verb has to be a motion verb or a verb that implies movement. A purposive clause is always non-finite and is marked with an enclitic *le,* which is attached to the nominal derivational enclitic on the verb. The subject of the main clause and the subject of the purposive clause are always co-referential and the purposive clause never contains a subject marker. An optional O NP occurs in preverbal position while an optional adjunctival phrase occurs in postverbal position. Thus, the structure of a purposive clause is:

(O NP) VP=*le*(adjunctival phrase)

VP ⇒ V(=object clitic)=NOM

A purposive clause follows the main clause.

(12.55)	*Vo*	*ta*	*o=ta*	*ke=ve*	*leba*	*vailizat=o=le*
	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=SIT	go=RMP	labourer	look.for=NOM=PURP

Malaita.
Malaita
'He went to Malaita to look for labourers.' (12-2-14)

(12.56)	*Ke=ta*	*kail=a*	*Koro-koroqanisi*	*kasi*
	3PL=SIT	go.up=PRES	REDUP-Korokoroqanisi	at

pazo-kini=o=le.
hit-RECP=NOM=PURP
'They went up to Korokoroqanisi in order to fight.' (39-14-90)

The subordinator *le* may have originated in the cliticised form of a locative postposition *kale* 'in'. This then means that a purposive clause fills a nominal slot. A purpose can also be expressed by an independent clause introduced by the irrealis marker *tu* (see §13.3). In such a case, the verb can be any kind of verb.

12.4.3 Imaginative conditional clauses

The subordinator *tea* 'if' follows a clause and marks it as an imaginative conditional clause. An imaginative conditional clause presents the speaker's presumption of what might happen. It is always finite but can take no aspectual/modal marker. The main clause follows the imaginative conditional clause and is always in the future tense. The tense of an imaginative conditional clause can be past or future. When it is past, it presents a counterfactual situation, a situation that did not happen. In examples below imaginative conditional clauses are underlined.

(12.57) Counterfactual

Sole *nge=tuvevopue=k=a* *ta* *komi=a*
that's.why 1PL.EXC=believe=3SG.F.O=PRES TOP PROX.SG.F=LIG

gospel lotu *saev=o* *pui* *ko=pa* *kue=vi*
Gospel Christianity survive=NOM NEG 3SG.F=PROS come=RMP

tea *komi=a* *pazo-kini=o* *ta* *pui* *ko=pa*
if PROX.SG.F=LIG hit-RECP=NOM TOP NEG 3SG.F=PROS

epez=o.
stop=NRFUT
'So, what we believe is that if this Gospel, Christian life had not come, this fighting would not have stopped.' (10-16-137~138)
(more literally 'That is why, we believe and consequently if this Gospel, Christian life had not come, this fighting would not have stopped.)

When it is future, it presents a hypothetical situation, a situation which might happen.

(12.58) Hypothetical

Nge=madoe=k=ou *tea* *enge* *ta* *nge=roveo=vou*
1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=FUT if 1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=can=FUT

tu *atie=k=o* *enge=ko* *miduku.*
IRR lead=3SG.F.O=NOM 1PL.EXC=3SG.F land
'If we tried, we would be able to lead (conquer) our land.' (64-3-22)

Tea 'if' can also follow an imperative clause, and in such a case it is not followed by another clause. This means that 'it was time to do'.[81]

(12.59) *Kailot=omo* *tea.*
go.up=IMP.PL if
'It was time to go up!'

---

[81] There is also an idiom *sai tea* (there if) meaning 'that's it/that's enough'. For example, when someone is pouring coffee for you, you can say *sai tea* 'that's it/that's enough' to stop her/him.

Conditions can also be expressed by an independent clause followed by a causal coordinator. This is described in §13.2.6. A summary of conditionals in Bilua is also presented in §13.2.6.

12.4.4 Absolutive clauses

According to Thompson and Longacre, 'absolutive' is a cover term for a dependent clause type which has the following properties:

(i) the clause is marked in some way as being [dependent];

(ii) there is no explicit signal of the relationship between the main and subordinate clause; thus

(iii) the interpretation of this relationship is inferred from the pragmatic and linguistic context (Thompson & Longacre 1985:200–201).

There is one type of absolutive clause in Bilua, which means 'no good such and such happens'. An absolutive clause is marked with the postposition *kale* 'in' and thus it fills a nominal slot. Its VP always contains a subject marker, a pronominal enclitic, and an optional NP takes preverbal position. An absolutive clause can either precede or follow the main clause. In the following examples, underlines mark absolutive clauses.

[(NP) VP] *kale*

VP ⇒ PRON=V(=object clitic)=NOM

(12.60)

...meqora	*me=baidae=k=o*	*ale*	*ko=ta*
child	2PL=finish=3SG.F.O=NOM	in	3SG.F=SIT

raneo=vou	*inio.*
sleep.overnight=FUT	FOC.NONF

'...no good to eat up children, it's going to be dawn.' (47-2-90)
(more literally '...no good to finish children, it will sleep overnight.')

(12.61)

...ko=ko	*vima*	*ta*	*pui*	*ngo*	*el=ou*
3SG.F=3SG.F	underneath	TOP	NEG	2SG	stay=FUT

ko=a	*duruo*	*ko=ng=ai*	*raibizi=o*	*kale.*
3SG.F=LIG	big.bag	3SG.F=2SG.O=VAL	pour=NOM	in

'...don't stay underneath [the big string bag], [it is] no good for [ngali nuts in] the big string bag to pour on you.' (2-5-31)

Example (12.60) is uttered in a context where people started eating children when they could not find food for a few days because darkness continued over several days, and then finally someone who climbed a tree found that it was going to be dawn and told the people not to eat up children.

12.5 Summary

In the sections above, different types of dependent clauses are described. No dependent clause can contain a constituent marked with a topic or a focus marker. Relative clauses are alway finite. Complement clauses and adverbial clauses can be finite or non-finite. Finite dependent clauses always contain subject and tense markers. They may contain an aspectual/modal marker but this is possible only in certain environments.

In non-finite dependent clauses, the verb is bound by the nominal derivational enclitic *o* instead of a tense marker. That is, the verb is turned into a nominal. In their description of nominals derived from verbs, Comrie and Thompson (1985:359) states that 'action nominals typically have some of the syntactic characteristics of both sentences and non-derived noun phrases ... the extent to which action nominals are verbal or nominal varies considerably from language to language'. In Bilua, non-finite complement and adverbial clauses retain characteristics of sentences more than nominalised complements do. As in independent clauses, an argument of non-finite complement and adverbial clauses can only be expressed by an NP, while an argument of nominalised complements can be expressed by a possessor NP embedded into a possessive NP whose head is a nominalised verb. Furthermore, non-finite complement and adverbial clauses may contain a pronominal proclitic which functions as a subject marker, but nominalised complements cannot. However, none of non-finite dependent clauses, including nominalised complements, can take a tense marker or an aspectual/modal marker.

This concludes a description of dependent clauses. The next chapter presents a description of coordination.

13 *Coordination*

13.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses coordination. Coordination is a mechanism where two or more constituents of the same syntactic status are linked. In Bilua, coordination can be indicated by coordinators or by juxtaposition. Juxtaposition can only indicate coordination of independent clauses. Coordinators, on the other hand, can link various kinds of constituent as described below.

13.2 Coordinators

13.2.1 Introduction

There are six coordinators in Bilua as follows, repeated from §5.11.

conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and'
disjunctive coordinator *ma* 'or'
adversative coordinator *melai* 'but'
sequential coordinator *inio* 'sequentially/and then'
causal coordinator *ta/ti*, 'and then/consequently'
intensifying coordinator *ti*

The adversative coordinator *melai* 'but' can form a complex coordinator with the negation marker *pui* (see §13.2.4).

All coordinators occur between the constituents they link. The intensifying coordinator *ti*, however, is different to the others. It can only link identical phrases or words. Semantically, its function is to intensify the meaning of the linked constituents. *Ti* can link phrases (NPs, PPs, and VPs) and words (the negation marker *pui* and *matu* 'big'). *Ti* is described in §13.2.7 following a description of other coordinators.

Constituents linked by the five other coordinators can be:

nouns
NPs
PPs
non-verbal predicates

independent clauses

dependent clauses

Conjunctive and disjunctive coordinators can link all of these constituents. The adversative coordinator can link all but nouns. Sequential and causal coordinators can link only independent clauses.

Linked constituents can also be constituents of the same syntactic function. In the following example, the linked constituents are a deictic adverb *koi* 'here' and a postpositional phrase *peuru kale* 'in the village'. Both of them function as locational adjuncts. In this section, each of the linked constituents is marked with square brackets, and the coordinator is underlined.

(13.1) *Ne=a* *matu* *peuru* *ta* *matu* *kubo* *maba* *madu*
PROX.SG.M=LIG big village TOP very many person COLL.PL

ke *ev=a* *[koi]* *ma* *[peuru* *kale].*
3PL stay=PRES here or village in

'As for this big village, many people lived here or in the village.' (26-1-2)

Words and phrases linked by a coordinator are treated as one constituent. In example (13.2), the two linked nouns form one constituent, and this is the head of the possessive NP.

(13.2) *Ni* *o=zio=vou* *ko=a* *sinaqurusu=ko* *[mama]*
and 3SG.M=go=FUT 3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.F father

ni *[niania]* *kidi* *kasi.*
and mother COLL.DU at

'He will go to the father and mother of the girl.' (26-1-6)

Mama ni niania kidi in (13.2) could also be analysed as coordination of two NPs, [*mama*] *ni* [*niania kidi*], but this does not fit in the given discourse since it would then mean 'one father and two mothers'.

Conjunctive and disjunctive coordinators share two properties; they can be recursive, and the order of linked phrases can be freely changed without a change of meaning. In example (13.3), there are four NPs linked by the conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and' which occurs between each pair of linked constituents, and their order can be changed without a change of meaning.

(13.3) *Ke* *inainae=k=o=a=ma* *ta* *[bolo]* *ni* *[mania]*
3PL get.ready=3SG.F.O=FUT=LIG=REL.F TOP pig and pudding

ni *[mau]* *ni* *[meqo].*
and taro and bonito

'As for things they will get ready, [these] are pigs, puddings, taros, and bonitos.' (21-4-22)

When more than two constituents are linked, a coordinator is obligatory in front of the last linked constituent, but others are optional. In fast speech, it often occurs only once in front of the last constituent, while in slow speech, it often occurs between each constituent. In (13.3), the coordinator *ni* 'and' before *meqo* 'bonito' cannot be omitted, but the others can be omitted.[82]

In slow speech, there may be a pause between linked constituents. When there is a pause, a coordinator forms one intonation unit with either the preceding or following constituent, or it may form an intonation unit by itself; there could be a pause before and after the coordinator. When there is a pause, there is a rising or level intonation on the word which precedes the pause. The end of the sentence, on the other hand, is indicated by falling intonation in Bilua, in a declarative sentence. In the following example, there is a slight pause before a coordinator *ni* 'and', which forms one intonation unit with the clause that follows it. There is a rising intonation on the word *bita* 'string bag'.

(13.4)

[Qo=sukati=k=a	*ko*	*bita],*	*ni*	*[nioqa*	*ta*
3DU=fill=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	string.bag	and	3DU	TOP

qo=vait=a	*peuru*	*kale].*
3DU=return=PRES`	village	in

'They filled string bags, and they returned to the village.' (24-2-13)

Coordinators, *ni* 'and', *inio* 'sequentially/and then', and *ti/ta* 'and then/consequently' may also function to indicate the continuation of a story or a sentence. With this function, they may occur clause-initially or between a dependent clause and an independent clause as well as between two independent clauses. This may suggest that coordinators here are treated as a part of a clause. However, as they can form an intonation unit with either the preceding or the following clause and they can also form an intonation unit of their own, they are not treated as a part of the clause.[83] In example (13.5) below, there is an occurrence of *inio* between an adverbial dependent clause and an independent clause. There is a slightly long pause after the adverbial clause, and the speaker places *inio* before he starts the next clause in order to indicate the sentence is continuing.

(13.5)

Ko=a	*omolomolo*	*o=viq=a*	*keru,*	*ma*
3SG.F=LIG	echo	3SG.M=hear=PRES	TEMP	or

ko=a	*kora*	*o=viq=a*	*keru,*	*inio*	*vo*
3SG.F=LIG	sound	3SG.M=hear=PRES	TEMP	SEQ	3SG.M

---

[82] This example can be analysed as either coordination of nouns or NPs: it is possible to consider that linked nouns form the head and this by itself forms an NP, or it is also possible to consider that each noun forms an NP on its own and four NPs are coordinated. Either analysis is possible and there is no factor that determines which approach is more probable here.

[83] It may be said that coordinators here function like linking adverbials (see §10.7), but unlike linking adverbials, which do not necessarily occur in clause-initial position (that is, which may occur clause-internally) coordinators can only occur clause-externally.

ta	*o=ta*	*matu*	*pekao=ke.*
TOP	3SG.M=SIT	very	dance=HIST

'When he heard the echo or when he heard the sound, he danced hard.' (26-13-74)

The following is another example.

(13.6)

Eri	*k=i=o=la*	|	*"o"*	*k=i=o=la.*
s.th.like.this	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES		o	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

Ti	*"o=soloe=k=ou"*	*nio*
and.then	3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=FUT	FOC.NONF

k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES

'He said something like this. He said "o". And then, I said "He will send it down".'(2-4-24~25)

Each of the six coordinators is described in sections below.

13.2.2 Conjunctive coordinator **ni** *'and'*

The conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and' simply conjoins constituents. The following are some examples of the use of the conjunctive coordinator with different types of constituents. An example of nouns linked by *ni* 'and' is given in the last section. In (13.7), linked NPs form a possessor NP, and this is marked with a possessive marker *ko* (3SG.F).

(13.7) NPs

Omuqa	*kidi*	*inio*	*qo*	*ibat=ou*	*omuqa*
two	COLL.DU	FOC.NONF	3DU	push=FUT	two

rana	*[ko=a*	*rekorusu]*	*ni*	*[vo=a*	*lasiverusu]=ko*
side	3SG.F=LIG	girl	and	3SG.M=LIG	boy=3SG.F

tu	*qo=tibae-kini=ou.*
IRR	3DU=stick-RECP=FUT

'Two people push both sides of the girl and the boy so that they will stick with each other.' (21-11-65)

(13.8) PPs

Vella La Vella	*udu*	*kale=a=mu*	*se*	*ta*	*ke=ke=ve*
Vella La Vella	island	in=LIG=3PL	3PL	TOP	3PL=go=RMP

[edo-edolo=a=ma	*zae*	*poso*	*kale]*	*ni*
REDUP-different=LIG=3SG.F	area	PL	in	and

[*edo-edolo=a=ma* *tou-tou* *kale*].
REDUP-various=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-tribe in
'Vella La Vella people went to different areas and to various tribes.' (12-9-84)

(13.9) Non-verbal predicates
Ne=a *utupe* *ta* [*puli=a=ma* *seseu*
PROX.SG.M=LIG coconut crab TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F finger

sa=la] *ni* [*puli=a=ma* *vo=ko* *zavu-zavu*] *ni*
COM=3SG.M and NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=3SG.F REDUP-beard and

[*puli=a=ma* *vo=ko* *taka*].
NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=3SG.F claw
'This coconut crab does not have any fingers, beard, or claws.' (26-18-100) (more literally 'This coconut crab is with no fingers and no beard of his and no claws of his.')

(13.10) Dependent clauses
So *keru* [*ke* *ilusi=v=e* *keru*] *ni*
that TEMP 3PL worship=3SG.M.O=RMP TEMP and

[*ke=lulue=v=e* *keru*] *ta* *ke=roveo=vi*
3PL=follow=3SG.M.O=RMP TEMP TOP 3PL=can=RMP

k=el=o *ko* *ko=kati=m=e=ma* *quli*
3SG.F.O=see=NOM 3SG.F 3SG.F=give=3PL.O=PRES=REL.F thing

ni *ko* *ko=m=ai* *ruali=k=e=ma*
and 3SG.F 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL make.it.true=3SG.F.O=RMP=REL.F

quli *se=ko* *aza-aza=ma* *tuvevoput=o* *poso* *kale.*
thing 3PL=3SG.F REDUP-various=3SG.F believe=NOM PL in
'That time, when they worshipped him and when they followed him, they could see the thing it gave them and the thing which made it true to them in their belief.'(10-2-18)

(13.11) Independent clauses
...vo *ta* [*o* *ol=a* *ju* *kale* *sukulu* *ju*]
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M go=PRES water in stream water

ni [*o=vaili=k=a* *ko* *niuniu*].
and 3SG.M=look.for=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F fish
'...as for him, he went to the big water, the stream (water), and he looked for fish.' (24-2-22)

As noted in the last section, words and phrases linked by a coordinator are treated as one constituent. When linked constituents are clauses, they are treated as one clause. That is, situations described by linked clauses are treated as one situation consisting of subparts which are described by each linked clause. When clauses are linked by *ni*, a change of the order of clauses may result in a change of meaning. In example (13.11), the change of the order results in his looking for fish before he went to the stream.

13.2.3 Disjunctive coordinator **ma** *'or'*

The disjunctive coordinator *ma* 'or' marks two alternatives. The following are some examples of disjunctive coordination with different types of constituents. *Ma* 'or' has a different function when it links two identical NPs, as discussed below. When *ma* 'or' links two NPs which function as core arguments, the pronominal proclitic or the object clitic on the VP agrees with the closer NP. Thus, in example (13.13) below the pronominal proclitic on the VP agrees with the second NP of the linked NPs, the one which is closer to the VP.

(13.12) Nouns

...nge=q=ov=ou	*ko*	*[niuniu]*	*ma*	*[bio]...*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT	3SG.F	fish	or	shell

'...we will get fish or shell...' (64-2-12)

(13.13) NPs

...[nioqa=ko	*niania]*	*ma*	*[nioqa*	*saidi]*	*ta*
3DU=3SG.F	mother	or	3DU	family	TOP

qo=kejue=k=a	*ko=a*	*niuniu,*
3DU=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	fish

'...their mother or two of the family cook the fish,' (24-3-26)

(13.14) PPs

O=ta	*ol=ala*	*[kiaro*	*kasi]*	*ma*	*[siqo*	*kale].*
3SG.M=SIT	go=RCP	garden	at	or	bush	in

'He went to the garden or to the bush.'

(13.15) Non-verbal predicates

Vo	*ta*	*[dokita]*	*ma*	*[nesi].*
3SG.M	TOP	doctor	or	nurse

'He is a doctor or a nurse.'

(13.16) Dependent clauses (repeated from 13.2.1 above)

[Ko=a	*omolomolo*	*o=viq=a*	*keru],*	*ma*
3SG.F=LIG	echo	3SG.M=hear=PRES	TEMP	or

[ko=a	*kora*	*o=viq=a*	*keru],*	*inio*	*vo*
3SG.F=LIG	sound	3SG.M=hear=PRES	TEMP	and.then	3SG.M

ta	*o=ta*	*matu*	*pekao=ke.*
TOP	3SG.M=SIT	very	danceNOM=HIST

'When he heard the echo or when he heard the sound, he danced hard.' (26-13-74)

(13.17) Independent clauses

Vo=ko	*pekao*	*ta*	"[*Kake*	*ke=l=ati*
3SG.M=3SG.F	dance.NOM	TOP	INDEF.PL	3PL=1SG.O=VAL

pesio]	*ma*	[*kake*	*ke=l=el=o,*]"
speakNRFUT	or	INDEF.PL	3PL=1SG=see=NRFUT

k=i=o=la...
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M.O=PRES

'As for his dance, "Some people will speak to me or some people will see me", he said...' (26-13-71)

When it links two identical nouns *ma* indicates variety/multiplicity.

(13.18)

Ke=ke=ve	[*udu*]	*ma*	[*udu*].
3PL=go=RMP	island	or	island

'They went to an island or an island (various islands).' (10-2-22)

(13.19)

...*nge=q=ov=ou*	*enge=ko*	*pade=ko*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT	1PL.EXC=3SG.F	house=3SG.F

[*kama*]	*ma*	[*kama*]...
INDEF.SG.F	or	INDEF.SG.F

'...we will get something or something (various things) for our house...' (64-2-9)

Udu ma udu 'island or island (various islands), in (13.18) and *kama ma kama* 'something or something (various things)' in (13.19) are similar to an English expression 'this and that' in 'he wants this and that' meaning 'he wants lots of things'.

13.2.4 Adversative coordinator **melai** *'but'*

The adversative coordinator *melai* 'but' in general marks a contrast. When it links NPs, PPs, non-verbal predicates, or dependent clauses, *melai* always forms a complex coordinator with the negation marker *pui*. Usually, *pui* occurs in front of the first linked constituent and *melai* occurs between linked constituents, as in examples (13.20), (13.22), and (13.23). Linked NPs/PPs may occur discontinuously, and in such a case, both *melai* and *pui* occur in front of the second NP/PP. This is illustrated by example (13.21).

(13.20) NPs

Ni	*se=a*	*kiada*	*maba*	*madu*	*se*	*pui*	[*Sito=ko*
SEQ	3PL=LIG	all	person	COLL.PL	3PL	NEG	Sito=3SG.F

vaki]	*melai*	[*se*]	*ta*	*ke=lupi=k=a*	*se=ko*	*lezu*
troop	but	3PL	TOP	3PL=tie=3SG.F.O=PRES	3PL=3SG.F	head

diri=a=ma	*suma*	*kale.*
red=LIG=3SG.F	cloth	in

'And all those people, not Sito's troop, but they (all those people) tied red cloth around their heads.' (12-5-45)

(13.21) PPs

...vo	*ta*	*[o=potu*	*kale]*	*inio*
3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=wound	with	FOC.NONF

o=k=o=a	*ko*	*niuniu,*	*melai*	*pui*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=take=PRES	3SG.F	fish	but	NEG

[tali	*kale].*
fishing rod	with

'...he gets fish with his wound not with a fishing rod.' (24-6-70)

(13.22) Non-verbal predicates

...vo=a	*botolo*	*ta*	*maba*	*botolo,*	*pui*
3SG.M=LIG	bottle	TOP	truly	bottle	NEG

[sibi=a=mu=ko	*botolo]*	*melai*	*[vakamaba=mu=ko*
black=LIG=3PL=3SG.F	bottle	but	white.people=3PL=3SG.F

botolo].
bottle

'...the bottle is truly a bottle, not a black people's bottle but a white people's bottle.' (47-1-5)

(13.23) Dependent clauses

Pui	*[ko=barol=ou*	*keru]*	*melai*	*[ko=vait=ou*	*keru]*
NEG	3SG.F=arrive=FUT	TEMP	but	3SG.F=return=FUT	TEMP

inio	*qe=kati=k=ou.*
FOC.NONF	1DU.INC=give=3SG.F.O=FUT

'Not when she arrives but when she returns, we will give it to her.'

With clauses, it either forms a complex coordinator with the negation marker as in (13.24) or it functions as a coordinator by itself as in (13.25). The negation marker appears in front of the VP.

(13.24) Independent clauses

...[matu	*raisi-raisi*	*ko=ta*	*ev=a],*	*melai*
very	REDUP-evening	3SG.F=SIT	become=PRES	but

[nioqa=vo	*mama*	*ta*	*pui*	*o=baro=a].*
3DU=3SG.M	father	TOP	NEG	3SG.M=arrive=PRES

'...even though it became late evening, their father didn't arrive.' (24-4-36)

(13.25) Independent clauses

...[kubo	*kele-kele*	*o=revoe=k=a]*	*melai*
many	REDUP-point	3SG.M=go.around=3SG.F.O=PRES	but

[o=beta	*ol=a]...*
3SG.M=CONT	go=PRES

'...even though he went around many points, he kept going...' (38-1-4)

Melai 'but' may indicate a concessive relationship between clauses and can be translated as 'even though' or 'in spite of the fact that' as in the examples above. *Melai* may also imply a substitutive relationship as in example (13.26) meaning 'but instead'.

(13.26) Independent clauses

...[pui	*o=nokae=v=a]*	*melai*	*[o=ta*	*vait=a],*
NEG	3SG.M=call=3SG.M.O=PRES	but	3SG.M=SIT	return=PRES

'...he (the son) didn't call him, but instead he (the son) returned,' (24-7-71)

A substitutive relationship signals that one expected situation is replaced by another unexpected situation (Thompson & Longacre 1985:199). In (13.26) the son was looking for him (his father) and therefore it was expected that the son would call him when the son found him but contrary to expectation, he didn't call him and just returned.

13.2.5 Sequential coordinator inio *'sequentially/and then'*

The sequential coordinator *inio* 'sequentially/and then', glossed as SEQ, can only link independent clauses. It indicates a temporal, sequential relation. *Inio* is often elided into *nio*.

(13.27)

...[vo	*ta*	*o=k=o=a*	*kama*
3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=take=PRES	INDEF.SG.F

keru-keru],	*inio*	*[vo*	*ta*	*eri*
REDUP-think	SEQ	3SG.M	TOP	s.th.like this

k=i=o=la].
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

'...he got some thought and then he said something like this.' (24-2-18)

(13.28)

...[o=saqor=a]	*inio*	*[o=lokie=k=a*
3SG.M=go.down=PRES	SEQ	3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES

ko=a	*qusini].*
3SG.F=LIG	rope

'...he went down and then coiled the rope.' (2-9-52)

It may be postulated that the sequential coordinator *inio* 'sequentially/and then' and the focus marker *inio* (see §14.3.2) historically have the same origin. *Inio* 'sequentially/and then', like focus structures, helps to push the communication forward, by indicating that there is something happening next. In fact, when a VP is followed by *inio*, it is sometimes ambiguous whether it is a focus marker or the sequential coordinator *inio*, as in Bilua a VP on its own can form a clause; both the focus marker and the sequential coordinator can follow a VP. This is when *inio* forms one intonation unit with both the preceding VP and a clause which follows. In such a case, *inio* is treated as a sequential coordinator in this work. On the other hand, if *inio* and the preceding VP form one intonation unit of their own, *inio* is regarded as the focus marker, as the focus marker normally forms one intonation unit with the constituent it marks.

13.2.6 Causal coordinator **ti/ta** *'and then/consequently'*

Causal coordinators *ti* and *ta* link only independent clauses and they indicate a causal succession between events described by the linked clauses. It appears that historically they have the same origin as topic markers *ta* and *ti*. This is discussed later below.

The causal coordinator is usually realised as *ti* when linked clauses present realised situations. *Ta* can be used when the situation described by the second of two linked clauses describes an unexpected situation, and this results in a connotation of surprise. This is illustrated by example (13.29). *Ti*, on the other hand, does not have such a connotation. There is no unexpectedness in example (13.30).

(13.29)	[*Sainio*	*o=lilit=a*]	*ta*	[*kala*	*ziolo*
	therefore	3SG.M=look.back=PRES	and.then	INDEF.SG.M	devil

lula=mu	*ke=papue=v=e=ni*	*jari*	*topi*].
before=3PL	3PL=sit=3SG.M.O=RMP=REL.NONF	copra.shed	top

'Therefore, he looked back and then [he found that] there was a devil which people in the past had sat on the top of the copra shed.' (43-2-18)

(13.30)	...[*ko=ta*	*surai=va*]	*ti*	[*ko=ta*
	3SG.M=SIT	heal=PRES	and.then	3SG.M=SIT

poda=k=a].
come.out=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...it healed and consequently it came off.' (34-1-10)

Ta can also be used when the first of linked clauses contains a perception verb, *mamulo* 'to be suspicious', *nianiio* 'to know', *kerukeruto* 'to think', *paqumuko* 'to understand', or *kelo* 'to see'. In such a case, the second of linked clauses describes what the subject suspects/knows/thinks/understands/sees. The second of linked clauses in examples below are not complement clauses, as they contain constituents marked with a topic/focus marker, whereas no dependent clauses can contain a constituent marked with a topic/focus marker.

(13.31)	[*Anga=ko*	*keru-keru*	*kale*	*anga*	*ta*
	1SG=3SG.F	REDUP-thought	in	1SG	TOP

a=qeru-kerut=a]	*ta*	[*ko=kue=va=ko*	*taku*	*ta*
1SG=REDUP-think=PRES	and.then	3SG.F=come=PRES=REL.F	time	TOP

enge	*Vella La Vella*	*udu*	*kale=a=ma*	*maba*	*poso=ngela*
1PL.EXC	Vella La Vella	island	in=LIG=3SG.F	person	PL=1PL.EXC

ta	*tapata*	*nge=da*	*el=ou*].
TOP	hard	1PL.EXC=SIT	become=FUT

'In my thinking, I thought, [and as a result I think] in the coming time, we, [the lives of] Vella La Vella people will become hard.' (64-3-16)

(13.32)

Nio	[*sainio*	*nioqa=vo*	*meqora*	*ta*	*o=ta*
SEQ	therefore	3DU=3SG.M	child	TOP	3SG.M=SIT
mamul=a]	*ta*	[*vo*	*ta*	*o=potu*	*kale*
be.suspicious=PRES	and.then	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=wound	with
inio	*o=k=o=a*	*ko*	*niuniu*	*melai*	
FOC.NONF	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES	3SG.F	fish	but	
pui	*tali*	*kale*].			
NEG	fishing.rod	with			

'And, therefore, the child of the two, he became suspicious, [and as a result he suspected that] the father caught fish with his wound [on his legs] but not with a fishing rod.' (24-6-70)

The VP in the clause which follows *ti* often contains the continuity marker *beta/be*. The continuity marker here always has the 'sequential' use (see §8.5.4).

(13.33)

...[*ko=bori=v=a*	*vo=a*	*bakisa*]	*ti*	
3SG.F=carry=3SG.M.O=PRES	3SG.M=LIG	custom.money	and.then	
[*ko=beta*	*ol=a*	*inio*	*matu-peuru*	*kale*],
3SG.F=CONT	go=PRES	FOC.NONF	big-village	in

'...she carried the custom money and she went on to the big village,' (27-5-28)

When linked clauses present unrealised situations, the clausal coordinator is usually realised as *ta*. *Ti* is used when linked clauses present habitual generic situations. Example (13.35) occurs in a story about traditional marriages in which situations described are generic.

(13.34)

...[*me=k=a*	*zario=vou*]	*ta*	[*me=ngavi*	*nio*
2PL=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=FUT	and.then	2PL=EMPH	FOC.NONF
me=koi=k=ou]...				
2PL=climb=3SG.F.O=FUT				

'...if you want [betelnuts] you yourself will climb [the betelnut tree]...' (more literally '...you want [betelnuts] and then you yourself will climb [the betel nut tree]...' (59-8-68)

(13.35)

[*Esa*	*ko=a*	*sinaqurusu=ko*	*mama*	*ni*	*niania*	*ta*
maybe	3SG.F=LIG	girl=3SG.F	father	and	mother	TOP
lula	*qo=vou=vou*]	*ti*	[*ko=a*	*sinaqurusu=vo*		
already	3DU=die=FUT	and.then	3SG.F=LIG	girl=3SG.M		

papa *kasi*].
uncle at
'Maybe if the father and mother of the girl are already dead, [they will go to see] her uncle.'
(more literally 'Maybe the father and mother of the girl are already dead, and then [they will go to see] her uncle'.) (21-2-7)

Or *ti* can occur when the clause that follows contains the continuity marker *beta/be*. Again, the continuity marker here has the 'sequential' use.

(13.36) *"...[qe=zio]* *ti* *[qe=beta* *vait=o]..."*
1DU.EXC=goNRFUT and.then 1DU.EXC=CONT return=NRFUT
'"...we will go and then return..."' (27-17-108)

Notice that in (13.35) a clause that is followed by a causal coordinator has its own topic. The topic NP, *ko=a sinaqurusu=ko mama ni niania* 'the father and mother of the girl', is not the topic of the (contracted) second clause *ko=a sinaiqurusu=vo papa kasi* '[they will go to see] her uncle', and thus this topic is the topic of only the first clause.

Haiman (1978) shows that conditional clauses and topics are marked in an identical way in some languages and he illustrates semantic similarity between conditionals and topics: 'I am arguing that topics, like conditional clauses, are presuppositions of their sentences. But superficially, at least, presupposition means different things in the case of NPs and complement sentences' (Haiman 1978:585). Haiman also states that a conditional construction indicates a 'causal succession' between two clauses.

The morphemes *ta* and *ti* in Bilua function as topic markers (see §14.2), and it may be suggested that *ta* and *ti* described above are in fact topic markers. Indeed, there is some evidence that supports this contention. Topic markers, *ta* and *ti*, however, appeared to have developed as causal coordinators as discussed below.

The following evidence supports the above contention. First, in examples (13.34) and (13.35), *ta* and *ti* clearly mark a clause which presents a condition. Furthermore, as described in §14.2.3, the topic marker *ti* can be used only when the clause presents a habitual/generic situation. This accords with the choice of topic marker for example (13.35).

Second, a pronoun *so* 'that', which refers to a clause, can be marked by a topic marker *ta/ti*, and *so* marked by *ta/ti* may present a condition. *Ta/ti* here cannot be treated as a causal coordinator, as *ta/ti* as a coordinator cannot link an NP to a clause. In the following example, the pronoun *so* 'that', which is marked by *ta* (TOP), refers to a clause 'he does not eat'. Semantically, this clause presents a condition; the situation described by the clause that follows the topic marker *ta* occurs under this condition.

(13.37) *"Koe* *ako* *so* *ta* *o=ta* *vou=vo* *inio*
INTJ INTJ that TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=NRFUT FOC.NONF

angà=vo *meqora* *vuat=o* *melai* *pui*
1SG=3SG.M child eat=NOM too NEG

o=vuat=a	*sole",*
3SG.M=eat=PRES	that's.why

'"Oh, if it goes on like this he will die, my child, because he doesn't eat either",'
(27-5-27)

Thus, it may be said that causal coordinators *ta* and *ti* are indeed topic markers. However, there is some other evidence that suggests that topic markers *ta* and *ti* have developed as coordinators. First, *ti* can be used when the situations described are not habitual/generic ones as in examples (13.30), (13.33), and (13.36). Second, in some of examples above, the topic marker does not necessarily mark a condition. For example, in example (13.29) it is hard to say that the clause marked by *ta* presents a condition. Third, *ti/ta* may also occur in the clause-initial position, indicating the continuation of a story or a sentence (see §13.2.1), and in such a case it seems more reasonable to say that *ti/ta* here is a coordinator rather than a topic marker. In conclusion, one might say that topic markers *ta* and *ti* have developed or at least are in the process of developing as causal coordinators, and in this work *ta* and *ti* are treated as coordinators when they follow a clause[84]

In their classification of conditionals, Thompson and Longacre (1985:190–191) make a distinction between reality conditions and unreality conditions. Unreality conditions are divided into predictive and imaginative conditions. With predictive conditions one predicts what will be (1985:190–191) and this is expressed by a clause followed by a causal coordinator as in the above examples. On the other hand, imaginative conditions are expressed by a clause marked with a subordinator *tea* 'if' (see §12.4.3).

Reality conditions are divided into three kinds: present, habitual/generic, and past. Among these, a habitual/generic condition is expressed by a clause followed by *ti,* as in example (13.35). Present and past conditions are also expressed by a clause followed by *ta* or *ti.* Thompson and Longacre's (1985:190) example for a present condition, 'if it's raining out there, (my car is getting wet)' could be expressed by two independent clauses linked by a causal coordinator *ti* as in example (13.38) below.

(13.38)	*[Esa*	*nioro*	*ko=ta*	*ev=a*	*sai]*	*ti*
	maybe	rain	3SG.F=SIT	become=PRES	there	and.then

[anga=ko	*car*	*ta*	*site-site].*
1SG=3SG.F	car	TOP	REDUP-wet

'It may be raining there, and then my car is wet.'

Ti but not *ta* can be recursive, thus one sentence may contain more than two clauses linked by *ti.* When *ti* is recursive, it indicates a sequence of situations that occur one after another, and *ti* here is better translated as 'and'. This also supports the contention that *ti,* and also *ta,* have developed as a coordinator.

(13.39)	*[Ko=ta*	*baro=a]*	*ti*	*[ko*	*ta*	*ko*	*ol=ala*	*raro*
	3SG.F=SIT	arrive=PRES	and.then	3SG.F	TOP	3SG.F	go=RCP	pot

---

[84] However, there appears to be no relationship between another topic marker *melai* and the adversative coordinator *melai.*

pade asi] ti [ko=zarupat=a]...
house at and.then 3SG.F=sweep=PRES
'She arrived and she went to the kitchen and she swept...' (59-6-52)

A causal coordinator *ti* 'and then/consequently' may link an ablative PP to a locational phrase that presents a goal (see §10.5 for ablative PPs).

(13.40) *So ti so vo=ko saqor=o kale sipole tiania*
that INT that 3SG.M=3SG.F descend=NOM in near middle

o=baro=ke vo=ko peuru kale azo ti saka
3SG.M=arrive=HIST 3SG.M=3SG.F village in ABL and.then seaside

matu peuru kale ta tiania vo ta o=dokol=ake.
big village in TOP middle 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=stop=HIST
'It went on and on in his descent, he reached close to the middle, middle point from his village to the seaside, the big village, (and) he stopped.' (26-12-66)

(13.41) *...ke=ngavi=ko iruiruput=o maba poso ta matu*
3PL=EMPH=3SG.F work=NOM person PL TOP very

ile-ile=a=ma kiti kasi azo ti lezu kasi...
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.F foot at ABL and.then head at
'...her own working people are very beautiful from the foot to the head...' (67-5-49)

On the surface it looks as if *ti* links two phrases in the above two examples. *Ti* here still however can be treated as a causal coordinator, as illustrated by the following example. Example (13.42a) can be analysed as consisting of two clauses, and this presents an extension of area. In the first clause, the VP *ko=tanit=a* (3SG.F=begin=PRES) is omitted, and only the ablative adjunct is left. This is linked by a causal coordinator *ti* to the second clause, which presents a goal.

(13.42-a) *Bilua eria ta Joroveto ju kasi azo ti*
Bilua area TOP Joroveto water at ABL and.then

ko=baro=a Koloa ju kasi.
3SG.F=arrive=PRES Koloa water at
'As for Bilua area, [it starts] from Joroveto river and then it arrives at Koloa river.' (22-1-4)

The predicate of the second clause in (13.42a) can be omitted and this results in (13.42b), showing a similar structure to (13.40) and (13.41). Thus, *ti*, occurring between an ablative PP and a locational PP that presents a goal, can be treated as a causal coordinator.

(13.42-b) *Bilua eria ta Joroveto ju kasi azo ti*
Bilua area TOP Joroveto water at ABL and.then

Koloa ju kasi.
Koloa water at
'Bilua area is from Joroveto river to Koloa river.'

Furthermore, *ti* can also link an ablative PP to a temporal phrase that presents an ending point of an extension of time (see §10.4 for temporal phrases).

(13.43) *A iruruput=ala vikale azo ti raisi-raisi.*
1SG work=RCP morning ABL and.then REDUP-evening
'I worked from morning to evening.'

13.2.7 *Intensifying coordinator* ti

The intensifying coordinator *ti* (INT) links two identical phrases (NPs, PPs, or VPs) or words (the negation marker *pui* or an adjective *matu* 'big' as in examples (13.49) and (13.50) below). NPs, PPs or VPs linked by *ti* always refer to a situation, and *ti* indicates intensity or persistence of the situation. For example, in example (13.44) *ti* links two identical PPs, and it indicates the intensity of the fighting.

(13.44) PP
...*[pazo-kini=o=le] ti [pazo-kini=o=le] ti*
hit-RECP=NOM=in INT hit-RECP=NOM=in and.then

ke=ta ruvur=a, se Kutakabai=mu.
3PL=SIT all.die=PRES 3PL Kutakabai=3PL
'...after the intensive fighting they, Kutakabai people, all died.' (22-7-32)
(more literally '...in the fighting and in the fighting, they *Kutakabai* people all died.)

Phrases linked by *ti* can be treated as clauses, as they refer to situations in the manner that clauses do. Accordingly, linked phrases can be linked to a clause by a coordinator. This is usually done by a causal coordinator *ti,* as in (13.44). In fact, it is plausible that the intensifier coordinator *ti* has originated in the causal coordinator *ti*, but when *ti* links identical phrases, it indicates intensity or persistence of the situation because of the repetition of the same phrase.

Phrases that occur on both sides of the intensifier *ti* can have only minimum constituent(s). The object NP governed by a PP can consist of a noun only. This can only be a nominalised verb, as in (13.44). When the linked phrases are NPs, these can have only their heads. The head of the NP can be a nominalised verb as in example (13.45), or the pronoun *so* 'that', which has a clause as its antecedent as in example (13.46). In both examples, the linked NPs refer to situations.

(13.45) ...*[puze=v=o] ti [puze=v=o] ti*
blow=3SG.M.O=NOM INT blow=3SG.M.O=NOM and.then

diri-diri	*o=ta*	*ev=a*	*vo=a*	*taka...*
REDUP-red	3SG.M=SIT	become=PRES	3SG.M=LIG	claw

'...he blew and blew the fire, and then the claws [of the coconut crab] became red...' (38-3-10)
(more literally '...blowing it and blowing it, the claws became red...')

(13.46)

[So]	*ti*	*[so]*	*ti*	*[so]*	*ti*	*sopu*	*tiania*
that	INT	that	INT	that	and.then	hill	middle

o=baro=a.
3SG.M=arrive=PRES

'He chased and chased and chased them, and then he reached the middle of the hill.' (16-6-80)

In (13.46), the antecedent of the pronoun *so* 'that' is a clause 'he chased them', which occurs in the previous discourse.

The minimum constituent of a VP in Bilua is a pronominal proclitic, the head, and a tense/mood marker. VPs linked by *ti* may additionally have the situation-change marker *ta*. The situation-change marker adds dynamicity because of its function of indicating a change of situation. Since a Bilua VP can form a clause on its own, it can be said that coordination of VPs by *ti* is a case of coordination of clauses. However, *ti* cannot link clauses that contain constituents other than VPs.

(13.47)

Ti	*[o=ta*	*ol=a]*	*ti*	*[o=ta*	*ol=a]*	*ti*
and.then	3SG.M=SIT	go=PRES	INT	3SG.M=SIT	go=PRES	INT

[o=ta	*ol=a]*	*ti*	*[o=ta*	*ol=a]]*	*kingu*	*ale.*
3SG.M=SIT	go=PRES	INT	3SG.M=SIT	go=PRES	forest	in

'He went and went and went and went in the forest.' (24-11-91)

(13.48)

[Ke=kail=a]	*ti*	*[ke=kail=a]*	|	*ke=baro=ke*
3PL=go.up=PRES	INT	3PL=go.up=PRES		3PL=arrive=HIST

ko=a	*zae*	*kale,*
3SG.F=LIG	area	in

'They went up and went up, (and) they arrived at the area,' (26-23-123)

Ti can also link identical words, the negation marker *pui* as in example (13.49) or an adjective *matu* 'big' as in example (13.50) below. The negation marker *pui* linked by *ti* indicates a strong negation. Among all adjectives, only *matu* 'big' can be linked by *ti*.

(13.49)

"...sole	*koi*	*nio*	*maba*	*[pui]*	*ti*	*[pui]*	*ngo*
so	here	FOC.NONF	truly	NEG	INT	NEG	2SG

el=o",	*k=i=ko=la,*
stay=NRFUT	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

'"...so, truly you never stay here", she said,' (24-9-89)

(13.50)

So	*sole*	*vo*	*ta*	*o=lilit=ake*	*inio*
that	because	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=look back=HIST	SEQ

o=v=e=ake	*[matu]*	*ti*	*[matu]=la*
3SG.M=3SG.M.O=see=HIST	big	INT	big=3SG.M

utupe,
coconut.crab

'So, he looked back and he saw a very big coconut crab,' (26-15-85)

Other adjectives than *matu* 'big' cannot occur with the intensifying coordinator *ti*. With other adjectives, intensity can be indicated by a general modifier *matu* 'very' as in example (13.51). The adjective *matu* 'big' cannot be modified by a general modifier *matu* 'very', and intensity can only be indicated by the intensifying coordinator *ti,* as in the above example.

(13.51)	*Sito*	*ta*	*matu*	*piza=ka=la*	*maba.*
	Sito	TOP	very	strong=LIG=3SG.M	person

'Sito is a very strong person.' (12-7-64)

It might be hypothesised that an adjective *matu* 'big' and a general modifier *matu* 'very' are one and the same word. In fact, both can modify nouns. However, as described in §5.3, a general modifier *matu* 'very' modifies nouns without a pronominal enclitic attached, while an adjective *matu* big' requires a pronominal enclitic. Therefore, *matu* 'big' and *matu* 'very' are treated as separate words in this work.

13.3 Juxtaposition

Independent clauses may be linked by juxtaposition. Juxtaposition may link more than two clauses. In a sentence in which clauses are linked by juxtaposition, the boundary between clauses is normally marked with a slight rising intonation at the end of each clause which occurs sentence internally. This is followed by a short pause. The final clause, the end of the sentence, is marked with a falling intonation.

Similarly to coordination of clauses by the conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and', the clauses linked by juxtaposition are regarded as presenting one situation which has subparts. Clauses are normally linked by juxtaposition in fast speech or when the second of linked clauses presents an unrealised situation. Example (13.52) as the whole describes what the two do every morning and this has subparts.

(13.52)	*[Kiada=ma*	*vikale*	*nioqa*	*ta*	*qo*	*ol=a*	*kiaro*	*kasi]*
	all=3SG.F	morning	3DU	TOP	3DU	go=PRES	garden	at

[qo=baro=a	*kiaro*	*kasi],*	*[nioqa*	*ta*	*qo*	*iruruput=a*
3DU=arrive=PRES	garden	at	3DU	TOP	3DU	work=PRES

sai].
there

'Every morning, the two, they went up to the garden, they arrived at the garden, [and] the two, they worked there.' (24-1-10)

When the second of two linked clauses linked by juxtaposition presents an unrealised situation, this clause is preceded by the irrealis marker *tu* and presents a purpose, as in example (13.53), or a result, as in example (13.54). The second clause can also be an imperative clause, as imperative clauses always present an unrealised situation. This is illustrated by example (13.55).

(13.53) ...*[ko ina-inao=va] tu [ko ta ko=vait=ou*
3SG.F REDUP-get.ready=PRES IRR 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=return=FUT

mata]...
again
'...she got ready in order that she will return again...' (59-7-60)

(13.54) *[O=kil=o], [o=kil=o] tu [maba*
3SG.M=come=NRFUT 3SG.M=come=NRFUT IRR truly

a aive=v=o anga].
1SG scold=3SG.M.O=NRFUT 1SG
'He will come, he will come, and truly (that will result in that) I will scold him.' (24-8-82)

(13.55) *"[Pui vanga inio sai] tu [vae=k=a] tu*
NEG far FOC.NONF there IRR leave=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG IRR

[ko=zio ko=ngavi]", k=i=ko=la,
3SG.F=goNRFUT 3SG.F=EMPH 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"It's not far away, leave it, she will go herself", she said.' (27-22-140)

Tu is not a purposive/resultative subordinator; the second clause of example (13.53) contains a constituent marked with a topic marker, whereas a dependent clause cannot have a constituent marked with a topic marker.[85]

Clauses linked by juxtaposition may express two simultaneous situations when the first clause has the verb *kelo* 'to see' as in example (13.56).

(13.56) ...*[o=k=e=a nioqa] [qo=beta kue=va],*
3SG.M=3DU.O=see=PRES 3DU 3DU=CONT come=PRES
'...she saw her coming,' (27-11-68)

One might consider that the second clause in (13.56) is in fact a finite complement clause that functions as an object. This however contradicts a description of finite complement clauses presented in §12.3—first, a Bilua finite complement clause contains only a future/near future tense marker; second, a finite complement clause can be the object of only Secondary verbs; and third, a Bilua finite complement clause immediately follows the VP of the main clause. Whereas, in example (13.56), the verb in the second clause has the present tense marker, the verb in the first clause is a Primary verb, and the second clause does not immediately follows the VP of the first clause. Thus, example (13.56) cannot be treated as main plus complement clauses unless we establish another type of finite complement clause, which accommodates the structure of example (13.56). This, however, does not seem to be so motivating or economical, as such a complement clause would occur only with a clause containing *kelo* 'to see'. Furthermore, there is no syntactic/morphological marking of the second clause as a dependent clause. Therefore, example (13.56) is treated as an example of juxtaposed clauses.

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[85] The irrealis marker *tu* is not a coordinator, as it may also occur between an independent clause and a complement dependent clause (see §12.3.2 and §12.3.3). In such a case, the complement clause can only be a finite or non-finite complement clause which takes only a Secondary verb as the main verb. On the other hand, when *tu* occurs between independent clauses, the verb which precedes can only be a Primary verb.

Two clauses are always linked by juxtaposition when the second of the linked clauses is an interrogative clause.

(13.57) ...[*pui* *nge=baqumu=k=a*] [*noi* *nio* *ke=ta*
NEG 1PL.EXC=understand=3SG.F.O=PRES how FOC.NONF 3PL=SIT

ka=va, *ma* *ke=ta* *vouv=a* *inio,* *ma*
do=PRES or 3PL=SIT die=PRES FOC.NONF or

ka *koi* *ke=ta* *ol=a*].
INDEF place 3PL=SIT go=PRES
'...we don't understand how they are doing, or [if] they died or they went somewhere.' (26-4-25)

(13.58) [*Pui* *a=q=a* *nianii=a*] [*esa* *noni=a=ma*
NEG 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL know=PRES maybe how=LIG=3SG.F

saev=o *ikio* *enge* *nge=q=ov=ou*
survive=NOM FOC.F 1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT

kaitu=a=ma *saev=o*].
future=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM
'I don't know maybe what kind of life we will get, [for] future life.' (64-3-32)

One might consider that the second clauses in the two examples above are interrogative complement clauses, as the English translations suggest this. Notice, however, that the second clause in each example above contains a constituent marked with a focus marker: *noi* 'how' in (13.57) and *noniama saevo* 'what kind of life' in (13.58). This suggests that the second clauses are independent clauses—Bilua dependent clauses cannot contain a constituent marked with a focus marker, while independent clauses may (see §12). One might make an exception to this—a complement clause may contain a constituent marked with a focus marker when this constituent contains an interrogative word. Such an exception, however, is not employed in this work, as again there is no syntactic/morphological marking of interrogative clauses as dependent, and examples above are treated as juxtaposition of two clauses.

Juxtaposition is also the preferred way of indicating coordination when one of the linked clauses has a linking adverbial. This is because a linking adverbial itself marks a successional relationship between two situations. Linking adverbials are described in §10.7.

This concludes the description of coordination. The next chapter deals with discourse organisation in Bilua.

14 *Discourse organisation*

14.1 Introduction

This chapter presents three kinds of constructions that encode discourse organisation: topic structure, focus structure, and constituent order. A topic is what a clause/sentence is about, while a focus is defined by Lambrecht (1994:213) as 'the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition'.

When analysing topic and constituent order, it is important to distinguish different kinds of referent status. Lambrecht (1988 and 1994:74–116) combines two concepts, 'identifiability' and 'activation', previously suggested by Chafe (1976 and 1987) to distinguish referent status. Hence one can label a referent as 'identifiable' if it 'can be retrieved from the context or recalled from memory' or as 'unidentifiable' if a referent is one 'for which a new referential entry or model has to be created in the mind of the hearer before it can be recalled in subsequent discourse' (Lambrecht 1988:144). Furthermore, unidentifiable referents can be divided into two types: unanchored and anchored.

> A discourse entity is Anchored if the NP representing it is LINKED, by means of another NP, or "Anchor," properly contained in it, to some other discourse entity. Thus *a bus* is Unanchored, or simply Brand-new, whereas *a guy I work with*, containing the NP I, is Brand-new Anchored, as the discourse entity the hearer creates for this particular guy will be immediately linked to his/her discourse entity for the speaker. (Prince 1981:236)

If a referent is identifiable, this can be in one of three activation states: active, accessible/semi-active, or inactive.

> An active concept is one "that is currently lit up, a concept in a person's focus of consciousness at a particular moment." An accessible/semi-active concept is one "that is in a person's peripheral consciousness, a concept of which a person has a background awareness, but one that is not being directly focused on." An inactive concept is one "that is currently in a person's long-term memory, neither focally nor peripherally active". (Lambrecht 1994:94)

A referent can be textually, inferentially, or situationally accessible. A referent which has been active earlier in the discourse is textually accessible. Inferentially accessible means that a referent is inferable from some other active referents in the discourse, and situationally accessible means that a referent is accessible due to extra-linguistic context.

Thus, five different types of referent status can be recognised: inactive, accessible, active, anchored, and unanchored, with three subtypes of accessible referents: textually accessible, situationally accessible, and inferentially accessible. This is summarised as follows (based on Lambrecht 1994:109).

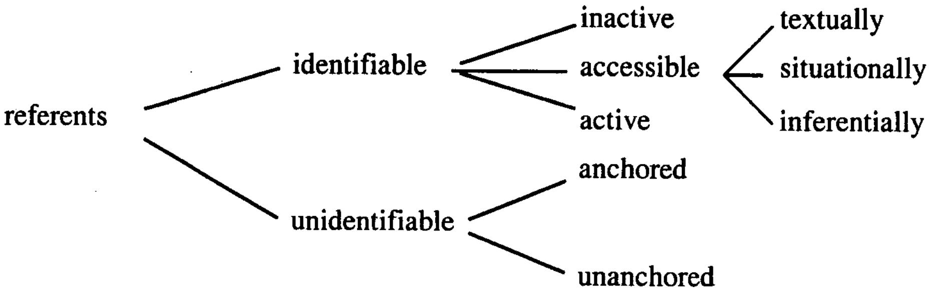

Figure 14.1: Different types of referent status

This chapter is organised as follows. Topic and focus are described in §14.2 and §14.3 respectively. Both topic and focus markers in Bilua may emphasise a contrast. This is described in §14.4. A clause may have both topic and focus constituents. The order of topic and focus constituents within a clause is described in §14.5. Following this, section §14.6 presents functions and order of unmarked constituents in Bilua. Section §14.7 presents a summary.

14.2 Topic

14.2.1 Introduction

A topic is what a given clause/sentence is about, and 'a constituent is a topic expression if the proposition expressed by the clause with which it is associated is pragmatically construed as conveying information about the referent of the constituent' (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:203).

A language may have a topic structure which contains a topic expression and a comment expression, an expression which presents information about this topic. In this section, first the topic structure in Bilua is described in §14.2.2. A topic expression in Bilua consists of a phrase marked with a topic marker. There are three topic markers in Bilua: *ta*, *ti*, and *melai*. Their distribution is described in §14.2.3. In Bilua, only NPs which have an identifiable referent can be marked with a topic marker. See §14.2.4.

14.2.2 Topic structure

In the Bilua topic structure, a topic is expressed by a phrase marked by a topic marker, and this is followed by a comment expression, which minimally contains a verbal predicate and which may additionally contain optional constituents of verbal clauses.[86] This is schematised as:

Topic expression	Comment expression
phrase + topic marker	verbal predicate (+ optional constituents)

Figure 14.2: Topic Structure

In the following, the term 'topic constituent' refers to a phrase marked with a topic marker. Note that the topic structure does not have to be employed in every single sentence in Bilua. The topic structure is employed for a pragmatic reason. This is discussed later in this section.

In example (14.1), an NP *vo* (3SG.M) 'he' presents a topic, and an NP + a VP *qusini=ko varu o=k=o=a* 'he got the bark of *varu* trees' presents a comment about this topic. Then, a new topic is introduced by an NP *anga* 'I', and an NP + a VP *bita=ko ipupu a=q=o=a* 'I got the bark of *ipupu* tree' presents a comment about the new topic.

(14.1)	[*Vo*	*ta*]	[*qusini=ko*	*varu*	*o=k=o=a*]
	3SG.M	TOP	rope=3SG.F	varu.tree	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
	topic expression		comment expression		
	[*anga*	*ta*]	[*bita=ko*	*ipupu*	*a=q=o=a*].
	1SG	TOP	string.bag=3SG.F	ipupu.tree	1SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
	topic expression		comment expression		

'As for him, he got [the bark of] *varu* trees, [and] as for me, I got [the bark of] *ipupu* trees.'

Thus, the topic structure consists of a topic expression and a comment expression, which are a topic constituent marked with a topic marker and a verbal predicate with optional constituent(s) respectively. The comment expression can form a clause by itself, as a Bilua verbal predicate can equal a clause. The topic expression is sometimes a part of this clause and at other times it is not. In Bilua, the topic constituent may have a core argument or adjunct status in relation to the predicate in the comment expression but this is not always the case. In the former case, topic and comment expressions are considered to form one clause. That is, the topic expression is an intraclausal element. In example (14.1), each of the topic constituents has a subject status in relation to the predicate, and thus topic and comment expressions form one clause. Similarly, in example (14.2), the topic constituent has a temporal adjunct status in relation to the predicate, and thus the topic and comment expressions form one clause.

(14.2)	*Nio*	*so*	*keru*	*ta*	*bereti*	*kio*	*o=bori=k=a*
	and.then	that	TEMP	TOP	bread	FOC.F	3SG.M=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES

---

[86] A topic marker is also an obligatory constituent of a non-verbal clause, marking the subject NP. This is described in §3.3 and §11. It is not obligatory for a verbal clause to contain a topic marker.

vo=a *silo=a=la* *meqora...*
3SG.M=LIG small=LIG=3SG.M child
'And then as for that time [the second time], he carried bread, the small child...' (16-3-35)

When the topic constituent has no relation with the predicate in the comment expression, the topic and comment expressions do not form one clause. The comment expression forms a clause on its own, and the topic expression is an autonomous, extraclausal element. In example (14.3) below, the topic constituent is *vo=ko peka=o* 'his dance', and the comment expression is two coordinated clauses which follow the topic expression. The topic constituent here is not an argument of the verb *pesio* 'to speak' or *kelo* 'to see'. Nor does it function as an adjunct of these clauses. Thus, in (14.3), topic and comment expressions do not form one clause.

(14.3) *Vo=ko* *peka=o* *ta* *"kake* *ke=l=ati*
3SG.M=3SG.F dance=NOM TOP INDEF.PL 3PL=1SG.O=VAL

pesi=o *ma* *kake* *ke=l=el=o,"*
speak=NRFUT or INDEF.PL 3PL=1SG.O=see=NRFUT
'As for his dance, "it makes people speak to me or it makes people see me,"' (26-13-71)
(more literally 'As for his dance, "some people speak to me or some people see me",')

Topic and comment expressions usually form one intonation unit, but the topic expression may form its own intonation unit. In such a case, the topic expression is regarded as an extraclausal element, regardless of whether the topic constituent has any relation with the predicate in the comment expression or not. In example (14.4), the topic expression forms its own intonation unit, and thus it does not form one clause with the comment expression, even though the topic constituent has a subject relation with the predicate in the comment expression. Note that in this example one NP is filled with two NPs in apposition; *rekoama* 'the wife' and *voa sieleko reko* 'the wife of the dog', and this is topicalised.

(14.4) ...*reko=a=ma* *vo=a* *siele=ko* *reko* *ta,*
wife=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=LIG dog=3SG.F wife TOP

tuto *ale* *ko* *i=k=a...*
coconut.container in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...as for the wife, the wife of the dog, she put [the food] in a coconut container...' (27-12-75)

Furthermore, a topic constituent may form its own intonation unit, independent of the topic marker. In this case too, the topic expression is treated as an extraclausal element.

(14.5) ...*enge=ko* *peuru* *kale,* *ta* *matu* *kubo* *maba*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F village in TOP very many person

madu	*ta*	*ke=ta*	*mumai=va,*
COLL.PL	TOP	3PL=SIT	get.lost=PRES

'...in our village, a lot of people, they got lost,' (26-18-112)

A topic structure may have more than one topic expression. When there are two topic expressions, one may be an extraclausal element and the other may be an intraclausal element. In such a case, the latter occurs closer to the comment expression. In example (14.6), *se=ko iruruput=o* 'their work' is an extraclausal element; it has no relation with the predicate in the comment expression. On the other hand, *se* 'they' is an intraclausal element; it has a subject status in relation to the predicate in the comment expression. Consequently, *se* 'they' occurs closer to the comment expression.

(14.6)

...se=ko	*iruruput=o*	*ta*	*se*	*ta*	*ke*	*iruruput=a*
3PL=3SG.F	work=NOM	TOP	3PL	TOP	3PL	work=PRES

kiaro	*kale.*
garden	in

'...as for their work, they, they worked in a garden.' (26-1-4)

When two topic expressions are both intraclausal elements, both syntactically and by intonation, the order depends on the functions of the topic constituents—they take their usual positions in a clause (see §3.2.2). Thus, the one which is a core argument occurs closer to the predicate than the one which is an adjunct. In example (14.7) an argument NP *enge* 'we' and a temporal adverb *erisanga* 'today' are both intraclausal elements. They are a core argument and an adjunct respectively. The former, an argument, occurs closer to the predicate than the latter, an adjunct.

(14.7)

Erisanga	*ta*	*enge*	*ta*	*nge*	*ukaka*
today	TOP	1PL.EXC	TOP	1PL.EXC	careless

irurupput=a.
work=PRES

'Today, we work carelessly.' (10-19-164)

In example (14.8) the first topic expression *aniqe ta* (1DU.EXC TOP) 'we' is treated as an extraclausal element, even though the NP *aniqe* has a subject relation with the predicate in the comment expression. This is because this NP and the temporal adjunct *lea* 'tomorrow' do not take their usual positions—the NP precedes the adjunct. If the topic expression, *aniqe ta* 'we', was a part of the clause, it should occur after the other topic expression, *lea ta* 'tomorrow'.

(14.8)

"Aniqe	*ta*	*lea*	*ta*	*qe=pa*	*barol=o*
1DU.INC	TOP	tomorrow	TOP	1DU.INC=PROS	arrive=NRFUT

anga=ko	*mama*	*ni*	*niania*	*kasi*	*saita.*
1SG=3SG.F	father	and	mother	at	first

"'We, as for tomorrow, we will reach my father and mother, first.' (27-17-104)

As described above, a topic structure contains a constituent which presents a topic. In a discourse, the topic structure is employed for three reasons.

First, the speaker may employ the topic structure in order to establish a new topic. In example (14.9), the last clause in sentence [1] is in the topic structure, and *nioqa* (3DU) 'the two' is established as a new topic by this topic structure, and there is no occurrence of the topic structure again until sentence [5], in which a new topic *nea siqoa-maba* 'the bushman' is established. In Bilua, once a new topic is established, it can be expressed by a pronominal proclitic which cross-references the subject. That is, the subject presents the topic without being marked. Thus, in sentences from [2] to [4], the established topic 'the two' is expressed by the pronominal proclitic *qo* (3DU). In [6], although the topic changes from 'he' back to 'the two', the topic structure is not employed in order to re-establish 'the two', which had just been the topic in sentences [1] to [4], as a topic. Thus, it is not necessary to employ the topic structure in order to re-establish an old topic, as long as it is still an active referent, and this can be done by presenting it as the subject instead. Note that in [5], the topic constituent is the subject of a non-verbal clause, but the topic marker still functions to establish a new topic. Accordingly, in the verbal clause which follows this, 'he' is the established topic and is presented as the subject.

(14.9)	[1] *So*	*sole*	*ko=raneo=ke,*	*ti*
	that	that's.why	3SG.F=sleep.overnight=HIST	and.then

ke=pitoe=k=e=ni	*nioqa*	*omuqa*	*maba*	*kidi,*
3PL=choose=3DU.O=RMP=REL.NONF	3DU	two	person	COLL.DU

nioqa	*ta*	*qo=ta*	*kail=ake*	*omadeu*	*lekito.*
3DU	TOP	3DU=SIT	go.up=HIST	one	early.morning

[2] *Qo=kail=ake*	*ti*	*qo=kail=ake*	*ti*	*qo=kail=ake.*
3DU=go.up=HIST	INT	3DU=go.up=HIST	INT	3DU=go.up=HIST

[3] *Matu-kingu*	*kale*	*nio*	*ne=a*	*maba=ko*
big-forest	in	FOC.NONF	PROX.SG.M=LIG	person=3SG.F

peuru.
home

[4] *Qo=kail=ake*	*qo=kail=ake*	*ni*	*qo=peati=k=ake*
3DU=go.up=HIST	3DU=go.up-HIST	and	3DU=go.over=3SG.F.O=HIST

ko	*sopu,*	*kadaule*	*inio*	*qo=baro=ke*
3SG.F	hill	instantly	FOC.NONF	3DU=arrive=HIS

ne=a	*siqo=a*	*maba=ko*	*peuru*	*kale.*
PROX.SG.M=LIG	bush=LIG	person=3SG.F	home	in

[5] *Ne=a*	*siqo=a-maba*	*ta*	*sai*	*o=peuru*	*kale*
PROX.SG.M=LIG	bush=LIG-person	TOP	there	3SG.M=home	in

sai	*nio*	*o*	*ev=a*	*koi,*	*sai*	*nio*
there	FOC.NONF	3SG.M	stay=PRES	where	there	FOC.NONF

vo=ko	*vinasa.*
3SG.M=3SG.F	heritage

[6] *Qo=baro=ke*	*sai*	*ni*	*eri*	*k=i=qo=lake*
3DU=arrive=HIST	there	and	s.th.like.this	3SG.F.O=say=3DU=HIST

"uri=a=ma	*ngadale."*
good=LIG=3SG.F	afternoon

'[1] Because of that, next day, the two people whom they chose, they went up early in the morning. [2] They went up and up and up. [3] This person's home was in a big forest. [4] They went up and up, and they went over a hill and they arrived instantly at this bushman's home. [5] This bushman was there at his home, that was where he lived, that was where his heritage was. [6] The two arrived there and said something like "good afternoon."' (26-7-35~41)

Second, the speaker may employ the topic structure in order to draw attention to an event with a previously established topic referent. In example (14.10) each sentence is in the topic structure: *vo* 'he' is marked with a topic marker. The first topic structure establishes *vo* 'he' as a new topic, and the rest are employed in order to draw attention to events being described.

(14.10)	*Ni*	*puliako*	*lotu*	*tukeu*	*vo*	*ta*
	and	before	Christianity	be.longNOM	3SG.M	TOP

o=ta	*vou=ke.*	*Vo*	*ta*	*o=vae=m=a=ke*
3SG.M=SIT	die=HIST	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=leave=3PL.O=PRES=HIST

duki	*kale*	*o=tou-tou*	*ni*	*o=meqorasaidi.*	*Vo*	*ta*
sadness	in	3SG.M=REDUP-tribe	and	3SG.M=family	3SG.M	TOP

ke=daulae=v=ake	*sai*	*Qao.*
3PL=bury=3SG.M.O=HIS	there	Qao

And, not long after Christianity arrived, he, he died. He left his tribe and family in sadness. They buried him there in Qao.' (23-3-34~36)

Finally, the topic structure may be employed in order to emphasise a contrast. This is described in §14.4 below.

14.2.3 Topic markers **ta, ti,** *and* **melai**

There are three topic markers in Bilua: *ta*, *ti*, and *melai*. *Ti* and *ta* simply function as topic markers and have no semantic content. *Ti* occurs in restricted environments. It occurs when the topic expression is an intraclausal element and when the clause presents a habitual/generic situation. Example (14.11) describes what two people (the son and the mother) and the father do every day, and thus the situations described are habitual ones. Therefore, the topic constituents are marked with *ti*, not with *ta*.

(14.11)	...*nioqa*	*ti*	*qo*	*ol=a*	*kiaro*	*kale,*	*qo=mama*	*ti*
	3DU	TOP	3DU	go=PRES	garden	at	3DU=father	TOP

o	*ev=a*	*pade*	*kasi.*
3SG.M	stay=PRES	house	at

'...as for the two, they went to the garden, and as for the father, he stayed at the house.' (24-2-17)

Ti can also occur when the topic constituent has an adjective *kiada* 'all' as in the last example in (14.12).

(14.12)	...*enge*	*ta*	*nge=rove=a*	*tu*	*k=ov=o*	*kubo*
	1PL.EXC	TOP	1PL.EXC=can=PRES	IRR	3SG.F.O=get=NOM	many

sailao	*ivere*	*kale,*	*enge=ko*	*kiaro*	*kale=a=ma*	*sailao*
food	sea	in	1PL.EXC=3SG.F	garden	in=LIG=3SG.F	food

melai	*kubo*	|	*siqo*	*melai*	*uri*	|	*ore*	*melai*	*kubo*	|
too	many		bush	too	good		tree	too	many	

kiada=ma	*quli*	*ti*	*ikoana.*
all=3SG.F	thing	TOP	EXT.SG.F

'...as for us, we can get much food in the sea, the food from our garden is plentiful too, the bush is good too, there are also many trees, there is everything.' (64-1-5)

Ta, on the other hand, can be used in any environment, including environments in which *ti* can occur. The first topic constituent in (14.12) is marked with *ta*, even though the topic expression here is an intraclausal element and the clause describes a generic situation. On the other hand, topic expressions in example (14.9) are all intraclausal elements and the clauses do not describe a habitual/generic situation. Therefore, the topic constituents can only be marked with *ta*. In example (14.13) there are two topic expressions; the first one is an extraclausal element, and so the topic constituent can be marked only by *ta*. The second one is an intraclausal element and the topic constituent contains *kiada* 'all', but this is still marked with *ta*. Thus, there is no restriction on environments in which *ta* can occur.

(14.13)	*Melai*	*vo*	*ta*	*kiada*	*keru*	*ta*	*pui*
	but	3SG.M	TOP	all	TEMP	TOP	NEG

o=sisu=a=ni	*melai*	*ko=a*	*taku*	*kale*
3SG.M=have.fruit=PRES=REL.NONF	but	3SG.F=LIG	time	in

inio	*omadeu*	*pado*	*ikio*	*vo=ko*	*epa...*
FOC.NONF	one	MESone	FOC.F	3SG.M=3SG.F	fruit

'But, as for [the betelnut tree], all the time, it did not bear any fruit, but that time there was one fruit of [the betelnut tree]...' (59-1-8)

In (14.13) two coordinated clauses present a comment about the topic *vo* (3SG.M) 'it (the betelnut tree)'. In this example, the topic 'it' is talked about with regard to two different temporal references *kiada keru* 'all the time' and *ko=a taku kale* 'in that time'. The first clause has its own topic 'all the time', which is a subtopic within the topic *vo* 'it'.

Kiada keru is not the topic of the second clause. The second clause does not have a subtopic, and the topic is just *vo* 'it'.

The third topic marker *melai* has a semantic content as well as serving as a topic marker: it means 'too' or 'also'. It indicates that the comment includes the same or similar information as the information given by the preceding clause. This is illustrated by example (14.14). In this example the topic changes from the wife of the dog to the mother, but since the mother took the same action as the wife, the change of topic is indicated by the topic markers *melai* 'too'.

(14.14)

...vo=a	*siele=ko*	*reko*	*ta*	*tuto*	*ale*
3SG.M=LIG	dog=3SG.F	wife	TOP	coconut.container	in

ko	*i=k=a*	*ni*	*niania=ka=ma*	*melai*
3SG.F	put=3SG.F.O=PRES	and	mother=LIG=3SG.F	too

tuto	*ale*	*ko*	*i=k=a.*
coconut.container	in	3SG.F	put=3SG.F.O=PRES

...as for the wife of the dog, she put [the food] in a coconut container, and as for the mother, she too put it in a coconut container. (27-12-75)

In Bilua, the subject of a non-verbal clause is marked with a topic marker (see §11). This can be any of *ta*, *ti*, and *melai*. The second, third, fourth, and fifth clauses in example (14.12) are non-verbal clauses, and their subjects are both marked by *melai*. *Melai* is employed here because these clauses present the same information, just as the first clause does, 'many'.

14.2.4 *Referent status of topic NPs*

Lambrecht discusses the relationship between types of referent status presented in §14.1 and their acceptability as topic. The more identifiable the referent is, the more acceptable it is as a topic. This is summarised by the following diagram (based on Lambrecht 1994:165).

Identifiable–active	Most Acceptable
Identifiable–accessible	↓
Identifiable–inactive	
Unidentifiable–anchored	
Unidentifiable–unanchored	Least Acceptable

Figure 14.3: The topic acceptability scale

In Bilua only an NP which has an identifiable referent can be a topic constituent. Among identifiable referents, only active and accessible referents can be topic constituents. A less acceptable referent, however, requires more processing effort to interpret the utterance, and so it is quite rare for such a referent to be a topic.

In example (14.15) below the referent of the topic NP *kake tanatana=mu* 'some elders' has not previously occurred in the discourse, but it is a situationally accessible referent. The speaker starts this story with a scene-setting of the village, and in every village there are some elders. In example (14.16) the referent of the topic NP *omuqa kiti* '(his) two legs' marked with a topic marker appears for the first time. This is a body part of the subject of this clause and thus it is an inferentially accessible referent.

(14.15)

Omadeu	*taku*	*inio,*	*kake*	*tana-tana=mu*	*ta*
one	time	FOC.NONF	INDEF.PL	REDUP-elder=3PL	TOP

ke=k=ai	*bazu-bazuek-ini=a*	*komi,*
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL	REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES	PROX.SG.F

ke=k=ai	*bazu-bazuek-ini=a*	*keru*	*komi,*
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL	REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES	TEMP	PROX.SG.F

lekasa	*ta*	*o=ta*	*m=a*	*viq=ake.*
chief	TOP	3SG.M=POSS	3PL.O=VAL	hear=HIST

'One day, some elders, they were talking to each other about this, when they were talking to each other about this, the chief heard them.' (26-3-20)

(14.16)

Vo	*ta*	*o=beta*	*papu=a*	*toupa*	*kale*	*inio,*
3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=CONT	sit=PRES	lake	in	SEQ

toupa	*kale*	*o=beta*	*papu=a.*	*Nio*	*omuqa*	*kiti*
lake	in	3SG.M=CONT	sit=PRES	SEQ	two	leg

ta	*o=soloe=k=a*	*toupa*	*kale.*	*Inio,*	*sai*
TOP	3SG.M=dangle=3SG.F.O=PRES	lake	in	SEQ	there

nio	*o=tare=k=a*	*ko*	*niuniu.*
FOC.NONF	3SG.M=wait=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	fish

'He was sitting in the lake, he was sitting in the lake. And [his] two legs, he dangled them into the lake. And, there he waited for fish.' (24-5-62~64)

A categorical/generic NP is always identifiable as the hearer can identify the category. A categorical/generic NP can also present a topic marked with a topic marker. In example (14.17), the NP *visi=a=mu* 'younger ones' presents 'younger ones' in general. This example is stated by an older sister whose younger sister married before her, and she is making a general statement about the marriage, not just about her and her younger sister.

(14.17)

"Koe	*visi=a=mu*	*ta,*	*pui*	*kapiavole*
EXCL	younger=LIG=3PL	TOP	NEG	quickly

ke=rorot=a=ni	*nio*	*kaka=ka=mu*
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF	FOC.NONF	older=LIG=3PL

inio	*kuleto*	*ke=rorot=a=ni,"*
FOC.NONF	first	3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF

'"Younger ones, they do not quickly marry and it's older ones who marry first,"' (27-18-113)

14.3 Focus

14.3.1 Introduction

Following Lambrecht's (1994:213) definition of focus, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:202) write:

> The 'old' information is the set of assumptions evoked by the utterance that make up the context necessary for understanding the utterance. We will now refer to this set of assumptions as the 'pragmatic presupposition' or just 'presupposition'. The part of the assertion which is not within the pragmatic presupposition we will call the 'focus' or 'focus of the assertion'; it is the part that is unpredictable or unrecoverable from the context.

The relationship between the focus and presupposition can be illustrated by a set of questions and answers given to these questions. For example, the question 'who went to the party?' is built on a pragmatic presupposition 'someone went to the party', and in an answer given to this question 'Steve' or 'it was Steve who went to the party', 'Steve' is the focus. What is informative here is 'not the information in the focus by itself, but the association of that information with the set of assumptions that constitute the pragmatic presupposition' (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:202). That is, in the above example, what is informative is the association between 'Steve' and 'someone went to the party', and this association is expressed by the it-cleft sentence 'it was Steve who went to the party' in which 'Steve' is the focus, which is unrecoverable from the context.

Thus, a focus is that part of an assertion which is not within the presupposition. However, when the discourse evokes no presupposition, focus and assertion coincide. For example, the question 'what happened' does not constitute any presupposition other than that something happened, and an answer to this question, 'he fell off the tree' is the focus and this itself is the informative assertion.

A language may have a focus structure in which the focus is syntactically or morphologically marked. It-cleft sentences in English are an example of this. In Bilua, the constituent which expresses focus, the focus constituent, is marked either syntactically or morphologically; it takes a preverbal position or it is marked by a focus marker. These two ways of marking focus constituents are described below.

14.3.2 Focus structure

There are two different ways to mark the focus constituent in Bilua—the focus constituent can be marked by a preverbal position or marked by a focus marker. That is, the focus structure is a clause in which a constituent is marked as a focus constituent. The focus constituent can be a core argument, an adjunct, or a predicate.[87] Whether this is marked by a focus marker or by a preverbal position depends on the function of the focus constituent.

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[87] Lambrecht (1994:221–234) and Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:206–210) propose three focus types: argument focus (narrow focus by Van Valin and LaPolla), predicate focus, and sentence focus. Bilua focus structures are used for only argument (narrow) and predicate focus, and there is no grammatical structure for sentence focus in Bilua.

In Bilua, O NPs, locational/temporal adjuncts, all adjuncts expressed by a PP, and circumstantial adverbs *mata/mati* 'again' (see §10 for different kinds of adjuncts) can be focus constituents by taking a preverbal position. In example (14.18), the focus constituent is a preverbal object NP 'a big string of fish'.

(14.18) *...vo* *ta* *o=vait=a* *keru* *kubo* *niuniu*
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=return=PRES TEMP many fish

sate *matu=ma* *dere-dere* *o=k=ati*
COM big=3SG.F REDUP-string.of.fish 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

saqor=a.
go.down=PRES
'...when he came back with fish, he came down with a big string of fish.'
(24-3-23)

Example (14.18) occurs in a discourse in which 'he' went fishing. From this discourse, the presupposition 'he will come back with something' is evoked. 'Something' is replaced by the information 'a big string of fish'. The association between this information and the presupposition is expressed by a clause in the focus structure 'he came down with a big string of fish' in which 'a big string of fish' is the focus constituent.

In the second clause of example (14.19) below, a PP *bita=le* 'in a string bag' is a locational adjunct, while *raqauza* 'ember' in the third, *sakareju* 'coconut shell filled with water' in the fourth, and *zouke sakareju* 'three coconut shells filled water' in the fifth clauses are all objects. Each of these is the focus constituent of its clause and takes preverbal position. In the discourse where this example occurs, the son tells his mother to get taro, embers, and coconut shells filled with water to go for a walk. The mother takes the actions described in example (14.19) following his request. The first clause says that the mother got taro ready, and from this, the presupposition 'the mother put taro somewhere X' is evoked. 'Somewhere X' is replaced by 'in a string bag'. Following this, another presupposition 'the mother (also) carried other things' arises. 'Other things' is replaced with more specific referent in the utterance, in the remaining clauses.

(14.19) *Ti* *ko* *ina-inae=k=a* *ko* *mau* |
and.then 3SG.F REDUP-get.ready=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro

bita=le *ko* *i=k=a,* *rangauza*
string.bag=in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES ember

ko=bori=k=a, *ti,* *sakareju*
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then coconut.shell.filled with water

ko=bori=k=a | *zouke* *sakareju*
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES three coconut.shell.filled with water

ko=bori=k=a.
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES
'Then, she got taro ready, she put them in a string bag, she carried embers, and she carried coconut shells filled with water, she carried three coconut shells filled with water.' (27-13-81)

Object NPs and the aforementioned adjuncts can in addition be marked with a focus marker. This is discussed later in this section.

Unlike the constituents described above, S/A NPs, manner adjuncts, linking adjuncts, and complements of a VP cannot be a focus constituent just by taking a preverbal position. They have to be marked by a focus marker to be a focus constituent. A constituent which is marked with a focus marker always takes a preverbal position. The description of the focus structure so far suggests that the preverbal position is a marked position for an O NP, while it is not for an S/A NP—an O NP can be a focus constituent by taking a marked preverbal position, while for an S/A NP this is the unmarked position and so it requires a special marking in order to be a focus constituent. This is further discussed in §14.6. Since a VP itself occupies the reference position for other constituents, the VP also requires a focus marker to be a focus constituent as well. Note that a VP headed with the verb *kio* 'to say' always takes other constituents preceding itself. Therefore, with this VP, any constituent has to be marked with a focus marker to be a focus constituent.[88] The subject or the predicate of a non-verbal clause can also be a focus constituent, and these are also marked by a focus marker.

There are two focus markers in Bilua: *inio* and *ikio*, and they are often elided into *nio* and *kio* respectively. When a focus marker marks a constituent other than an NP, a focus marker is always realised as *inio*, while when it marks an NP, it can be *inio* or *ikio*, showing agreement with the focus NP. They show the following person/number/gender agreement with the focus NP.

Table 14.1: Focus markers and agreement

Focus marker	Human	Non-human
ikio	third person singular feminine	unspecified number
inio	non–third person singular feminine	singulative

Notice that the distribution of focus markers is different from the distribution of pronominal enclitics as heads of modifier phrases (see §7.2.1.3.1) or demonstratives as possessor markers (see §7.3.2). There, with human referents, the third person singular feminine, dual, and plural were grouped together in opposition to the third person masculine. In contrast, here, third person singular feminine is in opposition to all others. Thus, *inio* (FOC.NONF) rather than *ikio* (3FOC.F) is regarded as the default form, and it is because of this that *inio* (FOC.NONF) is chosen when the marked constituent is not an NP.

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[88] Incidentally, with this verb, the focus argument can only be the object. There is no example in the data in which the subject of this verb is the focus constituent.

There are exceptions to the distribution given in Table 14.1. An NP which consists of *ngavi* 'self' cliticised with a pronominal proclitic, PRON=*ngavi* 'by oneself', or an NP functioning as a complement of a VP is always marked with *inio*. On the other hand, an NP headed with a quantifier is always marked with *ikio*.[89]

In example (14.20), the constituent *anga* 'I' is marked with a focus marker *inio*. This is the subject of a non-verbal clause in the first instance and is the subject of a verbal clause in the second instance. This example occurs in a discourse where three brothers are discussing which of the three should wait at home. From this, the presupposition, 'someone (one of us) waits', is evoked, and 'someone' is replaced with *anga* 'I', and this is expressed by the second instance of the focus structure. Another presupposition 'someone is the older one' is deduced from extralinguistic context. Here everyone wants to be the one who waits, and the senior one has the authority over the choice. That is, the issue becomes 'who is the older one?'

(14.20) *...qe kiada=qela ta qe=zio=vou anga inio*
2DU all=2DU TOP 2DU=go=FUT 1SG FOC.NONF

kaka=ka=lala anga inio koi a=dare=k=ou.
elder.sibling=LIG=1SG 1SG FOC.NONF here 1SG=wait=3SG.F.O=FUT
'Both of you, you will go, it is me who is older, it is me who will wait here.'
(59-4-31)

Example (14.21) occurs in a discourse in which he climbed to the top of a ngali nut tree and sent down ten bags of ngali nuts to his wife waiting at the bottom of the tree. Following this, the presupposition 'next he did X on the tree' arises, and 'did X' is replaced with a specific action '(he) came down'. The complete information 'he came down from the top of the nagli nut tree' is expressed by a clause in the focus structure in which the verbal predicate is the focus constituent.

(14.21) *O=beta saqor=a inio ko=a nene topi*
3SG.M=CONT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.F=LIG ngali.nut top

azo...
ABL
'He came down from the top of the ngali nut tree...' (2-8-47)

In example (14.22), the focus constituent is the non-verbal predicate. Here the presupposition is that the subject 'she' is available for a comment. The assertion 'she is pregnant' is given as a reason for the assertion expressed in the following clause 'you will go and get water for her'.[90]

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[89] Note that 'unspecified number' for non-human in Table 14.1 means that it can be any number —it does not mean that it cannot be specified for a number. Thus, there is no contradiction when *ikio* is used for numerals.

(14.22)	*"...ko*	*ta*	*molu=a=ma*	*ikio*	*tu*
	3SG.F	TOP	pregnant=LIG=3SG.F	FOC.F	IRR

ngo=ba	*k=a*	*tobet=e,"*
2SG=PROS	3SG.F.O=VAL	get.water=IMP.SG

"'...she is pregnant and [so] you will go and get water for her,"' (27-22-139)

Thus, one way of marking the focus constituent is by a preverbal position and the other is by a focus marker. Naturally, when the focus constituent is morphologically marked, it is obvious that it is a focus constituent, and when it is not, it is less obvious, as it can be identified as a focus constituent only by the function of this constituent and by its position. Because of this, an object NP and the afore-mentioned adjuncts, which do not require a focus marker to be a focus constituent, can also be marked with a focus marker. In the example below, an instrumental adjunct takes a preverbal position and is marked with a focus marker.

(14.23)	*Nio*	*sainio*	*nioqa=vo*	*meqora*	*ta*	*o=ta*
	SEQ	therefore	3DU=3SG.M	child	TOP	3SG.M=SIT

mamul=a	*ta*	*vo*	*ta*	*o=potu*	*kale*
be.suspicious=PRES	and.then	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=wound	with

inio	*o=k=o=a*	*ko*	*niuniu*	*melai*	*pui*
FOC.NONF	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES	3SG.F	fish	but	NEG

tali	*kale.*
fishing.rod	with

'And, therefore, the child of the two, he got suspicious, [and he suspected that] the father caught fish with his wound [on his legs] but not with a fishing rod.' (24-6-70)

As illustrated in the examples given above, the presupposition is usually accessible to the hearer. However, this could be inaccessible as well. For example, the last clause in example (14.24) has the focus structure. This is built on the presupposition 'he became something', in which something is replaced by 'snake' in the focus structure, but this presupposition is not accessible to the hearer from the context or through inference. In such a case, the focus structure has an effect of highlighting; it indicates an important part of the story. This effect results from the fact that the speaker is presenting an inaccessible presupposition as if it were an accessible one to the hearer. That is, here there is an implication 'don't you know this, this is what happened?'[91]

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[90] This is one of the subfunction of it-clefts in English proposed by Prince (1978:902); the it-cleft may suggest that one state of affairs is closely tied to another.

(14.24) *O=leinio-lenioe* *ti* *o=leinio-leinioe* *ti* *o=leinio-leinioe*
3SG.M=REDUP-lick INT 3SG.M=redup-lick INT 3SG.M=REDUP-lick

ti *o=ta* *v=a* *saivi=k=a* *ko=a*
and.then 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL heal=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG

potu, *ti* *vo=a* *maba* *ta* *dole* *inio*
wound and.then 3SG.M=LIG person TOP snake FOC.NONF

o=beta *ev=a.*
3SG.M=CONT become=PRES
'...[the snake] licked him, he licked him, and he licked him, consequently he healed his wound, and consequently, the man, he became a snake.' (24-11-97)

In a Bilua interrogative clause, a constituent that contains an interrogative word is often a focus constituent, as this is the part of the question which is not presupposed.

(14.25) *"...lai* *nio* *a=ba* *tare=k=ou?"*
where FOC.NONF 1SG=PRES wait=3SG.F.O=FUT

k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'"...where shall I go and wait?"' I said. (2-5-30)

(14.26) *Lala=nga* *inio* *ngo?*
what=thing FOC.F 3SG.F
'Who are you?' (28-2-23)

However, in a non-verbal interrogative clause in which the question word is *lai* 'where', that is in a non-verbal interrogative clause that questions the location of the subject, *lai* 'where' is never a focus constituent. Instead it is a topic constituent as in example (14.27).

(14.27) *Lai* *ta* *ko?*
where TOP 3SG.F
'Where is she?' (27-23-150)

It is rather peculiar that only an interrogative word *lai* 'where' as a non-verbal predicate can be a topic constituent and that it cannot be a focus constituent, and there appears to be no explanation why this is so. There is also an example in which an interrogative word *lai* 'where' takes the predicate position of a non-verbal clause as in example (14.28).

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[91] Remember that two linking adverbials, *soinio* 'consequently and *sainio* 'therefore' which originated in an NP *so* 'that' and an adverb *sai* 'there' respectively and are marked by a focus marker, may be used to point to the highlight of the story (see §10.7).

(14.28)	*Bolo*	*ta*	*lai?*
	pig	TOP	where

‘Where is pig?’ (43-3-29)

This example appears in the discourse in which the speaker’s husband went pig-hunting, and the speaker, his wife, utters this when he came home, apparently empty-handed. What she is asking here is about pigs — whether he brought back any pig or not, and it is not where the pig is. Thus, example (14.28) conveys the sense of ‘what about pigs?’ It is because of this that here ‘pig’ occurs as the topic constituent and consequently *lai* ‘where’ occurs as the predicate.

One clause may have two focus constituents. In example (14.29) below, the subject NP is marked with a focus marker while the object NP takes a preverbal position, and thus both are focus constituents. The presupposition here is ‘someone told me something’.

(14.29)	*“So*	*inio*	*anga=ko*	*kil=o*	*meqora”,*
	that	FOC.NONF	1SG=3SG.F	come=NOM	child

k=i=ko=ve,	*anga=ko*	*taite,*	*anga=ko*	*niania*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP	1SG=3SG.F	g.parent	1SG=3SG.F	mother

kasi,	*soinio,*	*a=niania*	*ikio*	*komi=a*	*bazu-bazu*
at	consequently	1SG=mother	FOC.F	PROX.SG.F=LIG	REDUP-story

ko=l=ai	*bazue=k=e,*
3SG.F=1SG.O=VAL	tell=3SG.F.O=RMP

‘“That was my arrival, child”, said my grandmother to my mother, [and] consequently, it was my mother who told this story to me,’ (25-9-66)

When there are two focus constituents, the one which is marked with a focus marker precedes the one which is not marked with a focus marker, as in (14.29). Two focus constituents may both be marked with a focus marker, as in the last clause in example (14.13) repeated below. In this example, one of the focus constituents is a non-verbal predicate and the other is an adjunct. The first one occurs closer to the subject NP, since the predicate is the core of the clause.

(14.13’)	*Melai*	*vo*	*ta*	*kiada*	*keru*	*ta*	*pui*
	but	3SG.M	TOP	all	TEMP	TOP	NEG

o=sisu=a=ni	*melai*	*ko=a*	*taku*	*kale*
3SG.M=have.fruit=PRES=REL.NONF	but	3SG.F=LIG	time	in

inio	*omadeu*	*pado*	*ikio*	*vo=ko*	*epa...*
FOC.NONF	one	MESone	FOC.F	3SG.M=3SG.F	fruit

‘But, as for [the betelnut tree], all the time, it did not bear any fruit, but that time there was one fruit of [the betelnut tree]...’ (59-1-8)

14.4 Contrastiveness

In the last two sections, a description of topic and focus structures was presented. Both of these structures may emphasise a contrast. Contrastiveness is 'not a category of grammar but the result of the general cognitive processes' (Lambrecht 1994:291), but a contrast which arises from the discourse can be emphasised by a topic or focus structure.

The topic structure is usually employed in order to establish a new topic or in order to draw the hearer's attention (see §14.2.2). The topic structure may also be employed in order to emphasise a contrast. Example (14.30) occurs in a story about *ngali* nut-collecting. The speaker is telling how she and her husband used to prepare a string bag and a rope and go to collect *ngali* nuts. In the story, the topic keeps changing among 'she (the speaker)', 'her husband', and 'the two (the speaker and her husband)'. As mentioned in §14.2.2, it is not necessary to employ the topic structure in order to re-establish an old topic as the current topic. In (14.30), the topic structure is employed in order to emphasise a contrast between the two: what the husband did and what the speaker did.

(14.30)

Qe=saqor=a	*inio,*	*vo*	*ta*	*ju*	*kale*
1DU.EXC=go.down=PRES	and.then	3SG.M	TOP	water	in

o=vae=k=a,	*ko=a*	*varu*	*anga*	*ta*
3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	varu.tree	1SG	TOP

nganiu	*ale*	*a=vae=k=a.*
sun	in	1SG=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES

'We went down, and as for him, he left [the bark of] varu trees in the water, and as for me, I left [the bark of ipupu trees] in the sun.' (2-1-4)

Similarly in examples (14.11) and (14.14) above, the topic structure is employed in order to emphasise a contrast between two active referents.

The contrast emphasised by a topic marker has a sense of parallel—what one does is parallel to what another does. Focus markers also mark a contrast, but here the contrast has a sense of selection.[92]

The function of focus markers is to mark a constituent as presenting focus. This constituent may be one which was selected from a set. In such a case, the focus constituent is presented in contrast with others which were not selected from the set. In (14.20) repeated below *anga* 'I' is chosen from three brothers, who were all candidates for the one who will wait.

(14.20')

...qe	*kiada=qela*	*ta*	*qe=zio=vou*	*anga*	*inio*
2DU	all=2DU	TOP	2DU=go=FUT	1SG	FOC.NONF

---

[92] Dik (1989:277–285) defines focus as the most salient information in a given discourse. He distinguishes two types of focus, one of which is the 'contrast' focus. The 'contrast' focus is further divided into different types of contrast, two of which are referred to as 'selecting' and 'parallel' by Dik.

kaka=ka=lala *anga* *inio* *koi* *a=dare=k=ou.*
elder.sibling=LIG=1SG 1SG FOC.NONF here 1SG=wait=3SG.F.O=FUT
'Both of you, you will go, it is me who is older, it is me who will wait here.'
(59-4-31)

Similarly in (14.29) repeated below *a=niania* 'my mother' was selected from between the grandmother and the mother.

(14.29') *"So* *inio* *anga=ko* *kil=o* *meqora",*
that FOC.NONF 1SG=3SG.F come=NOM child

k=i=ko=ve, *anga=ko* *taite,* *anga=ko* *niania*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP 1SG=3SG.F g.parent 1SG=3SG.F mother

kasi, *soinio,* *a=niania* *ikio* *komi=a* *bazu-bazu*
at consequently 1SG=mother FOC.F PROX.SG.F=LIG REDUP-story

ko=l=ai *bazue=k=e,*
3SG.F=1SG.O=VAL tell=3SG.F.O=RMP
'"That was my arrival, child," said my grandmother to my mother, [and] consequently, it was my mother who told this story to me,' (25-9-66)

In (14.17) repeated below, *kaka=ka=mu* 'older ones' is selected from the 'younger ones' and 'older ones'. In this example, the NPs 'younger ones' and 'older ones' are non-referential, and both present a topic; first and the second clauses are about 'the younger ones' and 'older ones' respectively. Therefore, the NP 'younger ones' is marked with a topic marker, but the NP 'older ones' is not marked with a topic marker. This is because the NP 'older ones' also presents a focus. Here, the presupposition is 'someone marries first', and 'someone' is replaced by 'the older ones'. When one constituent presents both topic and focus, it is marked with a focus marker, not with a topic marker.

(14.17') *"Koe* *visi=a=mu* *ta,* *pui* *kapiavole*
EXCL younger.sibling=LIG=3PL TOP NEG quickly

ke=rorot=a=ni *nio* | *kaka=ka=mu*
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF older.sibling=LIG=3PL

inio *kuleto* *ke=rorot=a=ni,"*
FOC.NONF first 3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF
'"Younger ones, they do not quickly marry and it's older ones who marry first,"'
(27-18-113)

14.5 Order of a topic and a focus

The means of marking topic and focus constituents in Bilua was described above. Topic and focus constituents may co-occur, and in such a case, the topic constituent normally precedes the focus constituent. This order is plausible since a topic is what the clause/sentence is about. For example,

(14.31) *Sainio ko=a niania=ka=ma ta kora-korail=o*
therefore 3SG.F=LIG mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP REDUP-anger=NOM

sate inio eri k=i=ko=la.
COM FOC.NONF s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'Therefore, the mother, she said something like this in anger.' (24-9-88)

In the preceding discourse of example (14.31), the son told the mother that the father caught fish with the wound on his legs, and so she was waiting for him to come back so that she could scold him. This brings out the presupposition 'she says something (possibly with some emotion)' and 'in anger' replaces 'emotion'. The information 'she said something like this in anger' is about 'the mother', the topic.

When the focus constituent is a locational/temporal adjunct as well, this normally follows the topic constituent. In example (14.32), a locational adjunct 'at the edge of the *buni* tree' follows the topic constituent 'he'. The topic 'he' says that the clause presents information about him, 'he was sitting at the end of the *buni* tree'. This information is built on a presupposition that 'he was sitting somewhere' and the focus 'at the end of the *buni* tree' replaces 'somewhere'.

(14.32) ...*vo ta sai buni=ko vaila inio*
3SG.M TOP there buni.tree=3SG.F edge FOC.NONF

o=beta papu=a.
3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES
'...as for him, it was there at the edge of the buni tree where he was sitting.' (27-1-88)

However, there are several examples in the data in which a temporal adjunct as a focus constituent precedes a topic constituent. For example,

(14.33) *Nio nioqa saqe ta qo=kiada puli=a=ma nioqa=ko*
SEQ 3DU couple TOP 3DU=all NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3DU=3SG.F

meqora. Puliako meqora sa=nga el=o
child before child COM=2SG become=NOM

inio vo lasive=a=la ta o=ta vou=va,
FOC.NONF 3SG.M male=LIG=3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES

reko=a=ma ikio sai.
female=LIG=3SG.F FOC.F there
'And, the couple were by themselves, they had no child. It was before they became to be with a child (they had a child), that he, the husband, died, the wife was [left] there.' (27-2-7)

In this example, the first sentence presents the information 'they had no child'. The temporal adjunct in the second sentence presents the information 'before they had a child'. Both of these have a reference to 'having a child', and the temporal adjunct is placed in the clause-initial position in order to link the second sentence to the first sentence. In other examples in which a temporal adjunct as a focus constituent precedes a topic constituent, the temporal adjunct is expressed by a PP *so keru* (that TEMP) 'that time'. This links the sentence in which this phrase occurs to the sentence which precedes.

There are also examples in which the temporal adjunct *omadeu taku* (one time) 'one day' as the focus constituent precedes the topic constituent.

(14.34) *Omedeu taku inio nioqa ta mata qo=ta*
one time FOC.NONF 3DU TOP again 3DU=SIT

kail=a.
go.up=PRES
'One day, the two went up [to the garden] as usual.'

In (14.34) the temporal adjunct occurs in clause-initial position in order to introduce a change in the story. This example occurs after the speaker said what the two (the mother and son) and their father do every day, and by this temporal adjunct, the speaker is indicating that something, something different, is going to happen.

The focus constituent which precedes the topic constituent is usually marked with a focus marker, but it may not be so marked. A speaker may start a new story by an unmarked temporal adjunct, *vairutu* 'today' as an introduction of a story. In such a case, the presupposition is the entire story which is not accessible to the hearer.

(14.35) *Vairutu anga ta a=q=a zari=a bazut=o*
now 1SG TOP 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES tell=NOM

kama bazu-bazulao.
INDSG.F REDUP-folktale
'Now, I am going to tell a folktale.'

Finally, the temporal adjunct *erisanga* 'at present' may occur clause-initially in order to highlight the change of situation. In example (14.36), *erisanga* 'at present' occurs in order to highlight that 'he', a coconut crab, who has been killing village people, died.

(14.36) *...vo=ko taka ta lula puli=a=ma o=seseu*
3SG.M=3SG.F claw TOP already NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=finger

melai puli=a=ma o=zavu-zavu melai puli=a=ma.
too NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=REDUP-beard too NEG=LIG=3SG.F

Erisanga nei ta o=ta vou=la.
at.present PROX.SG.M TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=RCP
'...his claws have gone, his fingers too have gone, his beard too has gone. Now, this, he has died.' (26-17-96)

In summary, a temporal adjunct may precede a topic constituent, when it functions to link sentences, as in example (14.33) or when it highlights a change, as in (14.34) and (14.36). It may also precede a topic constituent when it occurs as an introduction of a story, as in (14.35).

14.6 Order of unmarked constituents

This section presents the pragmatic functions of unmarked constituents, unmarked by a topic or a focus marker, in different positions. As introduced in §14.1, there are five types of referent status: active, accessible, inactive, anchored, and unanchored. Accessible referents are subdivided into textually accessible, situationally, and inferentially referents. Both subject and object NPs in Bilua can occur preverbally and postverbally. Subject/object NPs with different kinds of referents have different pragmatic functions depending on the position they take.

There are four different functions of unmarked NPs in Bilua. First, an NP may perform the function of introducing a new participant or reintroducing an already introduced participant into the discourse. Second, an NP may function to clarify the identity of the referent. Third, an NP may be used for emphasis. Fourth, as described in §14.3.2, it may present focus information. Relationships between the syntactic function of an NP, the position of an NP, and the kind of referent status are summarised in the following table.

Table 14.2: Pragmatic functions of unmarked NPs

Syntactic function	Position		Referent status
	Preverbal	Postverbal	
Subject	–	emphasis clarification	active
	reintroduction	clarification	textually accessible
	introduction	–	situationally/inferentially accessible
			unidentifiable (both anchored and unanchored)
Object	focus	emphasis clarification	active
	focus	reintroduction clarification	textually accessible
	focus	introduction	situationally/inferentially accessible
		introduction	unidentifiable (both anchored and unanchored)

Note that the primary function of an unmarked object NP in preverbal position is to present focus information, but when its referent is not active, it results in introducing or reintroducing a participant into the discourse.[93]

In Bilua, all NPs are optional. They are obligatory only when their referent is not retrievable from the discourse, that is when it has not been introduced into the discourse as a participant or when the referent has already been introduced but has ceased to be a participant prior to the current segment of discourse and thus needs to be reintroduced into the current discourse.

The above table shows that an O NP in a preverbal position is a focus constituent. An S/A NP can also occur in a preverbal position but cannot be a focus constituent without being marked by a focus marker (see §14.3.2). This suggests that the preverbal position is a marked position for an O NP, whose unmarked, basic position is postverbal. On the other hand, a preverbal position is the unmarked, basic position for an S/A NP, and because of this it requires a special marking by a focus marker to be a focus constituent. Furthermore, these positions, a preverbal position for an S/A NP and a postverbal position for an O NP, are the position each of them takes in order to reintroduce a participant, without marking any contrastiveness. One might say that this is because these are their unmarked, basic positions. Thus, it can be said that the basic constituent order in Bilua is SV/AVO.

A Bilua clause usually does not have two unmarked NPs, in particular on the same side of the predicate, but there is one example in the data in which both unmarked subject and object NPs occur in preverbal position. This is presented in §14.6.4.

In the following, three pragmatic functions of NPs: (re)introduction, clarification, and emphasis are described. The analysis here excludes NPs which are added as afterthoughts since these NPs are not regarded as parts of clauses.

14.6.1 (Re)introduction of participants

An NP may function to introduce or reintroduce a participant into the discourse. When an NP functions to (re)introduce a participant, it has to be a full NP, since otherwise, its referent would be unclear. A subject (S/A) NP in preverbal position or an object (O) NP in postverbal position which has a referent other than an active or a textually accessible referent functions to introduce a participant into the discourse. Example (14.37) appears at the beginning of a story and thus the subject NP in preverbal position, 'pigeon and snail', has unanchored referents. In example (14.38) the object NP 'their heads' has an inferentially accessible referent. The referent has not appeared in the discourse but it is a body part of an active participant.

(14.37)	*Omadeu*	*taku*	[*kurou*	*ni*	*kobaka*]$_S$	*qe=beta*
	one	time	pigeon	and	snail	3DU=CONT

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[93] Also, when an NP is marked with a topic or a focus marker and when the referent of this NP is not an active referent, it results in introducing or reintroducing the referent into the discourse.

e=ke.	*Kurou*	*ni*	*kobaka*	*ta*	*uri=a=ma*
stay=HIST	pigeon	and	snail	TOP	good=LIG=3SG.F

baere-baere	*kidi.*
REDUP-friend	COLL.DU

'Once upon a time, there lived a pigeon and snail. The pigeon and the snail were good friends.' (15-1-1~2)

(14.38)

...se	*ta*	*ke=lupi=k=a*	*[se=ko*	*lezu]*$_O$
3PL	TOP	3PL=tie=3SG.F.O=PRES	3PL=3SG.F	head

diri=a=ma	*suma*	*kale.*
red=LIG=3SG.F	cloth	in

'...they tied their heads in a red cloth.' (12-5-45)

A subject NP in a preverbal position and an object NP in a postverbal position which has a textually accessible referent reintroduces a participant into the current discourse. The referent of the subject NP in a preverbal position, 'the mother' in example (14.39) below, has previously appeared in the discourse but has ceased to be a participant some time before the current discourse. It is brought back into the discourse by an unmarked subject NP here. The referent is a textually accessible one.

(14.39)

Ko=rere=a	*inio*	*ko=pa*	*zuzue=v=a,*
3SG.F=run=PRES	SEQ	3SG.F=PROS	squeeze=3SG.M.O=PRES

ko=v=ai	*kiavi=a,*	*ko=lume=v=a,*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL	be.pleased=PRES	3SG.F=kiss=3SG.M.O=PRES

saitainio	*ko=v=ati*	*kail=a.*	*Nio*	*[ko=a*
afterwards	3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL	go.up=PRES	SEQ	3SG.F=LIG

niania=ka=ma]$_A$	*ko=v=e=a*	*inio*	*ko=ta*
mother=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES	and.then	3SG.F=SIT

matu	*zolei=va.*
very	be.happy=PRES

'[The wife] ran, and then she went and hugged him, she was pleased with him, she kissed him, and afterwards she took him up. And, the mother saw him and she was very happy.' (27-16-99~100)

In Bilua a new protagonist is brought into a discourse by one of three means: as an O NP in a postverbal position, as in (14.40), as an S NP of the verb *elo* 'to stay', as in (14.37) above, or as the subject NP of an existential clause, as in (14.41) below. It is very rare for a new protagonist to be introduced into the discourse as an A argument.[94]

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[94] This fits with a cross-linguistic tendency that a new participant is introduced as S or O argument as illustrated by Du Bois (1987). In (14.39), the A argument is not a new participant. It is a participant reintroduced into the discourse.

(14.40)

Ko=vijari=v=a	*[kala*	*meqora*
3SG.F=give.a.birth=3SG.M.O=PRES	INDEF.SG.M	child

lasive=a=la]$_{\mathrm{O}}$	*melai*	*vo=a*	*meqora*	*ta*	*pui*	*maba*
male=LIG=3SG.M	but	3SG.M=LIG	child	TOP	NEG	person

melai	*siele*	|	*siele*	*inio*	*vo=a*	*meqora*	*ti*
but	dog		dog	FOC.NONF	3SG.M=LIG	child	and.then

ko	*ta*	*ko=v=ati*	*vail=a*	*ko=vo*	*meqor*
3SG.F	TOP	3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL	look=PRES	3SG.F =3SG.M	child

sole	*ko=v=ati*	*vail=a*
that's.why	3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL	look.after=PRES

ko=niae=v=a	*so*	*ti*	*so*	*ti*	*o=ta*
3SG.F=feed=3SG.M.O=PRES	that	INT	that	and.then	3SG.M=SIT

rapuk=a	*vo=a*	*siele*	*siele-meqora.*
grow.up=PRES	3SG.M=LIG	dog	dog-child

'...she had a son, but this child, he was not a man but a dog, the son was a dog, and then she looked after him, because it was her child, she looked after him, fed him, it went on and on, and the dog, the dog-child grew up.' (27-2-10~12)

(14.41)

Inisiana	*[kake*	*zouke*	*saidi]*$_{\text{subject NP}}$	*kama*
EXTpl	INDEF.PL	three	family	INDEF.SG.F

matu=ma	*peuru=ko*	*keta-keta.*	*Se=a*	*saidi*	*ta*
big=3SG.F	village=3SG.F	REDUP-edge	3PL=LIG	family	TOP

ke	*ev=a*	*ke=kiada*	*koi.*
3PL	stay=PRES	3PL=all	here

'There was a family of three on the edge of a big village. The family, they lived here on their own.' (24-1-3~4)

After a new protagonist is introduced by one of the three means described above, it often appears as a topic in the next clause, presented by an NP marked with a topic marker. This topic NP is expressed by a full NP rather than a pronominal NP, even though the same referent has already been presented by a full NP in the preceding clause. In all of (14.37), (14.40), and (14.41), the NP in square brackets is followed by a full NP which presents the same referent, and this is marked with a topic marker.

14.6.2 Clarification

A subject/object NP in a postverbal position may function to clarify the identify of the bound pronominal form on the verb. Because of its function, such an NP can only be a full NP and cannot be a pronominal NP. It can only be an active or a textually accessible referent, both of which have already been introduced into the discourse. In example (14.42) below, the NP 'Sito' is an active referent. This is a third person singular masculine referent, and there is another active referent of third person singular masculine in the discourse. Therefore, if the speaker omits the NP, it may not be clear to the hearer to which one of these the object clitic on the verb refers. Therefore, the speaker positions the NP for clarification. In example (14.43), two underlined subject NPs appear in order to clarify who the pronominal proclitic on the preceding VP refers to. The elder sister has previously appeared in the story but there is a big gap between her last appearance and this appearance; that is, it is a textually accessible referent. On the other hand, in the discourse where (14.43) occurs, there are two female active referents. The NP *kaka=ka=ma* 'the elder sister' thus occurs to clarify that the pronominal proclitic does not refer to one of these referents, but to the older sister. Notice the use of an NP in this example is in a way similar to reintroduction described in the last section since the NP reintroduces a referent into the current discourse.

(14.42) *So keru Jimi vo ta o=v=ai risai=ke*
that TEMP Jimi 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=3SG.M.O=VAL throw=HIST

vo Sito. Nioqa ta qo=ta zuzue-kini=ake ko=a
3SG.M Sito 3DU TOP 3DU=SIT squeeze-RECP=HIST 3SG.F=LIG

loloku kale. Matu taukavole, kubo maba madu ta
gully in very quickly many person COLL.PL TOP

ke=kue=ke ni ke=noqoe=v=a [vo Sito]$_{\text{O}}$.
3PL=come=HIST and 3PL=hold=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M Sito
'That time, Jim threw himself to Sito. They held and struggled with each other in the gully. Many people came very quickly and they held Sito.' (12-7-69~72)

(14.43) *...qo=beta ol=a inio qo ol=a lekasa=vo*
3DU=CONT go=PRES FOC.NONF 3DU go=PRES chief=3SG.M

matu peuru kale pade kasi qo ol=a, ko=a
big village in house at 3DU go=PRES 3SG.F=LIG

reko=ko mama ni niania kasi. Nio ko=k=e=a
wife=3SG.F father and mother at SEQ 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=see=PRES

[ko kaka=ka=ma]$_{\text{A}}$, | *ko=v=e=a [ko*
3SG.F elder.sibling=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES 3SG.F

kaka=ka=ma]$_{\text{A}}$.
elder.sibling=LIG=3SG.F
'...they went and they went to the chief's big village, to the house, to the father and mother of the wife. And the older sister saw her, [and then] the older sister saw him.' (27-18-111~112)

14.6.3 Emphasis

A subject/object full NP of an active referent may occur in a postverbal position. An active referent does not need to be included in a clause, nor does it need to be presented by a full NP, since its identity is clear. Therefore, when it is included, it emphasises that information presented by the NP is important in the discourse. Such an NP can only be one which presents a protagonist. There are very few examples where an NP is used with this pragmatic function, and in most instances, it occurs in the second clause where two clauses of the same information appear one after another, as illustrated by the following two examples. In both examples, the repetition of the VP emphasises the importance of this information in the discourse, but the speaker also wants to indicate that its participant is equally as important as this information, and thus the NP occurs to emphasise this.

(14.44) *...ne=a* *vaiza* *ta* *o=lulue=m=ou*
PROX.SG.M=LIG shark TOP 3SG.M=follow=3PL.O=FUT

o=lulue=m=ou [*vo=a vaiza*]A.
3SG.M=follow=3PL.O=FUT 3SG.M=LIG shark
'...this shark followed them, the shark followed them.' (34-4-31)

(14.45) *...ne=a* *vaiza* *ta* *kiada* *koi* *ta* *vo=ko*
PROX.SG.M=LIG shark TOP all place TOP 3SG.M=3SG.F

tauvezat=o *o* *ere=k=e,* *melai* *omadeu* *zae*
help=NOM 3SG.M make=3SG.F.O=RMP but one area

kale *inio* *ke=vouvae=v=e.* *Savo,* *Savo* *inio*
in FOC.NONF 3PL=kill=3SG.M.O=RMP Savo Savo FOC.NONF

ke=vouvae=v=e [*ne=a vaiza*]O.
3PL=kill=3SG.M.O=RMP PROX.SG.M=LIG shark
'...this shark offered his help everywhere, but it was in one area, they killed him. Savo, it was Savo where they killed this shark.' (34-5-34)

In (14.44), the NP in brackets clearly has an active referent; an NP referring to the same referent occurs in the initial position of the same clause. Similarly throughout (14.45), the shark is an active referent.

This use of an NP is also found in a non-verbal clause. In the following example, the focus marker which follows the non-verbal predicate presents the predicate as a focus. The speaker adds an NP which refers to the subject NP in order to emphasise that it is the addressee who is small.

(14.46) *...ngo* *ta* *matu* *silo=a=langa* *inio* *ngo...*
2SG TOP very small=LIG=2SG FOC.NONF 2SG
'...you are very small, you...' (59-4-29)

14.6.4 Two unmarked NPs in preverbal position

As noted in the introduction of this section, there is only one example in the data in which both unmarked subject and object NPs occur in a preverbal position.

(14.47)	*...ngo*	*ta*	*ruqe=a=ma*	*potu*	*kale*
	2SG	TOP	bad=LIG=3SG.F	wound	with

ngo=q=o=a=ko	*niuniu*	*ikio*	*eqe*
2SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES=3SG.F	fish	FOC.F	3DU

ngo=niae=qel=a,	*ruqe=a=ma*	*quli*	*kale,*	*tuinio=ma*	*quli*
2SG=feed=1DU.O=PRES	bad=LIG=3SG.F	thing	with	smell=3SG.F	thing

kale,	*melai*	*eqe=a*	*saidi*	*kiada*	*keru*
with	but	1DU.EXC=LIG	family	all	TEMP

qe=tauve=ng=a,	*ta*	*eqe*	*ta*	*pui*
2DU.EXC=help=2SG.O=PRES	TOP	2DU.EXC	TOP	NEG

ruqe=a=ma	*sailao*	*pui*	*kuna=ka=ma,*	*uri=a=ma*	*sailao*
bad=LIG=3SG.F	food	NEG	dirty=LIG=3SG.F	good=LIG=3SG.F	food

eqe	*qe=k=o=a*	*me=ngavi=ko*	*kiaro*
2DU.EXC	2DU.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=PRES	1PL=EMPH=3SG.F	garden

kale,
in

'As for you, it is the fish you get with a bad wound [you feed us], with a smelly thing, but we family, we always help you, we [don't get] bad food, not dirty food, but we (not like you) get good food in our own garden,' (24-9-89)

It seems that in (14.47), the speaker wanted to make the subject NP *eqe* 'we' a focus as well as the object NP *uri=a=ma sailao* 'good food' after stating the object NP. However, because of its unusual position after the unmarked focus, the *eqe* 'we' is not marked with a focus marker.

14.7 Summary

In the sections above, three constructions, the topic structure, the focus structure, and the order of unmarked constituents were described. Topic and focus structures play important roles in discourse organisation in the Bilua language, and there are frequent occurrences of topic and focus markers in texts.

The topic structure is employed in order to establish a new topic, but it can also be employed in order to draw hearer's attention or to emphasize a contrast. On the other hand, the focus structure is employed in order to provide the hearer with unrecoverable information from the discourse, which is presented as a focus. That is, both topic and focus structures contribute to the development of the communication and push the communication forward.

It was suggested in §13.2.5 that it may be the case that the focus marker *inio* and the sequential coordinator *inio* 'and then' historically have the same origin. On the other hand, it was demonstrated in §13.2.6 that causal coordinators, *ta* and *ti*, have originated in topic markers *ta* and *ti*. These coordinators all link independent clauses. Independent clauses can also be linked by the conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and', but this simply conjoins two clauses. Clauses in Bilua are, in fact, more frequently connected by sequential and causal coordinators than by the conjunctive coordinator. This appears to be because of their origin as focus and topic markers, which contribute to the development of the communication. If a story were told by clauses joined just by the conjunctive coordinator, it would sound like a report in which events are presented one after another, without any indication of their discourse relationship.

Appendix 1: Verbal morphology

Most Bilua verbs have both intransitive and transitive verbs, sharing an identical string of segments, which can be referred to as 'root', between them. For example, the intransitive *mumazat* 'to loose' and transitive verbs *mumae* 'to loose' share the root *muma*, and the rest, *-zat* and *-e* can be treated as an intransitive and transitive suffix respectively. Thus, it is possible to segment an intransitive and transitive verb into a root and an intransitive and transitive suffix, but it appears that such segmentation does not have synchronic significance. This is because [1] there are various realisations of intransitive and transitive suffixes, and [2] the choice of intransitive suffix is not predictable from the choice of transitive suffix or vice versa.

Reason [1] is illustrated by the following list of intransitive and transitive suffixes.

Table A1.1: Intransitive and transitive suffixes

Intransitive suffixes	*-at, -t, -zat, -kat, -kazat, -an, -uan, -l, -al, -p, -o, -Ø*
Transitive suffixes	*-i, -e, -eki, -ki, -si, -ie, , -u, -Ø*

Reason [2] can be demonstrated by a comparison between the above pair of intransitive and transitive verbs and another pair of intransitive and transitive verbs. A pair of intransitive and transitive verbs, *niumat* 'to spoil' and *niumae* 'to spoil', share the root *niuma* and thus the intransitive and transitive suffixes of this verb are said to be *-t* and *-e* respectively. The transitive suffix on the verb *muma* is also *-e* but the intransitive suffix on the verb *muma* is not *-t* but *-zat*. Thus, the choice of intransitive suffix is not predictable from the choice of transitive suffix. It is not predictable from the root either.

The above illustrates that it is possible to segment an intransitive and transitive verb into a root and an intransitive and transitive suffix respectively, but such segmentation has historical significance only. Therefore, in this work, each combination is treated as a fully lexicalised form, that is, as a unanalysed stem.

Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts are presented below in order to further demonstrate the reason [2]. It is obvious from these examples that there is no criterion for the choice of intransitive and transitive suffixes. Note that some intransitive and transitive counterparts show S=A relationship while some others show S=A relationship. This is also indicated in the table in the column for 'Roots'.

Table A1.2: Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts (1)

Roots	Intransitive stems	Transitive stems
ere 'to make/do' (S=A)	*ere-kat* 'to make'	*ere* 'to make'
ibu 'to be quiet' (S=O)	*ibu-o* 'to become quiet'	*ibu-e* 'to make s.o. quiet'
jailo 'to be tired' (S=O)	*jailo-z* 'to become tired'	*jailo-ki* 'to make s.o. tired'
koiv 'to climb' (S=A)	*koiv* 'to climb'	*koiv-ie* 'to climb'
laini 'to feel' (S=A)	*laini-zat* 'to feel'	*laini* 'to feel'
mina 'to laugh' (S=O)	*mina-o* 'to laugh'	*mina-eki* 'to make s.o. laugh'
muma 'to loose' (S=A)	*muma-zat* 'to loose'	*muma-e* 'to loose'
niuma 'to spoil' (S=A)	*niuma-t* 'to spoil'	*niuma-e* 'to spoil'
pazo 'to hit' (S=A)	*pazo-t* 'to hit'	*pazo* 'to hit'
pi 'to fall' (S=O)	*pi-al* 'to fall'	*pi* 'to drop'
rokas 'to tear' (S=A)	*rokas-at* 'to tear'	*rokas-i* 'to tear'
roqu 'to care' (S=A)	*roqu-an* 'to care'	*roqu-e* 'to care'
suiri 'to point' (S=A)	*suiri-pat* 'to point'	*suiri* 'to point'
tar 'to wait' (S=A)	*tar-uan* 'to wait'	*tar-e* 'to wait'
toilt 'to wake' (S=O)	*toilat* 'to wake up'	*toilat-i* 'to wake s.o. up'
vere 'to be sick' (S=O)	*vere-p* 'to become sick'	*vere-ki* 'to make s.o. sick'
vari 'to increase' (S=O)	*vari-o* 'to increase'	*vari-e* 'to increase'
veu 'to open' (S=A)	*veu-kazat* 'to open'	*veu* 'to open'
zia 'to cry' (S=O)	*zia-l* 'to cry'	*zia-si* 'to make s.o. cry'

The transitive suffix *-u* is found only with a derived stem. For example, *rarom* 'to cook' is a verb stem derived from a noun *raro* 'pot'. Its intransitive and transitive verbs are *rarom-at* 'to cook' and *rarom-u* 'to cook' respectively. These are in an S=A relationship.

Some verb roots provide two intransitive stems. The following are some examples. Except for *vail* 'to look', in these sets of intransitive and transitive verbs, the intransitive verbs on the left column are in a S=O relationship with their transitive counterparts, while the intransitive verbs on the right column are in a S=A relationship with their transitive counterparts. With *vail* 'to look' both intransitive verbs are in an S=A relationship with the transitive counterpart, but the one on the left means 'to look' while the one on the right means 'to look for'.

Table A1.3: Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts (2)

Roots	Intransitive stems	Intransitive stems	Transitive stems
keju 'to cook'	*keju* 'to cook'	*keju-t* 'to cook'	*keju-e* 'to cook'
lojo 'to stand'	*lojo-l* 'to stand'	*lojo-t* 'to stand s.th. up'	*lojo-e* 'to stand s.th. up'
ngadar 'to dry'	*ngadar* 'to dry'	*ngadar-at* 'to dry'	*ngadar-i* 'to dry'
paki 'to survive'	*paki* 'to survive'	*paki-ezat* 'to save'	*pakie* 'to save'
vail 'to look'	*vail* 'to look'	*vail-izat* 'to look for'	*vail-i* 'to look for'

One of intransitive verbs in each of the following two examples does not have any of the suffixes listed above. Instead, it has *-vat* and *-e* respectively. This is the only occurrence of *-vat* and also this is the only occurrence of *-e* as an intransitive suffix found in the data.

Table A1.4: Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts (3)

Roots	Intransitive stems	Intransitive stems	Transitive stems
vou 'to die/kill'	*vou* 'to die'	*vou-vat* 'to kill'	*vouva-e* 'to kill'
amaq 'to enter'	*amaq-e* 'to enter'	*amaq-at* 'to put in'	*amaq-i* 'to put in'

In addition to the intransitive suffixes listed above, some verbs take another type of intransitive suffixes that could be referred to as reflexive suffixes. They have two forms *-il* and *-zi*. Verbs that have one of these suffixes typically have a reflexive meaning. For example, a combination of the aforementioned root *nana* 'to bite' with *-il* means 'to bite oneself'. However, some combinations of a root with *-il/-zi* do not have a reflexive meaning. For example, a combination of *pisa* 'to break' and *-il* means 'to break by itself', which is said to be semireflexive meaning. Like intransitive and transitive suffixes, it is not predictable from the form of the root which of these suffixes is attached to each root. Thus, it can be said that combinations of a root with a reflexive intransitive suffix are also lexicalised and they are treated as unanalysed stems in this work.

Appendix 2: Realisations of tense/mood markers

There are different realisations for each of the tense/mood markers in Bilua. Generally speaking, realisations of tense/mood markers depend on the last segment of the word they are attached to. With singular imperative mood markers, the realisation also depends on the kind of host, such as whether it is an intransitive verb or an object clitic on a transitive verb. The following table presents a list of tense/mood markers. The right column presents the distribution of different realisations. Note that the combination of verb final *u* and the near future tense marker *o* is realised as *u*. That is, with verbs ending with the vowel *u*, the near future tense marker is realised as zero morpheme. This is also the case with the nominal derivational enclitic *o*.[95]

Bilua does not allow a sequence of Vs (V standing for a vowel or a diphthong). Because of this, if a vowel-initial tense/mood marker attaches to a diphthong, this results in the deletion of the second element of the diphthong. For example, the combination of *besizio* 'to change' with a present tense marker *a* results in *besizi=a* (change=PRES). Or if encliticisation results in a sequence of identical Vs, this is realised as a single V. For example, the combination of *besizio* to change' with a near future tense marker results in *besizio* (changeNRFUT).[96]

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[95] In this work, a verb ending with the vowel *u* with no near future tense marker (NRFUT)/nominal derivational enclitic (NOM) is glossed as 'verbNRFUT/NOM'. For example,

A=da	*papu.*
1SG=SIT	sitNRFUT

'I am going to sit.'

A=q=a	*zari=a*	*papu.*
1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES	sitNOM

'I want to sit.'

[96] In this work, when a tense marker merges with the preceding vowel, this morpheme is not shown, but the gloss of this morpheme is given following the verb, just like the case with verbs ending with *u*. This also applies to the nominal derivational enclitic *o* attached to verbs.

Table A2.1: Tense/mood markers and their distributions

Tense/mood markers		Forms	Distribution
present tense		*a / va*	*va / ao* or *io* _ *a* elsewhere
near future tense		*o*	*Ø/ u* _ *o* elsewhere
future tense		*ou / vou*	*ou* / C _ *vou* / V _
recent past tense		*ala / la*	*ala* / C _ *la* / V
remote past tense		*e / vi*	*e* / C _ *vi* / V _
historical tense		*ake / ke*	*ake* / C _ *ke* / V _
imperative (sg)	on object clitics	*a*	–
	on intransitive verbs	*e / vi*	*e* / C _ *vi* / V _
imperative (du)		*oko / ko*	*oko* / C _ *ko* / V _
imperative (pl)		*omo / mo*	*omo* / C_ *mo* / V _

Table A.2.2 below presents some examples to illustrate the above generalisation. The transitive verb *pazoko* 'to hit' is presented with a default object clitic *k* (3SG.F). Morphemes in the square brackets merge with the preceding vowel and do not appear in the surface structure.

Table A2.2: Verbs with tense/mood markers

	vuat 'to eat'	*pazo* 'to hit'	*pekao* 'to dance'	*talio* 'to travel'
Present	*vuat=a*	*pazo=k=a*	*pekao=va*	*talio=va*
Near future	*vuat=o*	*pazo=k=o*	*pekao[=o]*	*talio[=o]*
Future	*vuat=ou*	*pazo=k=ou*	*pekao=vou*	*talio=vou*
Recent past	*vuat=ala*	*pazo=k=ala*	*pekao=la*	*tali(o)=la*[97]
Remote past	*vuat=e*	*pazo=k=e*	*pekao=vi*	*talio=vi*
Historical	*vuat=ake*	*pazo=k=ake*	*pekao=ke*	*talio=ke*
Imperative (sg)	*vuat=e*	*pazo=k=a*	*pekao=vi*	*talio=vi*
Imperative (du)	*vuat=oko*	*pazo=k=oko*	*pekao=ko*	*talio=ko*
Imperative (pl)	*vuat=oko*	*pazo=k=omo*	*pekao=mo*	*pekao=mo*

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[97] There is variation in the realisation of a combination of a verb ending with *io*, with the recent past tense marker. The verb final *o* sometimes appears and sometimes does not.

There are some irregular verbs to which the above generalisation of tense/mood markers does not apply. Moreover, these verbs have different realisations when they are bound by tense/mood markers. Irregular verbs are *ov* 'to get', *el* 'to see', *u* 'to eat', *i* 'to say', *kal* 'to occur', *el* 'to stay' or 'to become', *zio* 'to go', *zial* 'to cry', *barol* 'to arrive', *pial* 'to fall', and all verbs ending with *il* and *u*. Note that with these verbs, their realisation with the nominal derivational enclitic is regarded as their basic form, as this is used in its citation form. Their realisations with different tense/mood markers are summarised in Tables A2.3–A2.6 below. An illustration for verbs ending with *il* and *u* is given with verbs *pusail* 'to wash' and *papu* 'to sit'. Note that morpheme boundaries here were determined following the forms of tense/mood markers. The blank in the table is either because of the gap in the data or because combinations of certain verbs with imperative mood markers never appear. Verbs, *ov* 'to get', *el* 'to see', *u* 'to eat', and *i* 'to say' are given with the default object clitic *k* (3SG.F) attached. The verb *i* 'to say' never occurs without a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references with the subject, between the verb and a tense/mood marker. This is given in the first person singular form *a* (1SG) here.

Table A2.3: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (1)

	ov 'to get'	*el* 'to see'	*u* 'to eat'	*kal* 'to occur'
Present	*k=o=a*	*k=e=a*	*k=ua[=a]*	*kav=a*
Near future	*k=ov=o*	*k=el=o*	*k=u=o*	*kal=o*
Future	*k=ov=ou*	*k=el=ou*	*k=ua=vou*	*kal=ou*
Recent past	*k=o=ala*	*k=e=ala*	*k=ua=la*	*ka=la*
Remote past	*k=o=e*	*k=ev=e*	*k=i=e*	*ka=e*
Historical	*k=o=ake*	*k=e=ake*	*k=ua=ke*	–
Imperative (sg)	*k=o=a*	*k=e=a*	–	–
Imperative (du)	*k=o=ko*	*k=e=ko*	–	–
Imperative (pl)	*k=o=mo*	*k=e=mo*	–	–

Table A2.4: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (2)

	el 'to stay' or 'to become'	*zio* 'to go'[98]	*kil* 'to come'	*barol* 'to arrive'
Present	*ev=a*	*ol=a*	*kue=va*	*baro=a*
Near future	*el=o*	*zio[=o]*	*kil=o*	*barol=o*
Future	*el=ou*	*zio=vou*	*kil=ou*	*barol=ou*
Recent past	*ev=ala*	*ol=ala*	*kue=la*	*baro=la*
Remote past	*ev=e*	*kev=e*	*kue=vi*	*baroi*
Historical	*e=ke*	*ol=ake*	*ku=ake*	*baori=ke*
Imperative (sg)	–	*ol=a*	*ku=a*	–
Imperative (du)	–	*ola=ko*	*kue=ko*	–
Imperative (pl)	–	*ola=mo*	*kue=mo*	–

Table A2.5: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (3)

	zial 'to cry'	*pial* 'to fall'	*pusail* 'to wash'	*papu* 'to sit'
Present	*zi=a*	*pi=a*	*pusaiv=a*	*papu=a*
Near future	*zial=o*	*pial=o*	*pusail=o*	*papu*
Future	*zial=ou*	*pial=ou*	*pusail=ou*	*papu=vou*
Recent past	*zia=la*	*pia=la*	*pusail=a*	*papu=la*
Remote past	*ziav=e*	*pia=vi*	*pusai*	*papi*
Historical	*zia=ke*	*pi=ke*	*pusai=ke*	*papu=ke*
Imperative (sg)	–	–	*pusai*	*papi*
Imperative (du)	–	*ola=ko*	*pusai=ko*	*papu=ko*
Imperative (pl)	–	*ola=mo*	*pusai=mo*	*papu=mo*

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[98] The verb *zio* 'to go' with present, recent past, and historical tense markers, and dual and plural imperative mood markers could also be analysed as *ola[=a]*, *ola=la*, *ola=ke*, *ola=ko*, and *ola=mo* respectively.

Table A2.6: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (4)

	i 'to say'[99]
Present	*k=i=a=la*
Near future	–
Future	*k=i=a=vou*
Recent past	*k=i=a=lala*
Remote past	*k=i=a=ve*
Historical	*k=i=a=lake*
Imperative (sg)	*k=i=ve*
Imperative (du)	–
Imperative (pl)	–

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[99] It may be the case that the verb 'to say' is a discontinuous morpheme *i...l* with which a pronominal proclitic occurs between *i* and *l*, but *l* does not appear when it takes future and remote past tense markers, or a singular imperative mood marker. This verb with present, recent past, and historical tense markers then would be analysed as *k=i=a=l=a*, *k=i=a=l=ala*, and *k=i=a=l=ake* respectively, and here present, recent past, and historical tense markers show regular realisations.

Appendix 3: Texts

Transcripts of two texts are included here: *Dog-child* (text 27) and *Ngali nut collection* (text 2). The first one is a folktale. It was told by one of the informants, who was about 55 years old when it was recorded. He is a tribal chief who realises that Bilua children speak differently from older people and is conscious about maintenance of good, traditional Bilua. When analysing this text, I consulted with other informants. The text was recorded at his home in Sabora village. There was no audience at the time of recording. The second text was told by a woman who was about 90 years old at the time of recording. The story is about how she and her husband used to collect *ngali* nuts[100] after making ropes and string bags from bark of some trees. Although the speaker was quite frail when she told the story, she told it vividly and in a most beautiful way (the first time I asked her to tell a story, she started crying, remembering her husband and could not do it). The text was recorded at her home in the *Maravari* village. Her grandchildren were present at recording.

English translations given here are free translations and are not necessarily the same as those given in chapters of the work. Whilst the English translations in the chapters reflect the clause structure and meaning of the Bilua clause and therefore may not sound like natural English, the English translations given here have been adjusted so that they sound natural in English.

Dog-Child (Text 27)

(1) *Anga ta a=q=a zari=a v=ai*
1SG TOP 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES 3SG.M.O=VAL

bazu-bazut=o kala bazu-bazulao, ni
REDUP-tell=NOM INDEF.SG.M REDUP-folktale and

komi=a bazu-bazulao ta pui matu
PROX.SG.F=LIG REDUP-folktale TOP NEG very

tuvevo=a=ma, melai silo-silo=a=mu ke=m=ai
true=LIG=3SG.F but REDUP-small=LIG=3PL 3PL=3PL.O=VAL

ibue=k=o k=i=ke=ve=ma sole,
make.quiet=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3PL=RMP=3SG.F that's.why

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[100] *Ngali* nuts are of the *Canarium* species.

ko pui ko=pa erei=vo ni pui ko=pa
3SG.F NEG 3SG.F=PROS happen.RMP=REL and NEG 3SG.F=PROS

ka=e=vo melai, ke=kase=k=e ko=a
occur=RMP=REL but 3PL=mention=3SG.F.O=RMP 3SG.F=LIG

bazu-bazulao kale.
REDUP-folktale in
'I want to tell a folktale, and this folktale, it is not very true, but people make children quiet by telling this story. That's what they said, it wasn't something which happened and it wasn't something which occurred but still they tell it in a folktale.'

(2) *Nio vo=a bazu-bazulao*
SEQ 3SG.M=LIG REDUP-folktale

k=i=o=la=ni ta eri nio.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES=REL.NONF TOP s.th.like.this FOC.NONF
'And, what the folktale said is something like this.'

(3) *Kala matu=la peuru ta inevoana kama*
INDEF.SG.M big=3SG.M village TOP EXT.SG.M INDEF.SG.F

zavanga kale, ni vo=a matu=la peuru ale
area in and 3SG.M=LIG big=LIG village in

ta inevoana kala matu=la lekasa ta
TOP EXT.SG.M INDEF.SG.M big=3SG.M chief TOP

inevoana sai.
EXTSG.M there
'There was a very big village in one area, and in that big village, there was a big chief, he was living there.'

(4) *Ni kubo maba madu ta inisiana sai ko=a*
and many person COLL.PL TOP EXT.PL there 3SG.F=LIG

matu=ma peuru ale.
big=3SG.F village in
'And there were many people there in that big village.'

(5) *Ne=a matu=la peuru=ko keta-keta, ta*
PROX.SG.M=LIG big=3SG.M village=3SG.F REDUP-edge TOP

inevoana kala silo=a=la peuru.
EXT.SG.M INDEF.SG.M small=LIG=3SG.M village
'At the edge of this big village, there was a small village.'

(6) *Ko=a silo=a=la peuru ale ta kainioqa*
3SG.F=LIG small=LIG=3SG.M village in TOP INDEF.DU

saqe, nio sai ko=a peuru ale.
couple FOC.NONF there 3SG.F=LIG village in
'In that small village, there was a couple, there in the village.'

(7) *Nio nioqa saqe ta qo=kiada puli=a=ma nioqa=ko*
SEQ 3DU couple TOP 3DU=all NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3DU=3SG.F

meqora, puliako meqora sa=nga el=o
child before child COM=2SG become=NOM

inio, vo, lasive=a=la ta o=ta vou=va,
FOC.NONF 3SG.M husband=LIG=3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES

reko=a=ma ikio sai.
wife=LIG=3SG.F FOC.F there
'The couple were living by themselves; they didn't have children. Before they had a child, the husband died and the wife was left there.'

(8) *Ni ko=a reko=a=ma ta, molu=a=ma*
and 3SG.F=LIG wife=LIG=3SG.F TOP be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F

o=vae=k=e, vo=a lasive=a=la.
3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=RMP 3SG.M=LIG husband=LIG=3SG.M
'And as for that wife, he left her pregnant, the husband.'

(9) *Nio so ti ko=beta ev=a sai, ti*
and.then that TOP 3SG.F=CONT stay=PRES there and.then

ko=baro=a ko=ko taku, ti ko ta
3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F time and.then 3SG.F TOP

ko=ta vijar=a.
3SG.F=SIT give.birth=PRES
'And then she kept staying there, and when the time for the birth came, she gave birth.'

(10) *Ko=vijari=v=a kala meqora*
3SG.F=give.birth=3SG.M.O=PRES INDEF.SG.M child

lasive=a=la, melai vo=a meqora ta pui maba
male=LIG=3SG.M but 3SG.M=LIG child TOP NEG person

melai siele.
but dog
'She had a son, but that son was not a human but a dog.'

(11) *Siele inio vo=a meqora.*
dog FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG child
'The son was a dog.'

(12) *Ti, ko ta ko=v=ati vail=a, ko=vo*
and.then 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL look=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.M

meqora sole ko=v=ati vail=a
child that's.why 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL watch=PRES

ko=niae=v=a, so ti so ti o=ta
3SG.F=feed=3SG.M.O=PRES that INT that and.then 3SG.M=SIT

rapu=k=a vo=a siele, siele-meqora.
grow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=LIG dog dog-child
'And she looked after him, because he was her child she looked after him, she fed him, it went on like that, and the dog grew, the dog-child.'

(13) *Ti so ti so, nioqa ti sai, niania=ka=ma*
and.then that INT that 3DU TOP there mother=LIG=3SG.F

ko ol=a kiaro kasi, vo ta
3SG.F go=PRES garden at 3SG.M TOP

o=lulue=k=a o=baroa kiaro kale inio
3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=arrive garden in SEQ

vo ta o=marong=a juli=ko raki ale.
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=sleep=PRES banana.tree=3SG.F root in
'And it went on like that, the two lived there, the mother went to the garden, he followed her, he arrived at the garden, and then he slept at the base of a banana tree.'

(14) *Niania=ka=ma ta ko iruruput=a, ko=papat=a ko*
mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F work=PRES 3SG.F=plant=PRES 3SG.F

sisu, ko=papat=a ko mau, saitainio
sweet.potato 3SG.F=plant=PRES 3SG.F taro afterwards

ko=baro=a ko taku sailao ko=k=o=a
3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F time food 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=get=PRES

ti qo=beta saqor=a inio, nioqa saidi.
and.then 3DU=CONT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF 3DU family
'The mother worked, she did sweet potato planting, she did taro planting, afterwards, when the time to go home came, she got food, and the family went down.'

(15) *Qo=saqor=a pade asi, qo=baro=a sai nio,*
3DU=go.down=PRES house at 3DU=arrive=PRES there SEQ

niania=ka=ma ta sailao ko ere=k=a
mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP food 3SG.F make=3SG.F.O=PRES

meqora=ka=la ta o ol=a veutu tona, nio
child=LIG=3SG.M TOP 3SG.M go=PRES entrance beside and.then

veutu tona o=teku=a saitainio o=tana
entrance beside 3SG.M=lie=PRES afterwards 3SG.M=jaw

o=seri=k=a *saitainio*
3SG.M=hang.on=3SG.F.O=PRES afterwards

o=toili-toili=k=a *vo=ko* *niania.*
3SG.M=REDUP-watch=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F mother
'The two went down to the house, they arrived there, and then the mother, she made food, the son, he went next to the entrance, and then he lay beside the entrance, afterwards he put his jaw on something and watched his mother.'

(16) *Kiada=ma* *taku* *ko=baro=a* *sailao=ko* *taku* *mati*
all=3SG.F time 3SG.F=arrive=PRES food=3SG.F time again

ko *ta* *ko=v=a* *risae=k=a*
3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL throw=3SG.F.O=PRES

vo=ko *vo* *meqora* *sai* *nio* *o* *ol=a*
3SG.M=3SG.F 3SG.M child there FOC.NONF 3SG.M go=PRES

inio *o=pa* *k=o=a.*
and.then 3SG.M=PROS 3SG.F.O=get=PRES
'When a meal time came, she always threw his food to him, to the son, and the son went there and got it.'

(17) *Ko=ngavi=ko* *ta* *ko=tukie=k=a* *tuto*
3SG.F=self=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=keep=3SG.F.O=PRES coconut.shell.container

kale.
in
'As for her own food, she put it in a coconut shell container.'

(18) *So* *ti* *so* *inio* *nioqa=ko* *saev=o* *kiada=ma*
that TOP that FOC.NONF 3DU=3SG.F survive=NOM all=3SG.F

taku.
time
'It went on like that, that was their life all the time.'

(19) *Omadeu* *taku* *inio* *vo=a* *meqora=ka=la* *ta*
one time FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG child=LIG=3SG.M TOP

eri *k=i=o=lake.*
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=HIST
'One day, the son said something like this.'

(20) *"Niania* *anga* *ta* *a=q=a* *zari=a* *rorot=o*
mother 1SG TOP 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES marry=NOM

sole *ngo* *ta* *ngo=zio=vou* *matu-peuru* *ale,*
that's.why 2SG TOP 2SG=go=FUT big-village in

nio *ngo=ba* *bazue=k=ou* *lekasa=ko* *meqora*
SEQ 2SG=PROS tell=3SG.F.O=FUT chief=3SG.F child

vo	*ta*	*omuqa*	*ikio*	*lekasa=ko*	*meqora*	*sole.*
3SG.M	TOP	two	FOC.F	chief=3SG.F	child	that's.why

'"Mother, I want to marry, so you, you will go to the big village, and you go and tell the chief's daughter, because the chief has two daughters.'

(21)

Ka	*pado*	*ngo=ba*	*l=a*	*bazue=k=ou*
INDEF	MESone	2SG=PROS	1SG.O=VAL	tell=3SG.F.O=FUT

kaka=ka=ma,	*tu*	*o=k=ov=o,"*[101]
older=LIG=3SG.F	IRR	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=NRFUT

k=i=o=la,	*k=i=o=la*	*vo=a*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES	3SG.M=LIG

meqora,	*siele-meqora.*
child	dog-child

'You go and tell one, the older one for me so that I can marry her," he said, he said it, the child, the dog-child.'

(22)

Nio	*"Ki*	*meqora"*	*k=i=ko=la*	*ko*
SEQ	INTJ	child	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	3SG.F

niania=ka=ma,	*"ngo*	*ta*	*pui*	*maba=nga*	*siele=nga*
mother=LIG=3SG.F	2SG	TOP	NEG	person=2SG	dog=2SG

sole	*pui*	*ko=pa*	*k=a*	*zario=vou*	*ko=ta*
that's.why	NEG	3SG.F=PROS	3SG.F.O=VAL	want=FUT	3SG.F=POSS

ng=a	*lupao=vou.*
2SG=VAL	refuse=FUT

'And then, "Child", the mother said, "you are not a human, but a dog, so she will not want, she will refuse you.'

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[101] In this example, *o=k=ov=ou* (3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=FUT) is a direct quotation: what the dog-child said. Here, the subject should be *a* (1SG) 'I' not *o* (3SG.M) as it is the speaker of this quotation, the dog-child, who will get (marry) her. When I asked one of the informants about this, I was told that *o* (3SG.M) 'he' is mistakenly used and it should be replaced with the correct one *a* (1SG) 'I'. There are similar cases in other texts in which a third person pronoun is used where a first/second person pronoun is expected, for example, sentence (25) in the next text. In this example, *o=soloe=k=ou* (3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=FUT) is a direct quotation: it is what the speaker of the story said to the addressee, her husband, and the speaker is telling him what he should do. That is, the subject of this quotation should be 'you' rather than 'he'. This time, one informant told me that the third person pronoun is used in order to show respect, as the addressee is a chief. This explanation does not seem to apply in the first instance, as there seems to be no need to show respect to the dog-child. In fact, it is a dubious claim that the third person may be used in order to show respect, as there is no other instance of this in the data, and this could just be a mistake as well.

(23) *Sole pui a=zio," k=i=ko=la*
that's.why NEG 1SG=go.NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
So, I will not go," she said.'

(24) *So keru inio vo=a meqora=ka=la ta*
that TEMP FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG child=LIG=3SG.M TOP

o=ta kora-korai=va duki o=ta ev=a,
3SG.M=SIT REDUP-be.angry=PRES sad 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES

ti pui o=k=a zari=a vuat=o, pui
and.then NEG 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES eat=NOM NEG

o=k=ati pesi=a o=niania, melai o=ta
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL speak=PRES 3SG.M=mother but 3SG.M=SIT

marong=a kubo nganiu.
sleep=PRES many day
'That time, the son got angry, he became sad, and then he didn't want to eat, he didn't want to speak to his mother, and instead he slept for many days.'

(25) *So ti so ti, niania=ka=ma*
that INT that and.then mother=LIG=3SG.F

ko=v=e=a ta vo ta pui o=vuat=a,
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES and.then 3SG.M TOP NEG 3SG.M=eat=PRES

vuat=o melai o=ta lupao=va, k=ati pesi=o
eat=NOM too 3SG.M=SIT refuse=PRES 3SG.F.O=VAL speak=NOM

melai pui o=k=ati pesi=a vo=a
too NEG 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL speak=PRES 3SG.M=LIG

siele-meqora ta o=ta pesi=a=ni nio
dog-child TOP 3SG.M=SIT speak=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF

sole.
that's.why
'It went on like that, the mother saw him and he did not eat, he refused to eat, he didn't speak to her either, the dog-child, he was one who spoke.'[102]

(26) *Ti ko=roque=v=a.*
and.then 3SG.F=care=3SG.M.O=PRES
'And she cared for him.'

(27) *Ko roque=v=a, inio "Koe ako so ta o=ta*
3SG.F care=3SG.M.O=PRES SEQ INTJ INTJ that TOP 3SG.M=SIT

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[102] The last clause, 'the dog-child, he was one who spoke' is added here to indicate that although dogs do not normally speak, this particular dog does.

vou=vo	*inio*	*anga=vo*	*meqora*	*vuat=o*	*melai*
die=NRFUT	FOC.NONF	1SG=3SG.M	child	eat=NOM	too

pui	*o=vuat=a*	*sole,"*	*k=i=ko=la*
NEG	3SG.M=eat=PRES	that's.why	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

ti,	*ko=pa*	*k=o=a*	*ko=ko*	*vesa*	*nio*
and.then	3SG.F=PROS	3SG.F.O=get=PRES	3SG.F=3SG.F	basket	SEQ

ko=v=o=a	*omadeu*	*bakisa.*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=get=PRES	one	custom.money

'She cared for him, and then she said, "Oh, if it goes on like this he will die, my child, because he doesn't eat either," and she went and got her basket and got some custom money.'

(28)

Ti	*ko=bori=v=a*	*vo=a*	*bakisa*
and.then	3SG.F=carry=3SG.M.O=PRES	3SG.M=LIG	custom.money

ti	*ko=beta*	*ol=a*	*inio*	*matu-peuru*	*kale,*	*ko*
and.then	3SG.F=CONT	go=PRES	FOC.NONF	big-village	in	3SG.F

ol=a	*matu-peuru*	*kale*	*so*	*ti*	*so*	*ti,*	*ko=ta*
go=PRES	big-village	in	that	INT	that	and.then	3SG.F=SIT

ol=a	*lekasa=ko*	*pade*	*kasi.*
go=PRES	chief=3SG.F	house	at

'Then, she carried the custom money and went on towards the big village, she went towards the big village, she went on and on, and she went towards the chief's house.'

(29)

Ko=baro=a	*sai*	*lekasa=ko*	*pade*	*kasi,*	*inio*	*"Koe*	*noi*
3SG.F=arrive=PRES	there	chief=3SG.F	house	at	SEQ	INTJ	how

nio	*k=i=ngo=la*	*ku=a*	*koi*	*amaqe,"*
FOC.NONF	3SG.F.O=say=2SG=PRES	come=IMP.SG	here	enterIMP.SG

k=i=o=la	*vo*	*lekasa.*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES	3SG.M	chief

'She arrived there at the chief's house, and then, "Oh, what do you want to say, come here, enter," the chief said.'

(30)

Ko	*ta*	*ko=ko*	*panga=o=le*	*sole*
3SG.F	TOP	3SG.F=3SG.F	respect=NOM=in	that's.why

ko=loqu-loqut=a	*ti,*	*iqe-iqe=o=le*	*inio*
3SG.F=REDUP-bow=PRES	and.then	REDUP-kneel=NOM=in	FOC.NONF

ko	*ol=a*	*lekasa=ko*	*tanama=le*	*inio*	*eri*
3SG.F	go=PRES	chief=3SG.F	front=in	SEQ	s.th.like.this

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘Showing her respect to the chief, she bowed and she went on her knees in front of the chief, and she said something like this.’

(31) *“Koe matu=la lekasa, ako anga ta a=que=va*
INTJ big=3SG.M chief INTJ 1SG TOP 1SG=come=PRES

tu a=ba pase=k=ou ngo=ko sinaqu-meqora,
IRR 1SG=PROS ask=3SG.F.O=FUT 2SG=3SG.F unmarried.woman-child

anga=vo meqora o=k=a zari=a rorot=o.
1SG=3SG.M child 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=PRES want=PRES marry=NOM
‘“Oh, big chief, I came to ask for your daughter, my son wants to marry.’

(32) *Melai vo=a meqora ta pui maba inio*
but 3SG.M=LIG child TOP NEG person FOC.NONF

siele,” k=i=ko=la.
dog 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘But, the son is not a human, but a dog,” she said.’

(33) *“Koe matu uri. Nio anga ta komi kio matu*
INTJ very good SEQ 1SG TOP PROX.SG.F FOC.F very

uri” k=i=o=la, vo=a lekasa.
good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG chief
‘“Oh, very good, for me, this is very good,” the chief said.’

(34) *Nio “Anga ta komi kio a=bori=k=ala, tu*
SEQ 1SG TOP PROX.SG.F FOC.F 1SG=carry=3SG.F.O=RCP IRR

a=qati=ng=ou, “uri” k=i=ko=vou ko=a
1SG=give=2SG.O=FUT good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FUT 3SG.F=LIG

meqora ta” k=i=ko=la ti ko=v=a
child TOP 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES and.then 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL

kase=k=a ko=a bakisa.
show=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money
‘“I carried this, I will give it to you if the daughter says “good”,” she said, and she showed the custom money to him.’

(35) *Ko=v=a kase=k=a ko=a bakisa*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL show=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money

nio “Uri, taruan=e tu a=nokae=k=ou saita”.
SEQ good wait=IMP.SG IRR 1SG=call=3SG.F.O=FUT first
‘She showed him the custom money and then “Good, wait, I will call her first,” [the chief said].’

(36) *Nio o=soloe=m=a vo=ko nabulo poso tu*
SEQ 3SG.M=send=3PL.O=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F servant PL IRR

ke=pa nokae=k=o vo=ko kaka=ka=ma
3PL=PROS call=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.M=3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F

meqora, sole se ta ke ol=a inio ke=pa
child that's.why 3PL TOP 3PL go=PRES SEQ 3PL=PROS

bazue=k=a nio ko=kue=va ko=kue=va
tell=3SG.F.O=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F=come=PRES

inio.
FOC.NONF
'And then, he sent his servants, in order that they will go and call his elder daughter, that's why they went, they went and told her, and then she came, she came.'

(37) *Eri k=i=o=la vo mama=ka=la.*
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M father=LIG=3SG.M
'The father said something like this.'

(38) *"Ngo ta komi=vo meqora o=k=a*
2SG TOP PROX.SG.F=3SG.M child 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

zari=a tu o=rae=ng=o, melai vo=a
want=PRES IRR 3SG.M=marry=2SG.O=NOM but 3SG.M=LIG

meqora ta pui maba inio siele inio"
child TOP NEG person FOC.NONF dog FOC.NONF

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"You, the child of this woman wants to marry you, but the child is not a human but a dog," he said.'

(39) *Ti "Ki siele sole anga ta pui a=v=a*
and.then INTJ dog that's.why 1SG TOP NEG 1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL

zari=a a=lupa rae=v=o vo siele"
want=PRES 1SG=refuse marry=3SG.M.O=NOM 3SG.M dog

k=i=ko=la ko=a lekasa=ko kaka=ka=ma
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F=LIG chief=3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F

meqora.
child
'And, "Because he is a dog, I don't want him, I refuse to marry him, a dog," said the chief's elder daughter.'

(40) *"Sole maba a=lupa*[103] *pui a=ba lulue=k=ou"*
that's.why person 1SG=refuse NEG 1SG=PROS follow=3SG.F.O=FUT

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"So, I refuse it, I will not follow her," she said.'

(41) *"Koe ako ko=ta lupao=va sole uri tapata*
INTJ INTJ 3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES that's.why good hard

ikio tu a=vaitoe komi=a bakisa k=ati
FOC.F IRR 1SG=return PROX.SG.F=LIG custom.money 3SG.F.O=VAL

vait=e" k=i=o=la vo=a lekasa.
return=IMP.SG 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG chief
'"Well, she refuses it, so, good, a problem, I return this custom money, take it home," the chief said.'

(42) *Ko=bori=k=a ko=a bakisa ti*
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money and.then

ko=beta vait=a inio.
3SG.F=CONT return=PRES FOC.NONF
'She carried the custom money and returned.'

(43) *Ko=vait=a ti ko=vait=a, kiada keru vo=a*
3SG.F=return=PRES INT 3SG.F=return=PRES all TEMP 3SG.M=LIG

meqora=ka=la=ko iruruput=o ta veutu tona inio
child=LIG=3SG.M=3SG.F work=NOM TOP entrance beside FOC.NONF

o=teku=a saitainio, o=k=ati vail=a
3SG.M=lie=PRES afterwards 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL look=PRES

niania=ko keve koi vasi.
mother=3SG.F way here around
'She was going towards home, as for the son's usual duties, he lay beside the entrance, and he watched the mother's paths nearby.'

(44) *Sai nio o=k=ati vail=a.*
there FOC.NONF 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL watch=PRES
'He watched there.'

(45) *So ti so ti o=ta k=a viq=a*
that INT that and.then 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL sense=PRES

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[103] As mentioned in §12.3.5, the combination of the verb *lupao* 'to refuse' with the present tense-marking enclitic *va*, *lupao=va*, is sometimes realized as *lupao*.

o=niania=ko	*tui,*	*nio*	*eri=a*	*zolae=k=o*
3SG.M=mother=3SG.F	smell	SEQ	as.soon.as=LIG	lift=3SG.F.O=NOM

o	*ev=a*	*o=lezu,*	*ta*	*o=k=e=a*
3SG.M	become=PRES	3SG.M=head	TOP	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES

ko=beta	*kue=va,*	*ko=kiada*	*pado*	*ti*
3SG.F=CONT	come=PRES	3SG.M=all	MESone	and.then

o=teku=a	*ti*	*o=beta*	*imad=a*	*inio.*
3SG.M=lie=PRES	and.then	3SG.M=CONT	shut.eye=PRES	FOC.NONF

'He kept watching, and he sensed his mother's smell, and then, as soon as he lifted his head, he saw her coming, by herself, and he lay and shut his eyes.'

(46)

Ko=kiada	*pado*	*ko=beta*	*kue=va*	*sole*	*vo*	*ta*
3SG.F=all	MESone	3SG.F=CONT	come=PRES	that's.why	3SG.M	TOP

o=ta	*teku=a*	*ti,*	*vo*	*ta*	*duki*	*o=ta*
3SG.M=SIT	lie=PRES	and.then	3SG.M	TOP	sad	3SG.M=SIT

ev=a.
become=PRES

'She was coming by herself and so he lay and became sad.'

(47)

So	*ti,*	*ko=baro=a*	*ko=niania=ka=ma*	*inio,*
that	TOP	3SG.F=arrive=PRES	3SG.F=mother=LIG=3SG.F	FOC.NONF

"Meqora"	*k=i=ko=la*	*"Komi*	*kio*
child	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	PROX.SG.F	FOC.F

a=qase=k=ala=ma."
1SG=show=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F

'Then, she arrived, the mother, and "Child," said she, "This is what happened."'

(48)

Ko=ta	*lupao=va*	*"A=lupa*	*rae=v=o*	*vo*	*ta*
3SG.F=SIT	refuse=PRES	1SG=refuse	marry=3SG.M.O=NOM	3SG.M	TOP

siele	*pui*	*maba*	*sole"*	*k=i=ko=la*	*ti*
dog	NEG	person	that's.why	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	and.then

ko=ta	*ng=a*	*lupao=va"*	*k=i=ko=la.*
3SG.F=SIT	2SG=PRES	refuse=PRES	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

'She refused it, she said "I refuse to marry him, because he is a dog not a human," she refused you," the mother said.'

(49)

Ti	*"Uri*	*sole*	*vae=k=a"*
and.then	good	that's.why	leave=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG

k=i=o=la,	*k=i=o=la*	*vo=a*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES	3SG.M=LIG

meqora vo=a siele-meqora.
child 3SG.M=LIG dog-child
'And, "Good, so, leave it," he said, he said, the son, the dog-child.'

(50) *Ti sainio ko=beta ev=a, so ti so*
and.then then 3SG.F=CONT stay=PRES that INT so

ti so kama taku ko=baro=a.
INT that INDEF.SG.F time 3SG.F=arrive=PRES
'And then, it went on like that, on and on, and another time arrived.'

(51) *Nio "Niania-o" k=i=o=la* | *mata "niania"*
SEQ Mother-VOC 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES again mother

k=i=o=la | *"ol=a tu mata pase=k=a*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES go=PRES IRR again ask=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG

lekasa=ko visi=a=ma meqora a=q=a
chief=3SG.F younger=LIG=3SG.F child 1SG=3SG.F.O=PRES

matu zari=a rorot=o sole."
very want=PRES marry=NOM that's.why
'And, "Mother," he said, again "Mother," he said, "go, and ask again, ask for the chief's younger daughter, because I want to marry very much."'

(52) *Nio "Koe meqora" k=i=ko=la.*
SEQ INTJ child 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'And, "Oh, child," she said.'

(53) *"Kaka=ka=ma melai lula ko=ta lupao=la*
older=LIG=3SG.F too already 3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES

sole visi=a=ma melai soinio ko=ta
that's.why younger=LIG=3SG.F too consequently 3SG.F=SIT

lupao=vou.
refuse=FUT
'"The elder daughter already refused so the younger daughter too will refuse.'

(54) *Sole vae=k=a pui ngo=rorot=o melai*
that's.why leave=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG NEG 2SG=marry=NRFUT but

uri" k=i=ko=la.
good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
So, leave it, don't marry, but good," she said.

(55) *So ti o=ta kora-korai=va tu mata omadeu*
that TOP 3SG.M=SIT REDUP-be.angry=PRES IRR again one

wiki tiniavo omuqa wiki pui o=vuat=a, pui
week about two week NEG 3SG.M=eat=PRES NEG

o=k=ati	*pesi=a,*	*pui*	*o=lulue=k=a*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL	speak=PRES	NEG	3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES

kiaro	*kasi,*	*sainio*	*marong=o*	*ti*	*marong=o*	*ti*
garden	at	therefore	sleep=NOM	INT	sleep=NOM	INT

marong=o	*vo=a*	*siele.*
sleep=NOM	3SG.M=LIG	dog

'Then, he got angry and again for about one week, two weeks, he didn't eat, he didn't speak to her, he didn't follow her to the garden, therefore he just slept and slept and slept, the dog.'

(56)

Ko=v=e=a	*ta*	*pui*	*o=vuat=a*	*sole*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES	and.then	NEG	3SG.M=eat=PRES	that's why

leku-leku	*o=ta*	*ev=a,*	*nio*	*"Koe*
REDUP-weak	3SG.M=SIT	become=PRES	SEQ	INTJ

o=ta	*l=a*	*vou=vou*	*vo=a*	*meqora"*
3SG.M=POSS	1SG.O=VAL	die=FUT	3SG.M=LIG	child

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

'She saw that he didn't eat and so he became weak, and then "Oh, my son will die on me," she said.'

(57)

Sole	*ko*	*ta*	*ko*	*ol=a*	*inio*	*ko=pa*
that's.why	3SG.F	TOP	3SG.F	go=PRES	SEQ	3SG.F=PROS

ko=a	*ko*	*bakisa,*	*nio*	*mata*
3SG.F=LIG	3SG.F	custom.money	SEQ	again

ko=bori=k=a	*ti*
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES	and.then

ko=beta	*ketain=a*	*nio,*	*ko*
3SG.F=CONT	travel.along.the.coast=PRES	FOC.NONF	3SG.F

ol=a	*ti*	*ko*	*ol=a*	*ti*	*ko*	*ol=a*	*lekasa=ko*
go=PRES	INT	3SG.F	go=PRES	INT	3SG.F	go=PRES	chief=3SG.F

pade	*asi.*
house	at

'So, she went, she went and got custom money, and then again she carried it, and she went on travelling along the coast, she went and went and went to the chief's house.'

(58)

Ko=baro=a	*keru*	*sai,*	*ko*	*ta*	*ko*	*ol=a*
3SG.F=arrive=PRES	TEMP	there	3SG.F	TOP	3SG.F	go=PRES

lekasa kasi inio ko=pa kase=k=a.
chief at and.then 3SG.F=PROS mention=3SG.F.O=PRES
'When she arrived there, she went to the chief, she went and said.'

(59) *"Anga ta mata a=que=va, tu mata paset=o=le,*
1SG TOP again 1SG=come=PRES IRR again ask=NOM=PURP

ako anga=vo meqora ta o=k=a matu
INTJ 1SG=3SG.M child TOP 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=PRES very

zari=a rorot=o sole.
want=PRES marry=NOM that's.why
'"I came again, to ask again because my son wants to marry very much.'

(60) *Soinio o=soloe=l=a tu mata a=ba*
consequently 3SG.M=send=1SG.O=PRES IRR again 1SG=PROS

pase=k=ou, "a=ba paset=ou" k=i=a=la
ask=3SG.F.O=FUT 1SG=PROS ask=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES

inio" k=i=ko=la.
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'Because of that, he sent me so that again I will ask for your daughter, I said, "I would go and ask,"" she said.'

(61) *"Koe uri=avo, uri=avo sole taruan=e"*
INTJ good=NOM good=NOM that's.why wait=IMP.SG

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Oh Okay, Okay, so, wait," he said.'

(62) *Nio so keru ta pui kapiavole ko=kati=v=a*
and.then that TEMP TOP NEG quickly 3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES

ko=a bakisa melai ko=taruan=a.
3SG.F=LIG custom.money but 3SG.F=wait=PRES
'And then, that time, she didn't give the custom money to him quickly, but she waited.'

(63) *"Taruan=e" k=i=o=la vo=a lekasa*
wait=IMP.SG 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG chief

sole ko=taruan=a inio, o odie=k=a
that's.why 3SG.F=wait=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.M fetch=3SG.F.O=PRES

vo=ko visi=a=ma meqora, inio sai
3SG.M=3SG.F younger=LIG=3SG.F child SEQ there

ko=kue=va inio, o=bazue eri
3SG.F=come=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.M=tell s.th.like.this

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Wait," the chief said, and so she waited, he fetched his younger daughter, and there she came, he told her, he said something like this.'

(64) *"Ngo ta komi=vo meqora o=ng=a*
2SG TOP PROX.SG.F=3SG.M child 3SG.M=2SG=VAL

zari=a rae=ng=o sole uri ta
want=PRES marry=2SG=NOM that's.why good TOP

k=i=ngo=vou ngo=lulue=k=ou, nio
3SG.F.O=say=2SG=FUT 2SG=follow=3SG.F.O=FUT SEQ

ngo=rae=v=ou komi=vo meqora melai
2SG=marry=3SG.M.O=FUT PROX.SG.F=3SG.M child but

vo ta pui maba inio, melai siele"
3SG.M TOP NEG person FOC.NONF but dog

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"You, the child of this woman wants to marry you so if you say 'good' you follow her, and then you will marry the son of this woman, but he is not a human, but a dog," he said.'

(65) *"Ki matu uri" k=i=ko=la ko*
INTJ very good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F

visi=a=ma.
younger=LIG=3SG.F
'"Oh, very good," the younger daughter said.'

(66) *"Matu uri, a=lulue=k=o tu*
very good 1SG=follow=3SG.F.O=NRFUT IRR

a=rae=v=o" k=i=ko=la.
1SG=marry=3SG.M.O=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Very good, I will follow her and will marry him," she said.'

(67) *Ti ko=lulue=k=a vo=a siele-meqora=ko*
and.then 3SG.F=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=LIG dog-child=3SG.F

niania ti qo=ta vait=a nioqa.
mother and.then 3DU=SIT return=PRES 3DU
'And, she followed the mother of the dog-child, and the two returned.'

(68) *So keru vo=a meqora siele-meqora ta*
that TEMP 3SG.M=LIG child dog-child TOP

o=ta k=a viq=a nioqa=ko tui nio,
3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL sense=PRES 3DU=3SG.F smell SEQ

o=zolae=k=a *vo=ko* *lezu* *ti*
3SG.M=lift=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F head and.then

o=k=e=a *nioqa* *qo=beta* *kue=va,* *nio*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3DU 3DU=CONT come=PRES SEQ

o=sipuku *o=viri-virie=k=a* *vo=ko* *sipuku*
3SG.M=tail 3SG.M=REDUP-swing=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F tail

sapela *topi.*
floor on.top
'That time, the child, the dog-child, he sensed their smell, and then he lifted his head, and he saw the two coming, and then he wagged his tail on the floor.'

(69) *Siele=ko* *kavani,* *o=ta* *zolei=va* *sole.*
dog=3SG.F way 3SG.M=SIT be.happy=PRES that's.why
'That's the dog's way, he did it because he was happy.'

(70) *So* *ti* *qo=baro=a* *sai,* *ti* *o=k=ai*
that TOP 3DU=arrive=PRES there and.then 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

soka-sokait=a *siele=ko* *kavani* *o=k=ai*
REDUP-jump=PRES dog=3SG.F way 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

loilabao=va *o=k=a* *soka-sokait=a,* *inio*
circle=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL REDUP-jump=PRES SEQ

eri *k=i=ko=la* *ko* *niania=ka=ma.*
s.th.like this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F mother=LIG=3SG.F
'And, the two arrived there, and he jumped around her, the dog's way, he circled around her, he jumped around her, and then the mother said something like this.'

(71) *"Vo* *inio* *anga=ko* *meqora"* *k=i=ko=la.*
3SG.M FOC.NONF 1SG=3SG.F child 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"That's him, my son," said she.'

(72) *"Kio"* *k=i=ko=la* *ko=a* *lekasa=ko* *meqora*
INTJ 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F=LIG chief=3SG.F child

ti *nioqa* *vo=ko* *niania* *ni* *ko* *ta,*
and.then 3DU 3SG.M=3SG.F mother and 3SG.F TOP

qo *inainao=va* *tu* *zio* *kiaro* *kasi*
3DU get.ready=PRES IRR goNOM garden at

saila=sailaot=o=le, *vo=a* *siele-meqora* *ta*
REDUP=get.food=NOM=PURP 3SG.M=LIG dog-child TOP

o=lulue=k=a *nioqa.*
3SG.M=follow=3DU=PRES 3DU
'"Really," said the daughter of the chief, and the two, his mother and she, the two got ready to go to the garden in order to get food, and the child followed the two.'

(73) *O=baro=a* *sai* *ti* *nioqa* *ta* *sailao* *qo=ta*
3SG.M=arrive=PRES there and.then 3DU TOP food 3DU=SIT

koazat=a, *vo* *ta* *juli* *raki* *ale* *o=ta*
get=PRES 3SG.M TOP banana.tree root on 3SG.M=SIT

marong=a.
sleep=PRES
'He arrived there and the two got food, and he slept at the base of a banana tree.'

(74) *Qo=pai=k=a* *saila-sailaot=o* *ti* *ke=ta*
3DU=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES REDUP-get.food=NOM and.then 3PL=SIT

saqor=a.
go.down=PRES
'The two finished getting food and they went down.'

(75) *Ke=ta* *saqor=a* *ti* *qo=kejue=k=a* *ko*
3PL=SIT go.down=PRES and.then 3DU=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F

sailao, *ko=keju=a* *nio* *vo=ko* *ta*
food 3SG.F=cook=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=3SG.F TOP

qo=v=a *risae=k=a,* *ko,* *reko=a=ma*
3DU=3SG.M.O=PRES throw=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F wife=LIG=3SG.F

vo=a *siele=ko* *reko* *ta,* *tuto* *ale*
3SG.M=LIG dog=3SG.F wife TOP coconut.shell.container in

ko *i=k=a* *niania=ka=ma* *melai*
3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES mother=LIG=3SG.F too

tuto *ale* *ko* *i=k=a.*
coconut.shell.container in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES
'They went down and the two cooked food, the food got cooked, and as for his food, they threw it to him, she, the wife, the wife of the dog, she put her food in a coconut shell container, the mother too put her food in a coconut shell container.'

(76) *Ko* *ipuk=a* *ti* *nioqa* *saqe* *ta* *kala*
3SG.F become.night=PRES and.then 3DU couple TOP INDEF.SG.M

rana, *vo=a* *siele* *ni* *ko=a* *sinaqurusu,* *ko* *ta*
side 3SG.M=LIG dog and 3SG.F=LIG girl 3SG.F TOP

kama rana, so inio se=ko saev=o,
INDEF.SG.F side that FOC.NONF 3PL=3SG.F survive=NOM

ko=rane=a mati ke=kiaruz=a ko
3SG.F=be.overnight=PRES again 3PL=do.gardening=PRES 3SG.F

ipuk=a mati ke=vait=a, so inio
become.night=PRES again 3PL=return=PRES that FOC.NONF

se=ko saev=o kiada keru.
3PL=3SG.F survive=NOM all TEMP
'The night came and the couple slept one side, the dog and the girl, the mother slept on another side, that was their life, next day again they did gardening, the night came, and again they returned, that was their life all the time.'

(77) *Omadeu taku inio "niania" k=i=o=la*
one time FOC.NONF Mother 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

vo=a meqora.
3SG.M=LIG child
'One day, "Mother," the son said.'

(78) *"Niania ngo ta ngo inainae=k=ou ko mau*
mother 2SG TOP 2SG get.ready=3SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F taro

ni uza ni ju sakare, sakareju
and fire and water coconut.shell.with water coconut.shell.with.water

ngo=bori=k=ou nio.
2SG=carry=3SG.F.O=FUT FOC.NONF
'"Mother, you, you get ready taros, fire, and water, coconut shells filled with water, you carry coconut shells filled with water.'

(79) *Tu me=ba ta lipi-lipit=ou anime*
IRR 1PL.INC=PROS SIT REDUP-walk=FUT 1PL.INC

uki vanga keta=le" k=i=o=la.
somewhere.there far.away edge=in 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'So that we will go for a walk, we go, there, far away, along the coast", he said.'

(80) *Nio "uri" k=i=ko=la ko niania=ka=ma.*
SEQ good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F mother=LIG=3SG.F
'And then, "good," the mother said.'

(81) *Ti ko inainae=k=a ko mau bita=le*
and.then 3SG.F get.ready=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro string.bag=in

ko i=k=a, raqauza ko=bori=k=a,
3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES ember 3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES

ti, sakareju ko=bori=k=a zouke
and.then coconut.shell.with water 3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES three

sakareju	*ko=bori=k=a.*
coconut.shell.with.water	3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES

‘She got taros ready, she put them in a string bag, she carried an ember, she carried coconut shells filled with water, she carried three coconut shells filled with water.’

(82)

Ti	*ke=beta*	*tali=a=ni*	*nio,*	*ti*
and.then	3PL=CONT	travel=PRES=REL.NONF	FOC.NONF	and.then

ke	*ol=a*	*ti*	*ke*	*ol=a,*	*ti*	*se*	*ta*
3PL	go=PRES	INT	3PL	go=PRES	and.then	3PL	TOP

ke=lulue=k=a,	*ka*	*koi*	*ke=baro=a,*	*“Koi*
3PL=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES	INDEF	here	3PL=arrive=PRES	here

nio”	*k=i=ko=la*	*“Koi*	*pui”*
FOC.NONF	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	here	NEG

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

‘They were travellers, and they went and went, and they followed the coast line, they arrived somewhere, “Here,” she said, “Not here,” he said.’

(83)

Ke=beta	*ol=a*	*kala*	*kele-kele*
3PL=CONT	go=PRES	INDEF.SG.M	REDUP-point

ke=revoe=v=a,	*ke=baro=a*	*sai*	*“Koi*	*nio”*
3PL=go.around=3SG.M.O=PRES	3PL=arrive=PRES	there	here	FOC.NONF

k=i=ko=la	*ko*	*niania=ka=ma*	*ta*	*“Pui”*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	3SG.F	mother=LIG=3SG.F	and.then	NEG

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

‘They went on, they went around one point, they arrived at the other side of the point “Here,” the mother said, “No,” he said.’

(84)

Zouke=a=la	*kele-kele*	*ke=revoe=v=a*
three=LIG=3SG.M	REDUP-point	3PL=go.around=3SG.M=PRES

nio,	*vo=a*	*kele-kele*	*ka*	*rana*	*inio,*
FOC.NONF	3SG.M=LIG	REDUP-point	INDEF	side	FOC.NONF

kala	*buni*	*ta*	*inevoana.*
INDEF.SG.M	buni.tree	TOP	EXT.SG.M

‘They went around the third point, and at one side of the point, there was a buni tree.’

(85)

Nio	*“Koi*	*nio*	*me=nabul=ou*	*ko*	*mau.*
SEQ	here	FOC.NONF	1PL.INC=bake=FUT	3SG.F	taro

‘And then, “Here, we will bake taros.’

(86) *Sole qe ta uza bainae=k=oko nio*
that's.why 2DU TOP fire light=3SG.F.O=IMPdu SEQ

qe=nabul=ou anga ta komi=a buni topi
2DU=bake=FUT 1SG TOP PROX.SG.F=LIG buni.tree on.top

a=qoit=ou tu a=ba k=el=o kama
1SG=climb=FUT IRR 1SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=see=NRFUT INDEF.SG.F

niuniu sai ko alokat=a=ko" k=i=o=la.
fish there 3SG.F pass=PRES=REL.F 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'So, you, light a fire and bake, I will climb to top of this tree and will look at fish which pass," he said.'

(87) *Nioqa=ko keru-keru ale ta "Vo ta niuniu*
3DU=3SG.F REDUP-thought in TOP 3SG.M TOP fish

ikio o=k=ov=ou" k=i=qo=la.
FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES
'In their thinking, "He will get fish," the two said.'

(88) *Sole "Uri" k=i=qo=la nioqa ta*
that's.why good 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES 3DU TOP

qo=bainat=a buni=ko raki kasi, uza qo=bainae
3DU=light=PRES buni.tree=3SG.F root at fire 3DU=light

ti mau qo=nabul=a, so ti vo ta sai
and.then taro 3DU=bake=PRES that TOP 3SG.M TOP there

buni=ko vaila inio o=beta papu=a.
buni.tree=3SG.F end FOC.NONF 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES
'So, they said "Good," the two lit a fire at the root of the buni tree, they lit a fire, and they baked taros, and he was sitting there at the tip of the branch of the buni tree.'

(89) *Melai vo=a buni ta o=koi=vi ti*
but 3SG.M=LIG buni.tree TOP 3SG.M=go.up=RMP and.then

o=ke=ve ti o=ke=ve ti kolo tiania
3SG.M=go=RMP INT 3SG.M=go=RMP and.then ocean middle

nio vo=ko vaila.
FOC.NONF 3SG.M=3SG.F end
'But, the buni tree went up, it went and went, and its end was in the middle of the ocean.'

(90) *Nio sai o=beta papu=a inio o=k=ati*
SEQ there 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

vail=a | *nioqa ta mau qo=beta peit=a.*
look=PRES 3DU TOP taro 3DU=CONT peel=PRES
'And there he sat and he looked at fish, and the two were peeling taros.'

(91) *Qo=pei=k=a ko mau nio vo ta*
3DU=peel=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro SEQ 3SG.M TOP

o=k=e=a ta "Koe sipole ko=ta
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES and.then INTJ soon 3SG.F=SIT

keju=a" k=i=o=la.
cook=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'They peeled taros, and then he saw taros, and "Oh, soon, the taros will be cooked," he said.'

(92) *So ti so ti o=k=e=a* | *ko=a mau*
that INT that and.then 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.F=LIG taro

ta ko=ta keju=a.
TOP 3SG.F=SIT cook=PRES
'It went on, and he saw taros, taros had cooked.'

(93) *Qo=kejue=k=a ko qo=pei=k=a mati*
3DU=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F 3DU=peel=3SG.F.O=PRES again

sai qo=vae=k=a.
there 3DU=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES
'The two cooked the taros, they peeled them, again they left them there.'

(94) *O=k=e=a nio o=ta joupar=a*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=SIT jump.off=PRES

ko=a buni topi azo.
3SG.F=LIG buni.tree on.top ABL
'He saw them cooked and then he jumped off the buni tree.'

(95) *O=joupar=a ti ivere kolo tiania po o*
3SG.M=jump.off=PRES and.then sea ocean middle po 3SG.M

ev=a ti sa-vasi o=sisiliput=a
become=PRES and.then there-around 3SG.M=dive=PRES

o=measisiliput=a sa-vasi.
3SG.M=dive.deep=PRES there-around
'He jumped off, and he hit the sea, the ocean, making the sound *po!*, and he dived around there, he dived deep in the sea, around there.'

(96) *Saikazo o=sisiliput=a, o=sisiliput=a ti*
following.that 3SG.M=dive=PRES 3SG.M=dive=PRES and.then

o=vareri=k=a ko=a siele-tupu ta
3SG.M=go.on.shore=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG dog-skin TOP

sa-vasi o=ngamu=k=a,
there-around 3SG.M=throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES

o=vareri=k=a ta kala matu
3SG.M=go.on.shore=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then INDEF.SG.M very

ile-ile=a=la lasiverusu.
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.M boy
'He dived, he dived, he went on the shore, he threw the dog-skin away around there, he went on the shore, and he became a very beautiful boy.'

(97) *Nio o=purat=a.*
SEQ 3SG.M=come.out=PRES
'He came out.'

(98) *Nio "Koe lula ko=keju=la ko sailao"*
SEQ INTJ already 3SG.F=cook=RCP 3SG.F food

k=i=o=la nio, eri=a lilit=o
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES FOC.NONF as.soon.as=LIG look.back=NOM

ko ev=a ko vo=ko reko, ta
3SG.F become=PRES 3SG.F 3SG.M=3SG.F wife and.then

ko=v=e=a matu ile-ile=a=la lasiverusu.
3SG.F=3SG.M=see=PRES very REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.M boy
'And then, "Oh, the food has already cooked," he said, and as soon as his wife looked back, she saw a very beautiful boy.'

(99) *Ko=rere=a inio ko=pa zuzue=v=a,*
3SG.F=run=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=PROS hug=3SG.M.O=PRES

ko=v=ai kiavi=a, ko=lume=v=a,
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL be.pleased=PRES 3SG.F=kiss=3SG.M.O=PRES

saitainio ko=v=ati kail=a.
afterwards 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL go.up=PRES
'She ran, and then she went and hugged him, she was pleased with him, she kissed him, and afterwards she took him up.'

(100) *Nio ko=a niania=ka=ma ko=v=e=a*
SEQ 3SG.F=LIG mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES

inio ko=ta matu zolei=va.
SEQ 3SG.F=SIT very be.happy=PRES
'And then, the mother saw him and she became very happy.'

(101) *Ko=a siele-tupu ta o=pa ngamu=k=e*
3SG.F=LIG dog-skin TOP 3SG.M=PROS throw.away=3SG.F.O=RMP

sa-vasi, melai kala matu ile-ile=a=la
there-around but INDEF.SG.M very REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.M

	lasiverusu	*inio,*	*o=ta*	*kue=va.*
	boy	FOC.NONF	3SG.M=SIT	come=PRES

'The dog skin, he threw away around there, and instead a very beautiful boy came.'

(102)	*So*	*ti*	*sai*	*nio*	*ke=beta*	*ev=a*	*se=a*
	that	TOP	there	FOC.NONF	3PL=CONT	stay=PRES	3PL=LIG

zouke	*nioqa=ko*	*peuru*	*ale.*
three	3DU=3SG.F	village	in

'Then, the three kept staying there in their village.'

(103)	*Sai*	*ke=beta*	*ev=a*	*so*	*ti*	*so*	*omadeu*	*taku*
	there	3PL=CONT	stay=PRES	that	INT	that	one	time

inio,	*eri*	*k=i=ko=la*	*ko*
FOF.NONF	s.th.like.this	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	3SG.F

meqora=ka=ma	*lekasa=ko*	*meqora.*
child=LIG=3SG.F	chief=3SG.F	child

'There, they stayed, it went on like that, and one day, she said something like this, the daughter, the chief's daughter.'

(104)	*"Aniqe*	*ta*	*lea*	*ta*	*qe=pa*	*barol=o*
	1DU.INC	TOP	tomorrow	TOP	1DU.INC=PROS	arrive=NRFUT

anga=ko	*mama*	*ni*	*niania*	*kasi*	*saita.*
1SG=3SG.F	father	and	mother	at	first

'"We, tomorrow, we will go and reach my father and mother, first.'

(105)	*Saitainio*	*qe=vait=ou"*	*k=i=ko=la.*
	Afterwards	1DU.INC=return=FUT	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

'Afterwards, we will return," she said.'

(106)	*"Sole*	*ngo=bazue=k=ou*	*ngo=niania"*
	that's.why	2SG=tell=3SG.F.O=FUT	2SG=mother

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

'"So, you will tell your mother," she said.'

(107)	*Nio*	*ko=a*	*ipu*	*inio*	*o=bazue=k=a*
	and.then	3SG.F=LIG	night	FOC.NONF	3SG.M=tell=3SG.F.O=PRES

vo=ko	*niania,*	*"Niania-o"*	*k=i=o=la.*
3SG.M=3SG.F	mother	Mother-VOC	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

'And then, that night, he told his mother, "Mother," he said.'

(108)	*"Eqe*	*ta*	*lea*	*ta*	*qe=pa*	*opio=vou*
	1DU.EXC	TOP	tomorrow	TOP	1DU.EXC=PROS	visit=FUT

komi *ko=mama* *ni* *niania* *kidi* *qe=pa*
PROX.SG.F 3SG.F=father and mother COLL.DU 1DU.EXC=PROS

opie=k=ou *sole,* *qe=zio=vou* *ti*
visit=3SG.F.O=FUT that's.why 1DU.EXC=go=FUT and.then

qe=beta *vait=ou"*
1DU.EXC=CONT return=FUT

k=i=o=la, *ta* *"Koe* *pui"*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES and.then INTJ NEG

k=i=ko=la *ko* *niania=ka=ma* *pui*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F mother=LIG=3SG.F NEG

ko=zarie=k=a.
3SG.F=want=3SG.F.O=PRES
'"We, tomorrow, we will go and visit her father and mother, we will go and visit them, so we will go and come back," he said, and then "No," she said, the mother, she didn't want them to go.'

(109) *"Melai* *uri* *"pui* *qe=pa* *raneo=vo*
but good NEG 1DU.EXC=PROS be.overnight=FUT

qe=zio *ti* *qe=beta* *vait=o"*
1DU.EXC=goNRFUT and.then 2DU.EXC=CONT return=NRFUT

nio *k=i=ko=la"* *k=i=o=la*
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

vo *meqora.*
3SG.M child
'"But it's OK, my wife said, "we would not stay overnight, we would go and return"", the son said.'

(110) *"Koe* *qe=matu* *balao=vou* *sole* *uri* *qe=k=a*
INTJ 2DU=very be.careful=FUT that's.why good 2DU=3SG.F.O=VAL

zari=a *sole* *qe=zio=vou,* *melai* *qe=matu*
want=PRES that's.why 2DU=go=FUT but 2DU=very

balao=vou *pui* *qe=raneo=vou* *sai,* *ti,* *keve*
be.careful=FUT NEG 2DU=be.overnight=FUT there and.then way

ma *keve* *melai* *pui* *qe* *utu* *rurukao=vou"*
or way too NEG 2DU idle relax=FUT

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Oh, you will be very careful, and so OK you want to do so you will go, but you will be very careful, you will not stay overnight, and on the way too, you will not relax unthinkingly," she said.'

(111)

"Uri"	*k=i=qo=la,*	*ko=rane=a,*
good	3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES	3SG.F=be.overnight=PRES

ti	*qo=beta*	*ol=a*	*inio*	*qo*	*ol=a*	*lekasa=vo*
and.then	3DU=CONT	go=PRES	and.then	3DU	go=PRES	chief=3SG.M

matu-peuru	*kale*	*pade*	*kasi*	*qo*	*ol=a,*	*ko=a*
big-village	in	house	at	3DU	go=PRES	3SG.F=LIG

reko=ko	*mama*	*ni*	*niania*	*kasi.*
wife=3SG.F	father	and	mother	at

'"Good," he said, and next day, they went and they went to the chief's big village, they went to the father and mother of the wife.'

(112)

Nio	*ko=k=e=a*	*ko*	*kaka=ka=ma,*
SEQ	3SG.F=3DU.O=see=PRES	3SG.F	older=LIG=3SG.F

ko=v=e=a	*ko*	*kaka=ka=ma,*	*ko,*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES	3SG.F	older=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.F

ko=ta	*v=a*	*lupao=vi=ma,*	*ti*	*ko=ta*
3SG.F=POSS	3SG.M.O=VAL	refuse=RMP=REL.F	and.then	3SG.F=SIT

kora-korai=va.
REDUP-be.angry=PRES

'And then, the elder daughter saw the two, she saw him, the elder daughter, the one who refused him, and she got angry.'

(113)

"Koe	*visi=a=mu*	*ta,*	*pui*	*kapiavole*
INTJ	younger.sibling=LIG=3PL	TOP	NEG	quickly

ke=rorot=a=ni	*nio*	*kaka=ka=mu*
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF	FOC.NONF	older.sibling=LIG=3PL

nio	*kuleto*	*ke=rorot=a=ni"*
FOC.NONF	first	3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

'"Younger ones, they are not ones who quickly marry, it is the older ones who marry first," she said.'

(114)

Nio	*"Nei*	*ta*	*ngo=ta*	*v=a*
SEQ	PROX.SG.M	TOP	2SG=SIT	3SG.M.O=VAL

lupao=vi=ni,	*"a=da*	*v=a*	*lupao=va*	*vo*
refuse=RMP=REL.NONF	1SG=POSS	3SG.M=VAL	refuse=PRES	3SG.M

siele"	*v=a*	*k=i=ngo=ve=ni*	*nio,*
dog	3SG.M=VAL	3SG.F.O=say=2SG=RMP=REL.NONF	FOC.NONF

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'She said, "This is the one you refused, you said, 'I refuse a dog,' the one you talked about him."'

(115) *So ti "Uri sole qe=raneo=vou koi"*
that TOP good that's.why 2DU=be.overnight=FUT here

k=i=ko=la ko kaka=ka=ma.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F
'And then, "Good, so you will stay overnight here," the elder daughter said.'

(116) *Melai "Pui pui qe=pa raneo=vou "pui*
but NEG NEG 1DU.EXC=PROS be.overnight=FUT NEG

qe=raneo=vou" k=i=ko=lala sole
2DU=be.overnight=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RCP that's.why

nei=ko niania" k=i=ko=lake.
PROX.SG.M=3SG.F mother 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=HIST
'But, "No, no, we are not going to stay overnight, because his mother said, 'no you will not stay overnight,'" she said.'

(117) *Raisi-raisi ko ev=a ti qo=ta*
REDUP-evening 3SG.F become=PRES and.then 3DU=SIT

vait=a.
return=PRES
'The evening came, and the two returned.'

(118) *Qo=ta vait=a ti qo=ta matu*
3DU=SIT return=PRES and.then 3DU=SIT very

tali-talit=a qo=ta matu tali-talit=a.
REDUP-travel=PRES 3DU=SIT very REDUP-travel=PRES
'The two returned, and they walked hard, they walked hard.'

(119) *Ti kapiavole qo=baro=a.*
and.then quickly 3DU=arrive=PRES
'They reached home quickly.'

(120) *Melai sai qo=ke=ve keru ta, ko=ko mama*
but there 3DU=go=RMP TEMP TOP 3SG.F=3SG.F father

ni niania kasi qo=ke=ve keru ta, ko=a
and mother at 3DU=go=RMP TEMP TOP 3SG.F=LIG

reko=ko niania ta ko=bazue=k=e, tu
wife=3SG.F mother TOP 3SG.F=tell=3SG.F.O=RMP IRR

"Kama taku qe=kil=ou nio qe=pa
INDEF.SG.F time 2DU=come=FUT SEQ 2DU=PROS

tauve=l=ou	*papat=o=ko*	*mabasisu".*
help=1SG.O=FUT	plant=NOM=3SG.F	yam

'But, when they went there, when they went to her father and mother, the mother of the wife said to the daughter, "Sometime, you will come and help me to plant yams."'

(121)

Matu	*kubo*	*ko=ko*	*mabasisu*	*ko=k=a*	*zari=a*
very	many	3SG.F=3SG.F	yam	3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES

papat=o	*sole.*
plant=NOM	that's.why

'Because she wanted to plant lots of yams.'

(122)

"Qe=kil=ou	*nio*	*qe=tauve=l=ou"*
2DU=come=FUT	and.then	2DU=help=1SG.O=FUT

k=i=ko=ve	*ko=ko*	*meqora*	*kasi.*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP	3SG.F=3SG.F	child	at

'"You will come and help me," she said to her daughter.'

(123)

Nio	*komi*	*kio*	*ko=bazue=v=a,*	*tu*	*"Kama*
SEQ	PROX.SG.F	FOC.F	3SG.F=tell=3SG.M.O=PRES	IRR	INDEF.SG.F

taku	*inio*	*qe=tauve=l=ou,*	*jokurat=o*	*mabasisu=ko*
time	FOC.NONF	2DU=help=1SG=FUT	dig=NOM	yam=3SG.F

uma-uma,	*kubo*	*mabasisu*	*pui*	*ko=papa=k=a*
REDUP-bed	many	yam	NEG	3SG.F=plant=3SG.F.O=PRES

sole"	*k=i=ko=la.*
that's.why	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

'And, she told him this, she said "The mother told us to help her sometime digging beds for yams, because she hasn't planted lots of yams."'

(124)

Ti	*ko=bazue=v=a*	*ta*	*"Uri"*
and.then	3SG.F=tell=3SG.M.O=PRES	TOP	good

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

'And when she told him, he said, "Good."'

(125)

"Uri	*qe=zio=vou*	*qe=pa*	*tauve=k=ou"*
good	1DU.INC=go=FUT	1DU.INC=PROS	help=3SG.F.O=FUT

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

'"Good, we will go, we will go and help her," he said.'

(126)

Nio	*ko=baro=a*	*ko=a*	*taku*	*ti*	*qo=zio*
SEQ	3SG.F=arrive=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	time	and.then	3DU=goNRFUT

qo=pa tauve=k=o ko=a reko=ko niania,
3DU=PROS help=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.F=LIG wife=3SG.F mother

tu mabasisu ko=papat=o k=i=qo=la keru,
IRR yam 3SG.F=plant=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES TEMP

ta, vo=a siele-meqora=ko reko ta, lula
TOP 3SG.M=LIG dog-child=3SG.F wife TOP already

molu=a=ma.
be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F
'And the time arrived and when they said that they would go and help the mother so that she could plant yams, the wife of the dog-child was already pregnant.'

(127) *Melai o=ta ol=a o=bazue=k=a*
but 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES 3SG.M=tell=3SG.F.O=PRES

vo=ko niania o=bazue "Eqe ta qe=ta
3SG.M=3SG.F mother 3SG.M=tell 1DU.EXC TOP 1DU.EXC=SIT

zio=vou, komi=ko niania=ko mabasisu
go=FUT PROX.SG.F=3SG.F mother=3SG.F yam

qe=pa tauve=k=o papat=o sole
1DU.EXC=PROS help=3SG.F.O=NRFUT plant=NOM that's.why

qe=ta zio=vou matu-peuru ale"
1DU.EXC=SIT go=FUT big-village in

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'But, he went, he told his mother, he told her, "We will go, we will go and help her mother to plant her yams, so, we will go to the big village," he said.'

(128) *Ta "Koe pui qe=zio=vou" k=i=ko=la ko*
and.then INTJ NEG 2DU=go=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F

niania=ka=ma, vo=a siele-meqora=ko niania.
mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=LIG dog-child=3SG.F mother
'"No, you will not go," said the mother, the mother of the dog-child.'

(129) *Melai "Uri niania pui qe=pa ubait=ou"*
but good Mother NEG 1DU.EXC=PROS be.long=FUT

k=i=o=la, k=i=o=la vo meqora.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M child
'But, "Good, Mother, we will not be long," said he, the son said.'

(130) *"Pui qe=pa ubait=o=a=qela nio.*
NEG 2DU=PROS be.long=FUT=LIG=2DU FOC.NONF
'"You are not going to be long.'

(131) *Sole maba pui qe=raneo=vou pui qe=rurukao=vou*
that's.why truly NEG 2DU=be.overnight=FUT NEG 2DU=relax=FUT

maba madu kasi" k=i=ko=la.
person COLL.PL at 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'So, truly, you will not stay overnight, you will not relax with people," she said.'

(132) *Nio ko=baro=a ko=a taku ti nioqa ta*
SEQ 3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F=LIG time and.then 3DU TOP

qo=ta ol=a.
3DU=SIT go=PRES
'And, when the time arrived, the two went.'

(133) *Qo ol=a ti qo ol=a ti qo=pa*
3DU go=PRES INT 3DU go=PRES and.then 3DU=PROS

odie=k=a lekasa=ko reko ti ke=ta
fetch=3SG.F.O=PRES chief=3SG.F wife and.then 3PL=SIT

kail=a kiaro kasi ti ke=pa papat=a.
go.up=PRES garden at and.then 3PL=PROS plant=PRES
'They went and went, and they went and fetched the chief's wife, and they went up to the garden, and they planted.'

(134) *Ke=papat=a so ti so ti nganiu*
3PL=plant=PRES that INT that and.then sun

okate ko=ta ev=a inio ju ko=kavel=a
high 3SG.F=SIT become=PRES SEQ water 3SG.F=want.food=PRES

ko=a siele-meqora=ko reko molu=a=ma sole
3SG.F=LIG dog-child=3SG.F wife be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F that's.why

ju ko=kavel=a.
water 3SG.F=want.food=PRES
'They planted, they kept planting, and the sun became high, and then she wanted water, the wife of the dog-child, because she was pregnant, she wanted water.'

(135) *"Niania ju a=q=a zari=a tu kala*
Mother water 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES IRR INDEF.SG.M

o=pa l=a tobet=o" k=i=ko=la.
3SG.M=PROS 1SG.O=VAL get.water=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Mother, I want water, so someone should go and get water for me," she said.

(136) *Nio "Kaka=ka=ma.*
SEQ older=LIG=3SG.F
'Then, "Elder daughter.'

(137) *Ol=a ngo=visi pa k=a tobet=e*
go=PRES 2SG=younger.sibling PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL get.water=IMP.SG

ko ju" k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F water 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'Go, go and get water for your younger sister," she said.'

(138) *"Ki ko=ngavi ko=zio" k=i=ko=la ko*
INTJ 3SG.F=self 3SG.F=goNRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F

kaka=ka=ma.
older=LIG=3SG.F
'"No, she herself should go," the elder daughter said.'

(139) *"Koe pui so k=a k=i=o ko=ta*
INTJ NEG that 3SG.F.O=VAL 3SG.F.O=say=NRFUT 3SG.F=SIT

molu=a=ma ikio tu ngo=ba k=a
be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F FOC.F IRR 2SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL

tobet=e" k=i=ko=la.
get.water=IMP.SG 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Don't say that, she is pregnant so you go and get water for her," she said.'

(140) *"Pui vanga inio sai tu vae=k=a tu*
NEG far.away FOC.NONF there IRR leave=3SG.F.O=PRES IRR

ko=zio ko=ngavi" k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F=goNRFUT 3SG.F=self 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"It's not far away, leave it, she will go herself," she said.'

(141) *Ti, ko=ta lupao=va ko kaka=ka=ma sole,*
and.then 3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES 3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F that's.why

ko=ngavi nio ko=ta ol=a.
3SG.F=self FOC.NONF 3SG.F=SIT go=PRES
'Because the elder daughter refused, she went herself.'

(142) *Ko=ngavi ko=ta ol=a ti so ti so*
3SG.F=self 3SG.F=SIT go=PRES and.then that INT that

ti ko=baro=a sai ju kasi, nio
and.then 3SG.F=arrive=PRES there water at SEQ

ko=k=o=a ko siakona tu
3SG.F=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3SG.F rope IRR

"a=dobe=k=o" k=i=ko=la inio.
1SG=get.water=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES FOC.NONF
'She herself went, she went and went, and she arrived there at the water, and then she got a rope, and "I will get water," she said.'

(143) *Eri=a loqun=o ko=be ev=a ko=ko*
as.soon.as=LIG bend=NOM 3SG.F=IMPL become=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F

kaka ta ko=rere=a ti ko=rere=a
elder.sibling and.then 3SG.F=run=PRES INT 3SG.F=run=PRES

ti ko=pa baro=a sai ju=ko keta-keta.
and.then 3SG.F=PROS arrive=PRES there water=3SG.F REDUP-edge
'As soon as the younger sister bent, her elder sister ran and ran, and she arrived there at the edge of the water.'

(144) *Ti "ju a=dobe=k=o"*
and.then water 1SG=get.water=3SG.F.O=NRFUT

k=i=ko=la keru inio ko
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES TEMP FOC.NONF 3SG.F

ibae=k=e ti ko=ta jour=e sa-vasi.
push=3SG.F.O=RMP and.then 3SG.F=SIT fall=RMP there-around
'And when she said, "I will get water," she pushed her and she fell down somewhere around there.'

(145) *Ko=ta jour=a sa-vasi ti ko=ta*
3SG.F=SIT fall=PRES there-around and.then 3SG.F=SIT

vou=vi nio ko=kiada inio ko=vait=a ko
die=RMP SEQ 3SG.F=all FOC.NONF 3SG.F=return=PRES 3SG.F

kaka=ka=ma ko=kiada inio ko=vait=a.
older=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=all FOC.NONF 3SG.F=return=PRES
'She fell down somewhere around there, and she died, and then the elder sister returned by herself, she returned by herself.'

(146) *Ko=vait=a inio "Lai ta ko anga=ko reko*
3SG.F=return=PRES SEQ where TOP 3SG.F 1SG=3SG.F wife

k=i=o=la?" vo.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M
'She returned and then "Where is she, my wife?" he asked.'

(147) *Ti "ju kale ikoana ko=ta siusiut=a*
and.then water in EXTSG.F 3SG.F=SIT swim=PRES

mainio ko=pa kil=ou" k=i=ko=la.
later 3SG.F=PROS come=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"She is in the water, she is swimming, later she will come," she said.

(148) *"Kio" k=i=o=la sainio ke=ta iruriuput=a*
INTJ 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES therefore 3PL=SIT work=PRES

so ti so raisi-raisi ko=ta baro=a.
that INT that REDUP-evening 3SG.F=SIT arrive=PRES
'"Okay," he said, and they worked, they worked and worked, and the evening arrived.'

(149) *Melai pui ko=vait=a.*
but NEG 3SG.F=return=PRES
'But she didn't return.'

(150) *"Lai ta ko?* | *noi nio pui kapiavole*
where TOP 3SG.F how FOC.NONF NEG quickly

ko=kue=va?" k=i=o=la.
3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Where is she? How come she hasn't come back quickly?" he questioned.'

(151) *"Ki esa inio ko=beta siusiut=a inio,*
INTJ maybe FOC.NONF 3SG.F=CONT swim=PRES FOC.NONF

soinio pui ko=kue=va" k=i=ko=la.
accordingly NEG 3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Maybe, she is still swimming, and so, she hasn't come," she said.'

(152) *Melai pui o epez=a keru-kerue=k=o*
but NEG 3SG.M stop=PRES REDUP-think=3SG.F.O=NOM

sole o=ta ol=a, o ol=a ti o
that's.why 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES 3SG.M go=PRES INT 3SG.M

ol=a ti o=lulue=k=a ko keve ti
go=PRES and.then 3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F path and.then

o ol=a ti o ol=a ti o ol=a
3SG.M go=PRES INT 3SG.M go=PRES INT 3SG.M go=PRES

ti o=baro=a sai ko=a soqili kasi nio
and.then 3SG.M=arrive=PRES there 3SG.F=LIG well at SEQ

o=pa soip=a ta ko=beta teku=a
3SG.M=PROS look.into=PRES and.then 3SG.F=CONT lie=PRES

sa-vasi lula ko=ta vou=vi.
there-around already 3SG.F=SIT die=RMP
'But, he didn't stop thinking about her and so he went, he went and went, and he followed the path, and he went and went and went and he arrived there, at the well, and then, he went and looked into the well, and he found that she was lying down somewhere around there, she had already died.'

(153) *Nio "aki a=sinaqu" k=i=o=la*
SEQ INTJ 1SG=unmarried.woman 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

ti *o=ngavi* *melai* *o=ta* *jour=a* *sa-vasi*
and.then 3SG.M=self too 3SG.M=SIT fall=PRES there-around

ti *o=ta* *vou=vi* *ti* *nioqa* *saqe* *ta*
and.then 3SG.M=SIT die=RMP and.then 3DU couple TOP

ko=a *soqili* *ale* *qo=ta* *vou=vi.*
3SG.F=LIG well in 3DU=SIT die=RMP
'"Oh, my girl," he said, and he himself too, he jumped down around there, and he died, and the couple died in the well.'

(154) *Siele-meqora=ko* *niania* *ta* *sai* *ko=ta*
dog-child=3SG.F mother TOP there 3SG.F=SIT

ev=e *vo=a* *lekasa=ko* *meqora-saidi* *se* *ta*
stay=RMP 3SG.M=LIG chief=3SG.F child-family 3PL TOP

mata *sai* *ke=ta* *ev=e.*
again there 3PL=SIT stay=RMP
'The mother of the dog-child, she stayed there, and the chief's family, they stayed there as before.'

(155) *Ti* *kio* *ti* *ko* *paka.*
and.then sayNOM TOP 3SG.F end
'And, that is the end.'

Ngali Nut Collection (Text 2)

(1) *Komi* *kio* *ko=a* *taku* *qusini* *o=k=a*
PROX.SG.F FOC.F 3SG.F=LIG time rope 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

ere=k=a=ko *vo=a* *qole* *Qidiou* *Tolapitu.*
make=3SG.F.O=PRES=REL.F 3SG.M=LIG old Qidiou Tolapitu
'This is about the time when Qidiou Tolapitu made a rope.'

(2) *"Noi* *ta* *qe=kail=a* *varu-varut=o=le,* *ni*
how TOP 1DU.INC=go.up=PRES REDUP-get.varu=NOM=PURP and

ipupu."
ipupu
'"How about going up to get bark of *varu* trees, and *ipupu* trees?" [he said.]'

(3) *Vo* *ta* *qusini=ko* *varu* *o=k=o=a* | *anga* *ta*
3SG.M TOP rope=3SG.F varu 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 1SG TOP

bita=ko *ipupu* *a=q=o=a.*
string.bag=3SG.F ipupu 1SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
'He got the bark of *varu* trees to make a rope, and I got the bark of *ipupu* trees to make a string bag.'

(4) *Qe=saqor=a inio, vo ta ju kale*
1DU.EXC=go.down=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.M TOP water in

o=vae=k=a, ko=a varu | *anga ta*
3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG varu 1SG TOP

nganiu ale a=vae=k=a.
sun in 1SG=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES
'We went down and he left the bark of the *varu* trees in water, and I left the bark of the *ipupu* trees in the sun.'

(5) *Nio ko=ta tabar=a nio anga ta*
SEQ 3SG.F=SIT dry=PRES SEQ 1SG TOP

a=qailoe=k=a ko=a ipupu, nio
1SG=take.out=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG ipupu SEQ

a=lavae=k=a.
1SG=separate=3SG.F.O=PRES
'And when the bark of the *ipupu* trees had dried, I took it out of the sun, and I separated it into strips.'

(6) *Vo ta sike ko=teku=a ko=a varu nio*
3SG.F TOP five 3SG.F=lie=PRES 3SG.F=LIG varu SEQ

o=pa kailoe=k=a.
3SG.M=PROS take.out=3SG.F.O=PRES
'As for him, after leaving the bark of the *varu* trees in water for five days, he went and took it out of water.'

(7) *Sainio o=lavae=k=a.*
then 3SG.M=separate=3SG.F.O=PRES
'Then, he separated it.'

(8) *Ko tupu o=ta k=a ngamu=k=a,*
3SG.F skin 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES

ko=a varu.
3SG.F=LIG *varu*
'He threw away the outer skin of the *varu* bark.'

(9) *sainio o=k=ati kue=va pade kasi nio, ore*
then 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL come=PRES house at SEQ tree

o=k=a pake=k=a nio
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL hang=3SG.F.O=PRES SEQ

o=ngadari=k=a, nganiu ale.
3SG.M=dry.in.sun=3SG.F.O=PRES sun in
'Then, he brought the inner skin of the *varu* bark to the house, he hung it between trees, and he dried it in the sun.'

(10) *Ko=ta tabar=a ko=a varu inio vo ta*
3SG.F=SIT dry=PRES 3SG.F=LIG *varu* and.then 3SG.M TOP

o=lavat=a.
3SG.M=separate=PRES
'When the inner skin of the *varu* bark had dried, he separated it into strings.'

(11) *Anga melai a=lavat=a ko ipupu, bita=ko.*
1SG too 1SG=separate=PRES 3SG.F *ipupu* string.bag=3SG.F
'Me, too, I separated the bark of *ipupu* trees, to make a string bag.'

(12) *O=pai=k=a lavat=o vo* | *anga ta*
3SG.M=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES separate=NOM 3SG.M 1SG TOP

a=bai=k=a nio vo ta o=qusiniput=a.
1SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES SEQ 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=make.rope=PRES
'He finished separating it, and I finished separating it and he made a rope.'

(13) *O erekat=a ko qusini.*
3SG.M make=PRES 3SG.F rope
'He did rope making.'

(14) *Anga ta a=vuaroput=a ko bita.*
1SG TOP 1SG=knit=PRES 3SG.F string.bag
'I did string bag knitting.'

(15) *O erekat=a anga melai a erekat=a*
3SG.M make=PRES 1SG too 1SG make=PRES

qe=pai=k=a ko=a qusini ni bita,
1DU.EXC=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG rope and string.bag

nio ko=baro=a nene=ko koit=o=ko taku.
SEQ 3SG.F=arrive=PRES *ngali*.nut=3SG.F climb=NOM=3SG.F time
'He did rope making, me too, I did string bag knitting, we finished making the rope and string bag, and the time to climb *ngali* nut trees arrived.'

(16) *Nio qe=ta kail=a koit=o=le, ko nene.*
SEQ 1DU.EXC=SIT go.up=PRES climb=NOM=PURP 3SG.F *ngali*.nut
'And we went up there in order to climb *ngali* nut trees.'

(17) *Vo inio o=koit=a.*
3SG.M FOC.NONF 3SG.M=climb=PRES
'It was he who climbed.'

(18) *Anga ta koqu a ere=k=a nene=ko.*
1SG TOP enclosure 1SG make=3SG.F.O=PRES *ngali*.nut=3SG.F
'As for me, I made an enclosure, for *ngali* nuts.'

(19) *Sainio vo ta o=koit=a ti o=koit=a*
then 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=climb=PRES INT 3SG.M=climb=PRES

pui o=pesi=a, o=koit=a, o=kajor=a
NEG 3SG.M=speak=PRES 3SG.M=climb=PRES 3SG.M=harvest=PRES

ti, anga ta sai nio a=daruan=a.
and.then 1SG TOP there FOC.NONF 1SG=wait=PRES
'Then he climbed and climbed, he didn't speak, he climbed, he harvested *ngali* nuts, and, as for me, I waited there.'

(20) *Vo ta ko=a tini-tini ta koi nio*
3SG.M TOP 3SG.F=LIG REDUP-bag TOP here FOC.NONF

o=qona-qona=le.
3SG.M=REDUP-neck=in
'As for him, the bag is here, hanging from his neck.'

(21) *Duruo ta o=seri=k=a ko=ko kata*
big.string.bag TOP 3SG.M=hang=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F branch

topi.
top
'As for a big string bag, he hung it on the branch of the tree.'

(22) *Nio ko=a tini-tini ta ko=k=ai*
SEQ 3SG.F=LIG REDUP-bag TOP 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL

sukat=a ko nene nio mati o=pa
be.filled=PRES 3SG.F *ngali*.nut SEQ again 3SG.M=PROS

raibi=k=a ko=a duruo kale.
pour=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG big.string.bag in
'And, when the bag was filled with *ngali* nuts, he poured them into the big string bag as always.'

(23) *Ko=sukat=a keru ko=a duruo so keru*
3SG.F=be.filled=PRES TEMP 3SG.F=LIG big.string.bag that TEMP

nio o=pesio=vou.
FOC.NONF 3SG.M=speak=FUT
'When it was filled, then, he would speak.'

(24) *Eri k=i=o=la* | *"o"*
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES o

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘He said something like this, he said “o.”’

(25) *Ti “o=sole=k=ou” nio*
and.then 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=FUT FOC.NONF

k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
‘And I said “You send it down.”’

(26) *“O=solot=ou” nio k=i=a=la.*
3SG.M=send=FUT FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
‘I said “You send it down.”’

(27) *O=solot=a “o” k=i=o=la.*
3SG.M=send=PRES o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘He sent it down, and “o,” he said.’

(28) *“Anga ta koi tu sai soloe=k=ou”*
1SG TOP here IRR there send=3SG.F=FUT

k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
‘“I am here, send it down here,” I said.’

(29) *“O” k=i=o=la.*
o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘“O,” he said.’

(30) *“Uri lai nio koi, lai nio a=ba*
good where FOC.NONF place where FOC.NONF 1SG=PROS

tare=k=ou” k=i=a=la.
wait=3SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
‘“Good, where is the place to wait, where shall I go and wait for it?” I said.’

(31) *“Uki nio ngo=ba tare=k=ou melai*
somewhere.there FOC.NONF 2SG=PROS wait=3SG.F.O=FUT but

ko=ng=ai pia kale sole ko=ko
3SG.F=2SG.O=VAL fall in that’s.why 3SG.F=3SG.F

vima ta pui ngo el=ou ko duruo |
underneath TOP NEG 2SG stay=FUT 3SG.F big.string.bag

ko=ng=ai raibizi=o kale sole”
3SG.F=2SG.O=VAL pour.itself=NOM in that’s.why

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"There, you will go and wait for it but because it is not good if it falls on you, don't stay under the big string bag, lest the ngali nuts pour down on to you," he said.'

(32) *Sai nio o=soloe=k=a ti*
there FOC.NONF 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=PRES INT

o=soloe=k=a ti "Mainio anga
3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then later 1SG

a=qil=ou saita" k=i=a=la.
1SG=come=FUT first 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'There, he sent it down, he sent it down, and "Wait, I will come first," I said.'

(33) *"Miduku kale ko=papu=vou ti anga ta pui*
ground in 3SG.F=sit=FUT TOP 1SG TOP NEG

a=ba roveo=vou zolat=o, melai ko=a okale
1SG=PROS can=FUT lift=NOM but 3SG.F=LIG in.the.air

nio anga ta koi lezu ale a i=k=a
FOC.NONF 1SG TOP here head in 1SG put=3SG.F.O=PRES

ko=a duruo matu=ma duruo."
3SG.F=LIG big.string.bag bit=3SG.F big.string.bag
'"If it sits on the ground, I won't be able to lift it, but if it stays in the air, I can put the big string bag, here on my head, a very big string bag."'

(34) *Sainio eri=a tatae=k=o a ev=a*
then as.soon.as=LIG pull=3SG.F.O=NOM 1SG become=PRES

ko=ko siakona ako ko=a qusini
3SG.F=3SG.F string INTJ 3SG.F=LIG rope

nio a=biju=k=a.
SEQ 1SG=take.off=3SG.F.O=PRES
'And as soon as I pulled the string, no the rope, I took the big string bag off the rope.'

(35) *So keru nio a=q=ati ol=a koqu*
that TEMP FOC.NONF 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL go=PRES enclosure

ale, koqu kasi nio a=raibi=k=a.
in enclosure at SEQ 1SG=pour=3SG.F.O=PRES
'That time, I took it to the enclosure, and I poured the *ngali* nuts into it.'

(36) *Nio "Titie ko bita" k=i=o=la.*
SEQ tie 3SG.F string.bag 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'And, "Tie the string bag," he said.'

(37) *Nio a=ditie=k=a ko bita nio "Koivie"*
SEQ 1SG=tie=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F string.bag SEQ take.up

k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'And I tied the string bag, and "Take it up," I said.'

(38) *Nio o=koivie=k=a.*
SEQ 3SG.M=take.up=3SG.F.O=PRES
'And he took it up.'

(39) *Nio mata o=koit=a vo* | *mata kama*
SEQ again 3SG.M=climb=PRES 3SG.M again INDEF.SG.F

o=sukati=k=a ko duruo.
3SG.M=fill=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F big.string.bag
'And again, he climbed, again he filled a string bag.'

(40) *Mata "o" k=i=o=la.*
again o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'Again "o," he said.'

(41) *"Ou o=solot=ou" nio k=i=a=la.*
Oh 3SG.M=send=FUT FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'"Oh, he will send it down," I said.'

(42) *Ti mata "o-o-o-o ko ko ko ko"*
and.then again o-o-o-o ko ko ko ko'

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'Again, "o-o-o-o, ko ko ko ko ko," he said.'

(43) *Nio mata a ol=a nio a=ba*
SEQ again 1SG go=PRES SEQ 1SG=PROS

piju=k=a.
take.off=3SG.F.O=PRES
'And then again, I went and took the bag off the rope.'

(44) *So ti so ti so ti o=paizie=k=a ko*
that INT that INT that and.then 3SG.M=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F

nene.
ngali.nut
'It went on and on and on and on like that, and he finished one *ngali* nut tree.'

(45) *O=koi=k=a.*
3SG.M=climb=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He climbed it.'

(46) *Toni bita kio o=soloe=k=a, ti*
ten string.bag FOC.F 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then

o=ta saqor=a inio.
3SG.M=SIT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF
'He sent down ten string bags, and he came down.'

(47) *O=ta saqor=a inio ko=a nene topi*
3SG.M=SIT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.F=LIG *ngali*.nut top

azo nio vo ta eri k=i=o=la.
from SEQ 3SG.M TOP s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'He came down from the top of the *ngali* nut tree, and then he said something like this.'

(48) *"O-o-o-o-o" k=i=o=la.*
o-o-o-o-o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"O-o-o-o," he said.'

(49) *"O-o-o-o-o" k=i=o=la.*
o-o-o-o-o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"O-o-o-o-o," he said.'

(50) *"Ngo=baizie=k=a sole ngo=da saqor=ou"*
2SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES that's.why 2SG=SIT go.down=FUT

nio k=i=a=la.
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'"You finished and so come down," I said.'

(51) *"Ee" k=i=o=la.*
yes 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Yes," he said.'

(52) *O=saqor=a ti ko=a qusini ta sa-vasi*
3SG.M=go.down=PRES and.then 3SG.F=LIG rope TOP there-around

okate, o=saqor=a inio o=lokie=k=a
high.up 3SG.M=go.down=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES

ko=a qusini.
3SG.F=LIG rope
'He came down and as for the rope, it was hanging from high up there, he came down and he coiled the rope.'

(53) *O=lokie=k=a ti o=lokie=k=a,*
3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES INT 3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES

o=pai=k=a lokie=k=o nio
3SG.M=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES coil=3SG.F.O=NOM SEQ

o=k=ati kue=va.
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL come=PRES
'He coiled and coiled it, he finished coiling it and he came with it.'

(54) *O=ta kue=va anga kasi.*
3SG.M=SIT come=PRES 1SG at
'He came to me.'

(55) *"Qe=ta saqor=ou nio lea nio mata*
1DU.INC=SIT go.down=FUT SEQ tomorrow FOC.NONF again

vo=a ore a=ba koiv=ou" k=i=o=la.
3SG.M=LIG tree 1SG=PROS climb=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"We will go down, and tomorrow, again I will climb that tree," he said.'

(56) *So inio ko=kav=a=ni ko=a*
that FOC.NONF 3SG.F=happen=PRES=REL.NONF 3SG.F=LIG

nene.
ngali.nut
'That is the way to go with *ngali* nuts.'

(57) *Ko ta vo=ko ikokoput=o ta ko ta*
3SG.F TOP 3SG.M=3SG.F show.bravey=NOM TOP 3SG.F TOP

koiparaoput=o.
say."o"=NOM
'That's how he showed his bravery, that's when he said "o."'

(58) *O=koiparaoput=a nio | "o" k=i=o=la.*
3SG.M=say.'o'=PRES FOC.NONF o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'He said "o". "O," said he.'

(59) *Ta o ikokoput=a keru inio "o"*
and.then 3SG.M show.bravery=PRES TEMP FOC.NONF o

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'When he showed bravery, he said "o."'

(60) *"So inio ko=ka=va=ni sole"*
that FOC.NONF 3SG.F=happen=PRES=REL.NONF that's.why

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Because that's how it goes," he said.'

(61) *Nene=ko taku.*
ngali.nut=3SG.F time
'Time for *ngali* nuts.'

(62) *So tinia ma.*
that about or
'That's about it?'

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Pacific Linguistics 540

A grammar of Bilua

A Papuan language of the Solomon Islands

Kazuko Obata

Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University

Published by Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Australia

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First published 2003

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry:

Obata, Kazuko.
A grammar of Bilua : a Papuan language of the Solomon Islands.

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 85883 531 2.

1. Bilua language - Grammar. I. Title.

499.12

Copyedited by Basil Wilson
Typeset by Margaret Forster
Cover design by Emily Brissenden
Printed and bound by Ciril's Printers, Fyshwick, Canberra

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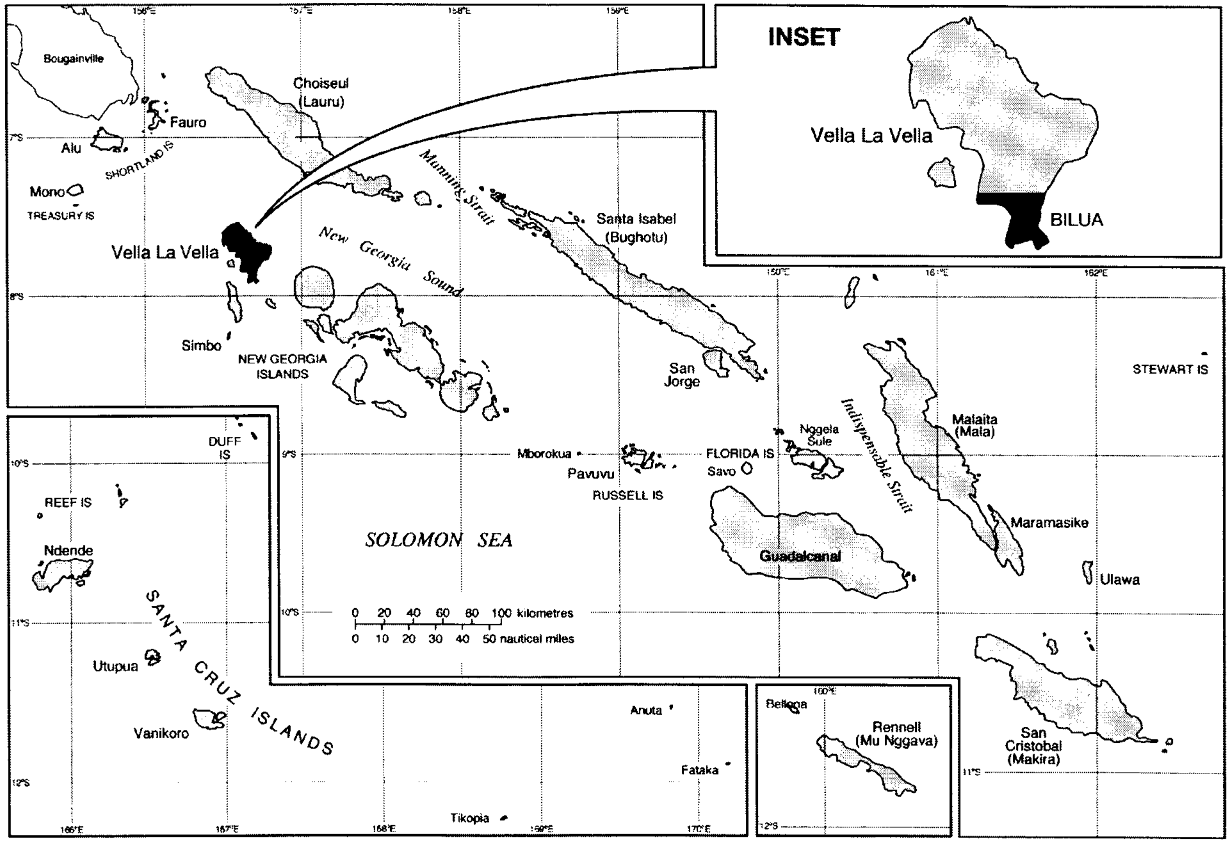
INSET
Vella La Vella
BILUA
Bougainville
Fauro
Alu
SHORTLAND IS
Mono
TREASURY IS
Choiseul
(Lauru)
Manning Strait
Santa Isabel
(Bughotu)
Vella La Vella
New Georgia Sound
Simbo
NEW GEORGIA
ISLANDS
San
Jorge
STEWART IS
Malaita
(Mala)
Nggela
Sule
Indispensable Strait
FLORIDA IS
Savo
Mborokua
Pavuvu
RUSSELL IS
Maramasike
Guadalcanal
Ulawa
SOLOMON SEA
DUFF
IS
REEF IS
Ndende
SANTA CRUZ ISLANDS
Utupua
Vanikoro
0 20 40 60 80 100 kilometres
0 10 20 30 40 50 nautical miles
Anuta
Fataka
Tikopia
Bellona
Rennell
(Mu Nggava)
San
Cristobal
(Makira)
156°E
157°E
158°E
159°E
160°E
161°E
162°E
166°E
167°E
168°E
169°E
170°E
7°S
8°S
9°S
10°S
11°S
12°S

Map 1: The island of Vella La Vella and the Solomon Islands

Acknowledgements

The present paper is not just my own creation, for a number of people have contributed to its fruition. Without a doubt, the people to whom I owe most gratitude are the speakers of Bilua, in particular my two primary informants, Nelson Ivulu and Ilai Volosi. I am most grateful to them for sharing their knowledge of Bilua language and culture with me. They also ensured that I would feel safe and comfortable during my fieldwork; many thanks also to their both immediate and extended families, especially Hazel Ivulu and Hilder Volosi, for their hospitality and assistance. It was a great advantage to me in my research to stay with local families where I had constant contact with the Bilua language as well as life on Vella La Vella, the home of the Bilua language. In every village I visited, I enjoyed a warm welcome and hospitality. In particular, the Riqeo family in Maravari, who were the very first family I stayed with on Vella La Vella, were always very hospitable to me. I was most pleased to meet Ole Gina in Pazaju, who had been to Japan and Australia among other countries. It was a rare opportunity for me to share overseas experience with someone from the Solomon Islands. Thanks also to Nerida Naqe, a schoolteacher in Gizo, for showing her interest in my work and for discussions we had.

I also would like to thank Alistair Martin, who, as a *vaka maba* ('ship person' i.e. 'white person') living in the Solomon Islands, understood the difficulties of living in a different environment and offered me comfortable accommodation and enjoyable company when I stayed in Gizo for occasional breaks from village life.

At The Australian National University, where I undertook a PhD program in linguistics, I benefited from the help of a number of staff members of the Department of Linguistics (Faculties), the Department of Linguistics (Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies), and the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (the latter has been located at La Trobe University since December 1999). My first main supervisor, Sasha Aikhenvald, was always encouraging, showing interest in my research. I appreciated her comments, based on her wide knowledge of the languages of the world. Malcolm Ross, my second supervisor, gave me insightful advice from his Oceanic background. To Harold Koch, who became my first supervisor after the departure of Sasha, thanks are due for reading the whole draft of my paper and for the generous amount of time he spent in discussions with me. Thanks also to my adviser, Masayuki Onishi, for carefully reading and giving comments on some of the chapters.

I also would like to extend my gratitude to Bob Dixon for introducing me to Descriptive Grammar. It was his Basic Linguistic Theory course, which he delivered at the Australian Linguistic Institute held at the ANU in 1996, that inspired me to write a grammar of a previously undescribed language. After attending his course, to my own

great surprise, I decided to change the object of my research from my native language Japanese to Bilua, a language of which I had no previous knowledge. I am also grateful to him for providing me with an office in the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology. At the centre I met many outstanding linguists who came from all over the world as visiting scholars or research fellows, and I was especially fortunate to meet Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Randy LaPolla, Gerrit Dimmendaal, Carl Rubino, and Geoffrey Haig.

I also would like to thank Sue Holzknecht, then at the Study Skills Centre. I was fortunate to have someone who has a linguistics background to help me with my English. She was also able to give me appropriate advice when I was stressed from my study, having done a PhD program herself.

Being a fieldworker, I benefited from the company of students who had conducted fieldwork: Lea Brown, Alec Coupe, Michael Dunn, Beth Evans, Catriona Hyslop, Eva Lindström, and Angela Terrill. It was always enjoyable and inspiring to share their fieldwork experience.

On the financial side, the receipt of an Australian Postgraduate Research Award was greatly appreciated.

I owe very much to my friends and parents for their support and encouragement over the last few years. I would like to thank especially Kristina Crnagoj, Danny Farrow, Alec Coupe, Pavitra Gurung, Carl Rubino, Jeff, Lisa, and Elen Klein, and Cate Turk. I am most grateful to Robert Ackland for his patience and understanding.

Abbreviations and conventions

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ABL	ablative postposition
AdjP	adjectival phrase
BEN	benefactive postposition
COLL	collective marker
COM	comitative postposition
CompP	complement phrase
CONT	continuity marker
D.EXT	distal existential marker
DU	dual
EXC	exclusive
EXT	non-specific locational existential marker
F	feminine
FOC	focus marker
FUT	future tense marker
HIST	historical tense marker
IMP	imperative mood marker
IMPL	implicative marker
INC	inclusive
INTRG	interrogative marker
INDEF	indefinite
INTS	intensifying coordinator
INTJ	interjection
IRR	irrealis marker
INTR	intransitive verb
LIG	ligature
LOC	locative postposition
M	masculine
MES	measure pronoun
NEG	negation marker
NONF	non-feminine
NONM	non-masculine
NOM	nominal derivational enclitic
NP	noun phrase
NRFUT	near future
MP	modifier phrase
O	object clitic
PL	plural
PL.M	plural marker
POSS	possessor-raising marker
PP	postpositional phrase
PRES	present tense marker
PRIV	privative postposition
PROS	prospective marker
PROX	proximate
PURP	purposive subordinator
RCP	recent past tense marker
RECP	reciprocal marker
REDUP	reduplication
REL	relative clause marker
RMP	remote past tense marker
s.b.	somebody
SEQ	sequential coordinator
SG	singular
SIML	similative
SIT	situation-change marker
s.th.	something
TEMP	temporal
TOP	topic marker
TR	transitive verb
VAL	valency-increasing marker
VOC	vocative
VP	Verb Phrase

Clitics and affixes are marked with preceding or following = and - respectively.

Square brackets [ ] used in English translations indicate that this part of the translation does not correspond exactly to the Bilua example(s).

When an example is from a conversation or an elicitation, no text, page, or sentence numbers are given.

When an example from a transcribed text is used, the text, page, and sentence numbers are given in brackets after the English translation. Two of the transcribed texts are presented in Appendix 3. When an example is only a part of a sentence, this is indicated by '...' or ',' in both the Bilua sentence and its English translations. For example,

...qe=pai=k=a	*ko=a*	*qusini*	*ni*	*bita,*
1DU.EXC=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	rope	and	string.bag

'...we finished [making] the rope and string bag,' (2-3-15)

However, in Chapter 2, 'phonology and morphophonology', '...' and ',' are used only in the English translations.

Ungrammatical examples are marked with an asterisk.

1 *Introduction*

1.1 The Bilua language and its location

Bilua is the language spoken on Vella La Vella island in the Western Province of the Solomon Islands. According to the census conducted in 1976 (Solomon Islands Statistics Division 1980), there are about 85 vernacular languages indigenous to the Solomon Islands. The majority of these are Austronesian languages, but among them are four Papuan languages (or seven, depending on whether the Reefs–Santa Cruz family is included or not—see §1.2 below). Bilua is one of these four languages, but the languages spoken in the surrounding islands are all Austronesian.

Vella La Vella island is divided into five areas: Bilua, Kurikuri, Java, Dovere, and Joria, according to different dialects spoken in each area. The dialect spoken in the Bilua area is regarded as the standard one by local people, and thus the language is called Bilua. It appears that this is because the Methodist missionaries who arrived and settled in the Bilua area in the early 20th century decided that the language spoken in the Bilua area was the language of the island. The grammar of Bilua presented in this work is based on the language spoken in the Bilua area. Note that there are no exact dialect boundaries, but generally the Bilua area is considered to extend from Supato village to the Eleteve village (see Map 1).[1] Bilua is also spoken in the Saeragi village in the neighbouring Gizo Island. A legend tells that people from the Bilua area of Vella La Vella moved to Saeragi and thus they speak the dialect spoken in the Bilua area. Altogether there are about 8000–9000 speakers of Bilua including children.

The author has not done a study of the different dialects, but differences between Bilua and other dialects have been noticed in terms of vocabulary and verbal inflection. For example, *sopu* 'hill' and *soqoilo* 'to run away', and a future tense marker *vou* in the Bilua dialect correspond to *taba*, *toalizo* and *kou* respectively in the Java dialect. There are no phonological differences among the different dialects.

In the past, the Austronesian language Roviana was used as a lingua franca in the region and so older people in Vella La Vella speak Roviana as well. However, the role of Roviana has been taken over by Solomon Islands Pidgin, the common language in the Solomon Islands. Solomon Islands Pidgin is used at Primary schools as well as at church ceremonies, which are central to the lives of people in Vella La Vella. There is a high rate of intermarriage between Vella La Vella people and people from other islands. Mixed couples communicate in Pidgin, Bilua, or one of the other Solomons languages. Pidgin words are mixed into Bilua and sometimes people switch from one language to another in their speech. Thus, the Bilua language is changing because of the influence of Pidgin, and, although the population of Vella La Vella is increasing rapidly, it can be said that Bilua is endangered.

---

[1] On the map of Vella La Vella produced by the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands in 1972, Vella La Vella is divided into seven areas: Bilua, Siromai, Java, Dovele, Irigila, Jorio, and Supato.

1.2 Previous work and Papuan languages in the Solomon Islands

Previous work on Bilua is very limited. Ray (1928) presented a small word list in Bilua, while Capell (1969) and Todd (1975) each presented some grammatical features in Bilua in a comparative study on four Papuan languages spoken in the Solomon Islands: Bilua, Baniata, Lavukaleve, and Savosavo. None of these works, however, presents a full grammar of Bilua. On the basis of the work above, Greenberg (1971) categorises these four languages together as the Central Solomon (non-Austronesian) languages of Indo-Pacific, while Wurm (1982) categorises them as the Central Solomons family of the East Papuan phylum. In addition to these works, George Milner did some research on Bilua in the early fifties but has not published his results. The New Testament has been translated into Bilua by a group of local people led by Phil Pike from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and the Bilua version of Bible was published in 1992.[2] There is a small English-to-Bilua school dictionary compiled by Pike but he has not written any linguistic papers on the language.

Capell (1969) presents a comparison among the four Papuan languages—Bilua, Baniata, Lavukaleve and Savosavo—in terms of noun classes and verbal inflection. In his paper he argues that there are two noun classes in Bilua, masculine and non-masculine, which are marked by the particles *vo* and *ko* respectively. He says further that this contrast recurs with adjectives and verbs as a morphological contrast; for example, adjectives modifying a noun from the masculine class and the non-masculine class have a suffix *-ala* and *-ama* respectively.

The present study finds that this contrast is not demonstrated by the data. A noun such as *maba* 'person' can have both male and female referents and it can occur with both *vo* and *ko*. The contrast is therefore not a simple matter of masculine versus non-masculine noun classes in opposition (see §1.4 below).

Capell (1969) describes the noun classification as a characteristic of the four Papuan languages listed above and notes that this is also found in the languages of southern Bougainville, as well as in the 'Melanesian languages' of Malaita. He leaves the conclusion on their genetic relationship, however, to a further study of these languages.

Greenberg (1971:816) proposes a genetic relationship among Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo, and Baniata and refers to them as the Central Solomon languages. His study and proposal are based on some resemblance among pronouns and fifty-two other words of these four languages. Furthermore, he studies pronouns and the same fifty-two words, where they are available, in the languages of the Reefs–Santa Cruz family and compares them to the Central Solomon languages. Finding some resemblance between these two groups of languages, he states (1971:816) that the members of the Reefs–Santa Cruz family have the closest relationship to the Central Solomon languages, and groups them all together as the Central Melanesian group of non-Austronesian languages in the Indo-Pacific. It could be true that they are related, but it is hard to accept a proposal based on a list of pronouns and such a small number of words.

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[2] The group was located in the Bilua area, signifying that the dialect spoken in this area is regarded as the standard one.

Todd (1975) also presents a comparison among the four languages in terms of pronominal forms, noun classifications, and word lists. In her paper, she presents a list of personal pronouns, subject markers, object markers, and verbal auxiliaries,[3] and some determiners in Bilua. On the basis of her study, she concludes that these four languages are related and groups them together as the Solomon Language Family. In particular, she points to a closer relationship between Bilua and Savosavo.[4] She also tentatively includes the Yele languages of Rossel Island in the Solomon language family on the basis of similarity in pronominal forms.

Wurm (1982:231–244) also proposes a language family, the Central Solomons family, consisting of Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo and Baniata, and considers it as a subgroup of the East Papuan phylum. He groups Papuan languages in the area to the east of the New Guinea mainland as the East Papuan phylum. This includes Papuan languages spoken in New Britain, New Ireland, the Solomon Islands, and the Louisiade Archipelago. The East Papuan phylum languages are divided into three subphylic groups: the Yele–Solomons – New Britain super-stock, the Bougainville super-stock, and the Reefs–Santa Cruz family.

The Yele–Solomons – New Britain super-stock is subdivided into the Yele–Solomons stock and the New Britain stock. These two stocks are grouped together because of ‘comparative closer structural and lexical links with each other than with languages of the other stock-level groups in the phylum’ (Wurm 1982:232). The Bougainville super-stock is subdivided into the East Bougainville stock and the West Bougainville stock.

The Yele–Solomons stock is subdivided into three groups: the Central Solomon Family, the extinct Kazukuru Family, and the Yele language. In the extinct Kazukuru Family are Kazukuru, Guliguli, and Dororo languages, all of which are extinct.

There are three languages in the Reefs–Santa Cruz family: Reefs (Aiwo), Santa Cruz and Nanggu, and accordingly there are seven Papuan languages spoken in the Solomon Islands: four in the Central Solomon family and three in the Reefs–Santa Cruz family.

Whether the three languages in the Reefs–Santa Cruz Family are Papuan or Austronesian languages is the subject of controversy. Lincoln (1978) presents a hypothesis that they are Austronesian languages on the basis that there are similarities between these languages and Proto Oceanic with regard to some grammatical morphemes. On the other hand, Wurm (1978 and 1982) argues that they are Papuan languages heavily influenced by Austronesian languages. He bases this view on their similarity to other languages of the East Papuan phylum in terms of structure and lexicon, as well as on the lack of regular phonological correspondences between these languages and Proto Austronesian and Proto Oceanic.

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[3] Subject markers, object markers, and verbal auxiliaries are referred to as ‘pronominal proclitics’, ‘object clitics’, and ‘pronominal enclitics’ respectively in this work.

[4] People of Vella La Vella were well-known head-hunters until missionaries arrived. They paddled as far as Savo island, where Savosavo is spoken, for raids, and sometimes brought back people from other islands including Savo. Bilua and Savosavo may have influenced each other as a result of such contacts.

Tryon and Hackman (1983) regard the languages of the Reefs–Santa Cruz Family as Papuan but they exclude them in their diagram (Figure 1.1 below) of the East Papuan phylum because of their unclear position within the East Papuan phylum. Santa Cruz and Nanggu appear to have a closer link with the languages of the East Bougainville stock, while Reefs (Aiwo) appears to have a closer link with the languages of Yele–Solomons stock.

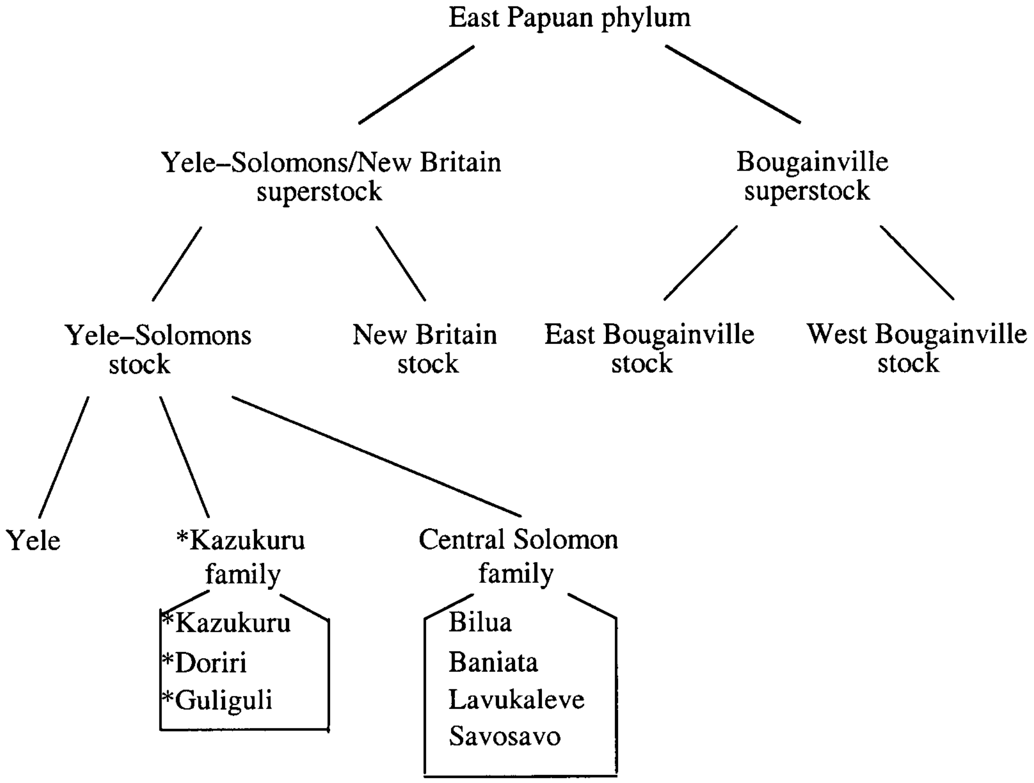
East Papuan phylum
Yele–Solomons/New Britain superstock
Bougainville superstock
Yele–Solomons stock
New Britain stock
East Bougainville stock
West Bougainville stock
Yele
*Kazukuru family
Central Solomon family
*Kazukuru
*Doriri
*Guliguli
Bilua
Baniata
Lavukaleve
Savosavo

Figure 1.1: Papuan Languages in the Solomon Islands within the East Papuan Phylum (Tryon & Hackman 1983:42)[5] Asterisks here mean that these languages are extinct.

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[5] In their paper, Tryon and Hackman (1983) spell Bilua and Baniata as Mbilua and Mbaniata respectively. In the past, the latter spelling was used more frequently. At present, both spellings are recognised but the former ones are more widely used. The 'mb' of Mbilua and

Although it has been proposed that Bilua, Lavukaleve, Savosavo and Baniata are genetically related, none of these languages is fully described yet, and until a full grammatical description of all of them is produced, their relationship remains in question. Angela Terrill has presented a grammar of Lavukaleve in her PhD thesis, and she and Michael Dunn have been working on a grammatical description of Baniata. Evelyn Todd has been doing research on Savosavo. Their studies and this study on Bilua may shed some light on the question of the genetic relationship between these languages.

1.3 Fieldwork and collection of data

The grammar of Bilua presented in this work is based on an analysis of the data collected during two fieldwork periods in the Bilua area of Vella La Vella and in the Saeragi village of Gizo. The first fieldwork period was from March to August 1997 and the second was from September to November 1998. The data mostly comprise recorded texts of old folktales, custom practices, and stories from childhood told by people, both female and male, between 55 and 90 years of age. Seventy-two texts were collected, from which thirty-two (about 240 minutes) were transcribed and translated into English with the help of speakers of Bilua. Some data were collected from conversations.

People who helped the author with transcription and translation were aged under 35 years, while for the analysis of the language or elicitation the author worked with older people who were over fifty-five years of age.

1.4 Grammatical profile

As noted above, Bilua is a Papuan language surrounded by Austronesian/Oceanic languages. According to Foley (1986:2–3):

> The term ‘Papuan languages’ must not be taken in the same sense as ‘Austronesian languages’. While all Austronesian languages are genetically related in one family, in the sense that they all descend from a common ancestral language called Proto-Austronesian spoken some 6,000 years ago...[Papuan languages] do not all trace their origins back to a single ancestral language...when a language is termed ‘Papuan’, this claims nothing more than that a language is not Austronesian.

Most notably, Bilua is distinguished from Oceanic languages in terms of a masculine–feminine distinction in the third person singular pronominal forms. Local people often cite this difference as a distinctive feature of Bilua.

There are other features of Bilua that are not shared with Oceanic languages (see Lynch, Ross, and Crowley forthcoming). In Bilua, tense and mood are marked by bound forms, clitics on VPs (§8.3), while in Oceanic languages they are marked by free forms.

Mbaniata represents a prenasalised voiced bilabial stop. However, as described in §2.2, in Bilua voiced stops are prenasalised intervocalically but not word-initially.

Bilua is basically an AVO language, but other constituent orders are freely found (§14.6). A variety of constituent orders is found in Oceanic languages but is fairly fixed in each language. In Bilua possessive constructions, the possessor precedes the possessee (§7.3). This order is reversed in Oceanic languages. Bilua relative clauses are marked with a clitic on their VPs (§12.2), while relative clauses in Oceanic languages are preceded by a marker with a subordinating function. Serial verb constructions are widely found in Oceanic languages, but there is no serial verb construction in Bilua.

There are some features that are shared by Bilua and Oceanic languages. In both, a distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive for the first person dual and plural pronominal forms (§5.5.1). Bilua has reduplication of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and numerals (§6.5). Reduplication is also found in Oceanic languages. Aspect markers occur between a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references with the subject, and the verb (§8.5). Bilua is a consistently nominative–accusative language. Oceanic languages are generally nominative–accusative languages.

Other grammatical characteristics of Bilua are as follows. Both clitics and affixes are found. Bilua is both a head- and a dependent-marking language according to Nichols' (1986) criteria. Core arguments are head-marked on the VP by bound pronouns (see §3.2.1)—a head-marking feature; in NPs, person, number, and gender are generally marked on optional NP constituents (see §7.4)—a dependent-marking feature. A possessive NP can be either head or dependent-marked (see §7.3). There are two types of predicates: verbal and non-verbal, distinguished by their predicates (§3.1). There is the valency-increasing construction, which introduces a new core argument; this increases the valency by one (§9.4 and §9.5). There are frequent occurrences of topic and focus markers (§14.2 and §14.3).

Pronominal forms have three person distinctions (first, second, and third) and three number distinctions (singular, dual, and plural). As noted above, the first person dual and plural have a distinction between exclusive and inclusive, while the third person singular has a distinction between masculine and feminine.

There are no grammatical genders in Bilua, but personal names, some kinship terms, and some nouns have an inherent gender. Common nouns are inherently third person and are not marked for number. Person/number/gender can be marked by optional NP constituents (§7).

There are three kinds of dependent clauses: relative, complement, and adverbial clauses (§12). Some coordinators link words, phrases, and clauses, and others link only independent clauses (§13).

1.5 Approach of the grammar

This work presents a general description of Bilua grammar, primarily from a synchronic viewpoint. Although it is preferable not to include a diachronic analysis in a descriptive grammar, some historical hypotheses are included in the work where I believe it is helpful in understanding the grammar.

I do not comply with any model, but utilise different theories where they help the presentation of the grammar. In particular, a description of topic and focus given in §14 owes much to Lambrecht (1994). I also draw on grammatical descriptions of some languages, particularly languages of Oceania, (Crowley 1982, Dixon 1988, Hill 1992, Jauncey 1997, Ezard 1997, and Hyslop 1998) for the purpose of regional comparison.

The grammatical description commences in the following chapter with an analysis of the phonology and morphophonology.

2 *Phonology and morphophonology*

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of phonology and morphophonology: it covers consonant phonemes (§2.2), vowel phonemes (§2.3), phonotactics (§2.4), stress (§2.5), clitics (§2.6), phonological processes (§2.7), reduplication (§2.8), intonation (§2.9), and orthography (§2.10). Customary notation conventions are followed—slashes / / indicate phonemic representations, while square brackets [ ] indicate phonetic representations.

2.2 Consonant phonemes

There are sixteen consonants in Bilua as presented in the following chart.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
voiceless stops	p	t		k
voiced stops	b	d		g
voiceless fricative		s		
voiced fricatives	β	z		
voiced affricate		dʒ		
nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
lateral		l		
trill		r		

The voiced stops and the affricate have allophones: they are prenasalised intervocalically. Prenasalisation does not occur in word-initial position.

/b/d/g/dʒ/ → [^{m}b/^{n}d /^{ŋ}g/^{n}dʒ]/ V_ V
[b/d/g/dʒ] / word-initially

The following are some examples.

	Prenasalised (intervocalically)	**Non-prenasalised** (word-initially)
(2.1)	[ma^{m}b̲a] ‘person’	[b̲olo] ‘pig’
(2.2)	[paɪ^{n}d̲aɛko] ‘to finish’	[d̲eri] ‘pumpkin’
(2.3)	[selea ^{ŋ}g̲a̲z̲a̲] ‘seagull’	[g̲usini] ‘rope’
(2.4)	[ke^{n}dʒu] ‘to cook’	[dʒaɪrozo] ‘to be tired’

The voiceless stops and the voiceless fricative are pronounced as long consonants when they occur in the second syllable before a diphthong. The following are some examples.

	consonants (elsewhere)	**long consonants** (in the second syllable with a diphthong)
(2.5)	[siɔt̲olu] ‘eight’	[at̲t̲aɛko] ‘to count’
(2.6)	[lek̲asa] ‘chief’	[pek̲k̲aɔ] ‘to dance’
(2.7)	[tap̲ata] ‘hardship’	[kap̲p̲iaβole] ‘quickly’
(2.8)	[s̲iakona] ‘rope’	[nas̲s̲oɛko] ‘to attach’

The bilabial voiced fricative /β/ has two allophones, [β] and [w], in free variation: /β/ is sometimes realised as a glide [w], especially in front of a low vowel /a/. For example, /βaito/ ‘to return’ is realised as [βaɪto] or [waɪto].

In addition to [^{n}dʒ], the voiced affricate /dʒ/ has another allophone, [tʃ], in free variation. For example, /βaremudʒa/ ‘six’ is realised as [βaremu^{n}dʒa] or [βaremutʃa].

Some examples of minimal and near-minimal pairs are as follows.

(2.9)	/p/ – /b/	/sip̲i/ ‘louse’	/sib̲i/ ‘black’
(2.10)	/t/ – /d/	/tat̲abarao/ ‘pay’	/tad̲ao/ ‘look up’
(2.11)	/k/ – /g/	/rak̲i/ ‘root’	/sag̲i/ ‘brother/sister’
(2.12)	/s/ – /z/	/s̲apo/ ‘hot water’	/z̲apo/ ‘beard’
(2.13)	/β/ – /b/	/β̲atuto/ ‘to move’	/b̲azuto/ ‘to tell’
(2.14)	/n/ – /ɲ/	/n̲aka/ ‘banana’	/ɲ̲aɲa/ ‘mother/aunt’
(2.15)	/g/ – /ŋ/	/g̲ame/ ‘nose’	/ŋ̲ase/ ‘hand’
(2.16)	/l/ – /r/	/l̲ekona/ ‘leaf’	/r̲eko/ ‘wife’
(2.17)	/z/ – /dʒ/	/z̲ario/ ‘wish’	/d̲ʒ̲ari/ ‘copra house’

2.3 Vowel phonemes

There are five vowels, as presented in the following chart.

Table 2.2: Vowel phonemes

	front				back
high	i				u
mid		e		o	
low			a		

The following are examples of minimal and near-minimal pairs.

(2.18)	/a/ – /e/	/kalo/ 'way'	/kelo/ 'to see'
(2.19)	/a/ – /i/	/dara/ 'blood'	/diri/ 'red'
(2.20)	/a/ – /o/	/kalo/ 'way'	/kolo/ 'ocean'
(2.21)	/a/ – /u/	/kako/ 'strange'	/kuki/ 'axe'
(2.22)	/e/ – /i/	/tete/ 'ridge'	/titiβi/ 'trouser'
(2.23)	/e/ – /o/	/kelo/ 'to see'	/kolo/ 'ocean'
(2.24)	/e/ – /u/	/ketuketuto/ 'to tease'	/kutukutu/ 'cloud'
(2.25)	/i/ – /o/	/kilikili/ 'armpit'	/kilokilo/ 'arrival'
(2.26)	/i/ – /u/	/kilikili/ 'armpit'	/kulukulu/ 'neck'
(2.27)	/o/ – /u/	/bolo/ 'pig'	/bulo/ 'heart'

All combinations of vowels occur: /ie/, /ia/, /io/, /iu/, /ei/, /ea/, /eo/, /eu/, /ai/, /ae/, /ao/, /au/, /oi/, /oe/, /oa/, /ou/, /ui/, /ue/, /ua/, and /uo/. When they belong to the same phonological word, they are diphthongal. The diphthongal nature of these combinations is apparent with reduplicated forms in which the VV sequences reduplicate as one syllable. A reduplicated form has the first two syllables reduplicated. For example, in a reduplicated form /βualaβuala/ 'hot', /ua/ is counted as one syllable. If /ua/ were counted as two syllables, a reduplicated form should have /βu-a-βu-a-la/, but this is not the case (see §2.8).

Vowels do not have allophones when they occur individually, but in diphthongs the front and back vowels are realised as lax vowels [ɪ], [ɛ], [ɔ], and [ʊ] when they are the second element: [iɛ], [iɔ], [iʊ], [eɪ], [eɔ], [eʊ], [aɪ], [aɛ], [aɔ], [oɪ], [oɛ], [oʊ], [iʊ], [uɛ], and [uɔ]. This suggests that the first vowel in a diphthong is the nucleus, and the second is non-syllabic.

The only attested cases of syllabic vowel sequences occur with reduplication, in which a syllable break matches a morpheme break. For example, a combination of vowels /au/ in a reduplicated form ['u-**pa-'u**-pa-to] 'to shout many times', which is a reduplicated form of /upato/ 'to shout', is a syllabic vowel sequence. Each of /a/ and /u/ belongs to a different syllable. This is supported by the second stress on /u/ and the realisation of /u/ as [u] rather than [ʊ]. If /a/ and /u/ formed a diphthong, there would not be a stress on /u/ and also /u/ would be realised as [ʊ] since the second element of the diphthong cannot be stressed as described in §2.5, and /u/ is realised as [ʊ] when it is in the second element of a diphthong as noted above.

2.4 Phonotactics

The syllable structure in Bilua is (C)V for the first syllable and CV for other syllables, C representing any consonant and V here representing a vowel or a diphthong. This means that there are no sequences of Vs in Bilua within a phonological word (see §2.6 for phonological words). An exception to this is an interjection /ee/ 'yes'.

The minimum number of syllables per phonological word is one, and this can only be CV but not V only. A maximum word length of seven syllables is found in the data. Some examples are:

(2.28) CV /lea/ 'tomorrow'

(2.29) VCV /ipu/ 'night'

(2.30) CVCV /lezu/ 'head'

(2.31) VCVCV /ariku/ 'four'

(2.32) CVCVCV /βidulu/ 'key'

(2.33) VCVCVCV /inainaeko/ 'to prepare'

(2.34) CVCVCVCV /pikimato/ 'to dig soil'

(2.35) CVCVCVCVCVCVCV /kolokologanisi/ 'Kolokoloqanisi (male name)'

All consonants can occur in the word-initial and medial positions but never in the word-final position. All vowels can occur in the word-initial, medial, and word-final positions. There are some restrictions on the occurrences of diphthongs. Only /au/ and /ae/ can occur word-initially. In the word-internal position, all but /ao/ can occur. All diphthongs can occur in the word-final position, but one of them, /oa/, occurs over a morpheme boundary only. For example,

(2.36) [ko=a]
3SG.F=LIG
'that (feminine)'

(2.37) [βo=a]
3SG.M=LIG
'that (masculine)'

In each of these examples, a demonstrative and a ligature form one phonological word: the morpheme boundary occurs between the demonstrative and the ligature, and a combination of vowels *o* and *a* over this morpheme boundary is realised as a diphthong.

The following table summarises the occurrences of phonemes in different positions.

Table 2.3: Occurrences of phonemes in different positions

	Consonants	Vowels	Diphthongs
Word-initial	all	all	/au/, /ae/
Word-medial	all	all	all but /ao/
Word-final	none	all	all

2.5 Stress

Stress is applied to the first syllable of a phonological word. Stress is not contrastive in Bilua. For a diphthong, stress is realised as prominence on the first element.

(2.38) ['toʊpa] ‘lake’

(2.39) ['uri] ‘good’

(2.40) ['siɔtolu] ‘eight’

(2.41) ['ru^{ŋ}ge] ‘bad’

(2.42) ['βaɪrutu] ‘today/now’

Stress, however, may fall on the second syllable of a phonological word when a phonological word does not coincide with a grammatical word. This is described in the next section.

2.6 Clitics

A Bilua phonological word may consist of one or more clitics and their host. Clitics attach to a word, a ‘host’, forming one phonological word with their host. There are two types of clitics: enclitics, which take the preceding word as the host, and proclitics, which take the word that follows as the host. Most Bilua clitics are enclitics, but there are pronominal proclitics as well. Object clitics can function either as enclitics or proclitics. Clitics in Bilua are:

pronominal proclitics
pronominal enclitics
object clitics
tense/mood markers, which are enclitics
nominal derivational enclitics
ligature, which is an enclitic

relative clause markers, which are enclitics

the purposive subordinator *le*, which is an enclitic

This section presents a general description of Bilua clitics, particularly with regard to stress. A description of each clitic is given in Chapters 5 and 6.

Unlike words, clitics do not bear inherent stress, and this suggests that they do not form a phonological word of their own — they form one phonological word with their host, the word they are attached to. This is illustrated by example (2.43-a). In this example, two enclitics, a ligature *a* and a pronominal enclitic *ma* (3SG.F), are attached to an adjective ['uri] forming a modifier phrase. As these enclitics are not independent phonological words, none of them bears stress. They form one phonological word with their host, *uri*, and the stress falls on the first syllable of this phonological word following the stress pattern in Bilua described in the last section.

(2.43-a) ['uri=a=ma 'pa^{n}de]
good=LIG=3SG.F house
'a good house'

If each of the ligature *a* and the pronominal enclitic *ma* (3SG.F) formed a phonological word of its own, (2.43-a) would be analysed as:

(2.43-b) ['uri 'a 'ma 'pa^{n}de]
good LIG 3SG.F house
'a good house'

but this is not the case.

Like clitics, affixes do not bear inherent stress. Clitics are distinguished from affixes by the following non-phonological criteria. 'Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot' (Zwicky & Pullum 1983:504). 'Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups' (1983:504). Unlike affixes, 'clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts' (1983:503) and they can combine with a phrase (Zwicky 1985:288), while affixes cannot.

Cliticisation does not affect the stress on the host in Bilua. Example (2.43-a) above illustrates that encliticisation does not affect the stress on the host and thus the stress falls on the first syllable of the host, which coincides with the first syllable of the resulted phonological word.

Procliticisation does not affect the stress on the host either, and this results in the stress falling on the second syllable of a phonological word, as illustrated by the following two examples. In each of these examples, a phonological word consists of a host and one or more clitics. In (2.44), a pronominal proclitic is attached to a noun, ['ɲaɲa], forming a possessive NP. The pronominal proclitic here marks a possessor. In (2.45), the pronominal proclitic is cliticised on the verb, ['βouβaɛ], and they form one phonological word together with two enclitics: the object clitic and the tense marker. The pronominal proclitic here functions as a subject marker. In both examples, the stress still falls on the first syllable of the host, which is the second syllable of the phonological words (see §2.7

for a further description of phonological words formed by cliticisation of a pronominal proclitic on the host).

(2.44) [a='ɲaɲa]
1SG=mother
'my mother'

(2.45) [o='βouβaɛ=k=a]
3SG.M=kill=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...he killed it,' (24-11-93)[6]

In the two examples above, proclitics form one phonological word with a content word, a noun in (2.44) and a verb in (2.45). A pronominal proclitic may form a phonological word with another kind of content word, a modifier in a VP. In this case too, the stress falls on the first syllable of the host, which is the second syllable of the phonological word. In the following example, a pronominal proclitic *o* (3SG.M) and a modifier *sasa* 'a bit' form one phonological word and the stress falls on the first syllable of *sasa*.

(2.46) [o='sasa 'mamaz=a]
3SG.M=a bit rest=PRES
'...he rested a bit,' (26-20-109)

Thus, a pronominal proclitic may attach to a content word, which bears stress on the first syllable, and when this happens, the stress still falls on the first syllable of the content word, which is the second syllable of the phonological word.

A Bilua proclitic may have a VP particle as its host, forming one phonological word. VP particles in Bilua are aspectual/modal markers, valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker. 'Particles are "function", rather than "content", items' (Zwicky 1985:291). Bilua VP particles occur between a pronominal proclitic, which functions as a subject marker, and a verb. Aspectual/modal markers and the possessor-raising marker may form one phonological word with a preceding pronominal proclitic. Valency-increasing markers always have an object clitic as a proclitic, forming one phonological word with it. This may additionally have a pronominal proclitic preceding the object clitic. Like clitics, Bilua VP particles do not bear inherent stress. That is, a Bilua phonological word may consist of morphemes that bear no inherent stress. Such a phonological word, however, still bears stress on the first syllable of the phonological word, following the stress pattern in Bilua, as illustrated by the following examples.

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[6] In this example, a present tense marker *a* in the final position is employed in order to indicate historical present tense. In such a case, the event expressed is one that occurred in the past, and thus it is translated in the past tense (see §8.3 for a description of historical present tense). This applies to a lot of examples presented in this work, and thus many examples with a present tense marker are translated in the past tense. See 'Abbreviations and conventions' at the beginning of the work for an explanation of the bracketed numbers following examples.

In the first phonological word of example (2.47), a pronominal proclitic /ko/ (3SG.F) is attached to an aspectual marker, the continuity marker /beta/, forming one phonological word. In (2.48) the first phonological word consists of a pronominal proclitic /ke/ (3PL) and the possessor-raising marker /ta/, while the second phonological word consists of an object clitic /β/ (3SG.M.O) and a valency-increasing marker /ati/. In all instances, there is stress on the first syllable of the phonological word. This is manifested by a clitic in the first two instances and by a clitic–particle combination in the last instance.

(2.47) ['ko=^{m}beta 'koɪt=a]
3SG.F=CONT climb=PRES
'…she is climbing…' (21-6-35)

(2.48) ['ke=ta 'β=ati 'so^{ŋ}goɪ=βa]
3PL=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL run.away=PRES
'…they ran away with his [boot].' (16-6-77)

A VP particle may occur without a proclitic and form a phonological word by itself. This kind of phonological word still bears stress on the first syllable. In example (2.49), an aspectual marker, the prospective marker /pa/, forms a phonological word of its own, and this bears stress.

(2.49) ['pa 'βaɪri=β=a]
PROS look.for=3SG.M.O=IMP.SG
'Go and look for him.'

Thus, a VP particle, when it forms a phonological word by itself, bears stress. Clitics of one type, namely pronominal proclitics, may also form a phonological word by themselves; that is, they can be phonologically independent in certain environments. This kind of phonological word also bears stress on the first syllable. Bilua pronominal proclitics all end with a vowel, and when a pronominal proclitic precedes a content word beginning with a vowel, it always forms a phonological word of its own. This is to avoid a formation of a diphthong or a long vowel. In Bilua, procliticisation, but not encliticisation, disallows a formation of a diphthong. In (2.50), the /e/ of a pronominal proclitic /ke/ (3PL) does not form a diphthong with the word-initial /u/ of /uri/ — /ke/ and /uri/ do not form one phonological word. On the other hand, the word-final /i/ of a modifier /uri/ 'good' and a ligature *a*, which is an enclitic, form a diphthong — /uri/ and *a* form one phonological word. In (2.51), a pronominal proclitic /o/ and the verb beginning with the same vowel, /o/, do not form a phonological word as Bilua does not have a long vowel. In both examples, the pronominal proclitic forms a phonological word of its own and it bears stress.

(2.50) ['ke 'uri=a 'bori=k=a]
3PL good=LIG carry=3SG.F.O=PRES
'They carried it well (carefully)…' (28-6-56)

(2.51) ['o 'odiɛ=k=a]
3SG.M call=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...he called her...' (2.27-10-63)

When a pronominal proclitic precedes a content word that begins with a consonant, these two morphemes form one phonological word, and the stress falls on the first syllable of the host, the content word.

(2.52) [a='βuat=ala]
1SG=eat=RCP
'I ate.'

Thus, pronominal proclitics can be phonologically independent in certain environments. The next section presents a piece of evidence that demonstrates that pronominal proclitics form a phonological word with their host.

2.7 Phonological processes

First and second person singular/plural pronominal proclitics /a/ (1SG), /ŋo/ (2SG), /ŋe/ (1PL.EXC), and /me/ (1PL.INC/2PL) may cause the voicing of a voiceless stop or fricative onset of a concatenated syllable: voiceless stops become voiced stops while the voiceless fricative /s/ becomes an affricate /dʒ/. In §2.2, it was mentioned that voiced stops and the affricate are prenasalised intervocalically. The voiced stops and affricate resulting from the above phonological process are prenasalised as well. This illustrates that the pronominal proclitic and the following word form one phonological word, with the result that the voiced stops and affricate occur in the second syllable. In each pair of the following examples, voicing occurs in (a) but it does not in (b), as marked by underlines.

(2.53-a) ['ŋo=ᵐba 'β=el=oʊ] /ŋo=/ preceding /pa/
2SG.F=PROS 3SG.M.O=see=PRES
'You will go and see him.'

(2.53-b) ['ko=pa 'kuɛ=βi] /ko=/ preceding /pa/
3SG.F=PROS come=RMP
'She came.'

(2.54-a) [a='ⁿdare=k=oʊ] /a=/ preceding /tare=k=ou/
1SG=wait=3SG.F.O=FUT
'I will wait for her.'

(2.54-b) [o='tare=k=a] /o=/ preceding /tare=k=a/
3SG.M=wait=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...he is waiting for it...' (24-6-64)

(2.55-a) ['ŋe= ᵑg=aɪ 'ɲaɲi=a] /ŋe=/ preceding /k=ai/
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL know=PRES
'...we know it...' (26-4-25)

(2.55-b) ['ke=k=aɪ 'besiɛ-kiɲ=oʊ] /ke=/ preceding /k=ai/
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL exchange-RECP=FUT
'...they will exchange [food]...' (21-4-23)

(2.56-a) [a=ˈⁿd̲ʒ̲isu] /a=/ preceding /sisu/
1SG=sweet.potato
'my sweet potato'

(2.56-b) [o=ˈs̲isu] /o=/ preceding /sisu/
3SG.M=sweet.potato
'his sweet potato'

It is not the case however that these pronominal proclitics always cause voicing and prenasalisation. When they precede a VP particle, they always cause voicing and prenasalisation. When they precede an object clitic, a modifier, or a verb, they usually do but may not. In both (2.57-a) and (2.57-b) below, /ŋo/ (2SG) precedes an object clitic on the verb, /koβo/ 'to get'. In (2.57-a), /k/ which follows /ŋo/ is voiced and prenasalised, but in (2.57-b), it is not. Examples (2.57-a) and (2.57-b) are in free variation.

(2.57-a) [ŋo=ˈᵑg̲=o=a]
2SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
'You will get it.'

(2.57-b) [ŋo=ˈk̲=o=a]
2SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
'You will get it.'

A pronominal proclitic forms a phonological word of its own when it precedes a vowel-initial content word, but it forms a phonological word with its host when it precedes a consonant-initial content word (see last section). In both (2.57-a) and (2.57-b), the pronominal proclitic forms one phonological word with the verb which follows, as indicated by the lack of stress on the pronominal proclitic. In (2.57-b) the lack of voicing and prenasalisation of the verb-initial consonant indicates that the phonological bond between the pronominal proclitic and the verb is not strong.[7]

2.8 Reduplication

Reduplication can be applied to nouns, verb roots, adjectives, and numerals, and it can be category changing or non–category changing (see §6.5). A reduplicated form can be formed by repeating the first two syllables of a non-reduplicated form. A reduplicated form consists of two phonological words, and a reduplication boundary is a boundary of phonological words. Accordingly, the first syllable of the two reduplicated syllables is stressed (see §2.5).

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[7] Examples in this work are presented in phonemic representation, and so when a voiceless stop or a fricative is voiced following the phonological process described here, it is represented in its voiced counterpart. The reader should keep this in mind so that he/she will not need to wonder how a certain morpheme is realised in different forms in examples. To name few examples, readers will find that the situation-change marker *ta*, the prospective marker *pa*, and the third person singular object clitic *k* are sometimes represented as *da*, *ba*, and *q* respectively as a result of the phonological process described in this section.

	Non-reduplicated form	**Reduplicated form**
(2.58)	grammatical word	grammatical word
	['to-ru-ru] 'egg'	['to-ru-'to-ru-ru] 'round'
	phonological word	phonological words
(2.59)	grammatical word	grammatical word
	['to-βa] 'behind'	['to-βa-'to-βa] 'last'
	phonological word	phonological words

In (2.58), an adjective /torutoruru/ 'round' is derived from a noun /toruru/ 'egg' by reduplication. The stress on ['to-ru-'to-ru-ru] indicates that this consists of two phonological words ['to-ru] and ['to-ru-ru]: the stress is applied on the first syllable of each phonological word. These two phonological words form one grammatical word /torutoruru/. Similarly in (2.59) the stress indicates that ['to-βa-'to-βa] consists of two phonological words which form one grammatical word.

Bilua voiced stops and the affricate are prenasalised intervocalically (see §2.2). In example (2.60) below, the word /bule/ 'peace' begins with a voiced stop. The reduplicated form of this is /bulebule/ 'clean', but the bilabial voiced stop [b] of the third syllable of this word is not prenasalised. This indicates that [b] is the beginning of a new phonological word and /bulebule/ 'clean' consists of two phonological words.

(2.60)	grammatical word	grammatical word
	['bu-le] 'peace'	['bu-le-'bu-le] 'clean'
	phonological word	phonological words

Vowel sequences remain bisyllabic between the boundaries of phonological words in reduplicated forms (see §2.3). Thus, three pieces of evidence—stress pattern, lack of prenasalisation, and bisyllabic vowel sequences—illustrate that reduplicated forms consist of two phonological words.

Some reduplicated forms are lexically reduplicated, and they lack non-reduplicated counterparts. For example:

(2.61)
grammatical words
inherently reduplicated word ['ku-tu-'ku-tu] 'dark cloud'
phonological words

The stress pattern of the example in (2.61) indicates that it consists of two phonological words but it forms one grammatical word. Any Bilua words of which the first two syllables are repeated are reduplicated forms. ['Ina'inaɛko] 'to prepare' and ['kolo'kologanisi] 'Kolokoloqanisi' from §2.4 are both inherently reduplicated forms: they consist of two phonological words with the first syllable of each phonological word stressed.

With verbs, reduplication applies to verb roots, that is the identical string of segments shared between intransitive and transitive verbs (see §4.4). For example, an intransitive verb *niumat* 'to break' and a transitive verb *niumae* 'to break' share a root *niuma* and thus the reduplicated form is *niuma-niuma* 'broken'. Note that some verbs have a consonant stem-finally, but verbs in Bilua are almost always cliticised with one or more enclitics that have a vowel finally, forming one phonological word ending with a vowel.

When a verb root ends with a consonant, this results in a reduplicated form ending with a consonant. If the reduplicated form is a noun or an adjective, a vowel *i* is added to it. The addition of *i* takes place because in Bilua no phonological word can end with a consonant. In (2.62) and (2.63), the identical segments are *tibur* and *podet* respectively, and a reduplicated form is an adjective and a noun respectively.

	Verbs	**Reduplicated form**
(2.62)	/ti-bu-r/ 'to close (INTR)' /ti-bu-ri/ 'to close (TR)'	/ti-bu-ti-bu-ri̲/ 'closed'
(2.63)	/po-de-t/ 'to measure (INTR)' /po-de-ti/ to measure (TR)'	/po-de-po-de-ti̲/ 'measurement'

Reduplication can also derive a verb from a noun. Verbs derived by reduplication are considered to be fully lexicalised, as their forms are not predictable from reduplicated syllables. For example, the reduplication of /ige/ 'knee' results in /igeige/, and the derived verb is identical with this: /igeige/ 'to kneel down', while the reduplication of /leɲo/ 'tongue' results in /leɲoleɲo/ and it has two derived verbs, one having an extra *t*, /leɲoleɲot/ 'to lick (INTR)', and the other having an extra *e*, /leɲoleɲoe/ 'to lick (TR)'.

There are some examples where a non-reduplicated form has just one syllable. In such a case, the reduplicated form is not necessarily predictable from the non-reduplicated form. Here are some examples.

	Non-reduplicated form	**Reduplicated form**
(2.64)	/pi/ 'to drop (TR)' /pil/ 'to drop (INTR)'	/pika-pikae/ 'to drop many times'

(2.65) /pait/ 'to finish (INTR)' /paito-paito/ 'last one/end'
/pai/ 'to finish (TR)'

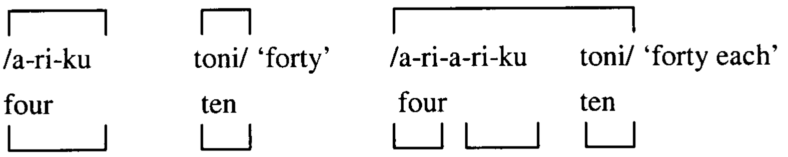
The reduplicated form of some monosyllabic words can be formed by repeating the whole word.

(2.66) /zio/ 'to go' /zio-zio/ 'coming and going'

(2.67) /tou/ 'skin' /tou-tou/ 'tribe'

In Bilua, numerals over ten are expressed by a phrase consisting of two or more numerals, and this phrase can be reduplicated. A reduplicated form can be formed by repeating the first two syllables of the phrase.

	Non-reduplicated form		**Reduplicated form**	
(2.68)	grammatical words		grammatical words	

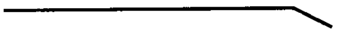


	phonological words		phonological words	

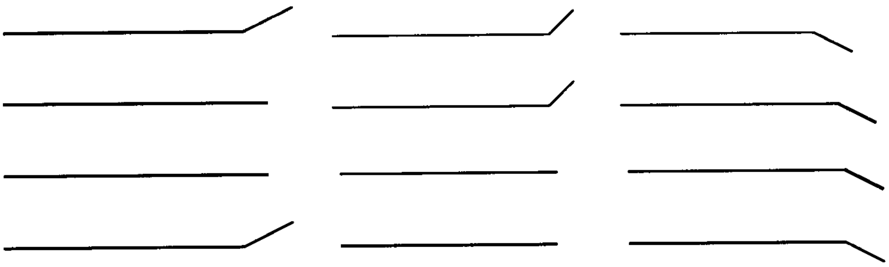
2.9 Intonation

A clause is usually articulated as one intonation. There are different intonation patterns for declarative, imperative, and interrogative clauses in Bilua, as briefly described here.

Declarative clauses generally have a falling intonation.



However, when declarative clauses are coordinated, all but the last one has a rising or level intonation, instead of falling intonation, and they are followed by a slight pause. Thus a sentence consisting of three clauses can show one of following four patterns.



Or there may be no marking of a clause boundary at all. Two clauses may be articulated as if they are one clause. In such a case, the clause boundary may be delineated by a coordinator. However, there are also cases in which clauses are simply juxtaposed and the clause boundary is not indicated in this way either. In examples given in this work, commas are used to mark a clause boundary indicated by a pause. A vertical line | is used to indicate a clause boundary where neither pause nor coordinator indicates a boundary. Examples (2.69), (2.70), and (2.71) are presented using Bilua orthography, not phonemic or phonetic representation (see next section for Bilua orthography).

(2.69)	*Nioqa*	*ti*	*qo*	*ol=a*	*kiaro*	*kale,*	*qo*	*iruruput=a,*
	3DU	TOP	3DU	go=PRES	garden	in	3DU	work=PRES

	qo=papat=a,	*raisi-raisi*	*ko*	*ev=a*	|	*sailao*
	3DU=plant=PRES	REDUP-evening	3SG.F	become=PRES		food

	qo=k=o=a	|	*qo=saqor=a,*	*ti*	*qo=kejue.*
	3DU=3SG.F.O=get=PRES		3DU=go.down=PRES	and.then	3DU=cook

'The two went to the garden, they worked, they planted, and it became evening, and they got food, they went down, and they cooked.' (24-3-28)

Interrogative clauses typically have a rising intonation, regardless of whether they are polar questions, alternative questions, or content questions.

(2.70)	*Lai*	*ta*	*ngo=vo*	*mama?*
	where	TOP	2SG=3SG.M	father

'Where is your father?' (24-7-73)

Imperative clauses have a level intonation.

(2.71)	*Pa*	*v=e=a*	*ngo=mama.*
	PROS	3SG.M.O=see=IMP.SG	2SG=father

'Go and see your father.' (24-5-45)

In Bilua, in principle, declarative, interrogative, and imperative clauses all have the same structure. Different types of clauses can be distinguished by intonation patterns, as well as by morphological icons such as an interrogative word that replaces the part of the clause which is in question and an imperative mood marker. That is, there is no distinctive clause structure for an interrogative or imperative clause. However, in a content question, an interrogative word or a constituent which contains an interrogative word is often marked by a focus marker and is shifted to the clause-initial position (see §14.3.2), while in an imperative clause the subject is often ellipsed (see §8.3).

2.10 Orthography

In this work, the orthography devised by early missionaries is adopted for simplicity's sake, and also because it is used by Vella La Vella people. All vowels and consonants are written in their phonemic forms except for the following.

Table 2.4: Phonemes and orthography

Phonemes	Orthography
Velar voiced stop /g/	q
Bilabial voiced fricative /β/	v
Palatal voiced affricate /dʒ/	j
Palatal nasal /ɲ/	ni
Velar nasal /ŋ/	ng

It is rather peculiar that the letter 'q' instead of 'g' is used for /g/ and the letter 'g' by itself is not used at all.

For a palatal nasal /ɲ/, an underlined n is also used, and this seems to be a preferred form. In this work, however, 'ni' is used as shown in the above table.

The pronunciation of some loan words in Bilua has been standardised and these words are written according to the pronunciation in Bilua, for example *titisa* 'teacher'. The pronunciation of some loan words has not been standardised and these are written according to the spelling in their source language. For example, there is no standardised pronunciation for *chainsaw* and so this is written according to the spelling in English.

This concludes the description of the phonology and morphophonology of Bilua. The next chapter presents an overview of Bilua basic clause structures.

3 *Basic clause structures*

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents basic clause structures as an introduction to the syntax of Bilua in order to provide and to familiarise the reader with a general overview of the structure of the language.

Clauses in Bilua can be either verbal or non-verbal depending on predicates. A verbal predicate is always a verb phrase (VP), which is headed with a verb as in (3.1). A non-verbal predicate can be a noun phrase (NP), a postpositional phrase (PP), a locational phrase (see §10.3 for a description of locational phrases), or an existential marker but can never be a VP. In (3.2), the predicate is an NP.

(3.1)	...*niania=ka=ma*	*ta*	[*ko=kejue=k=a*]$_{\text{VP}}$	*ko*	*sailao...*
	mother=LIG=3SG.F	TOP	3SG.F=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	food
			predicate		

'...the mother, she cooked food...'(24-3-23)

(3.2)	*Vo*	*ta*	[*student*]$_{\text{NP}}$.
	3SG.M	TOP	student
			predicate

'He is a student.'

Basic structures of verbal clauses and non-verbal clauses are described in §3.2 and §3.3 respectively.

3.2 Basic verbal clause structure

This section presents the Bilua basic verbal clause structure. It also includes a discussion about core arguments in Bilua. As in example (3.1) above, one or more constituents of a clause are often marked with a topic or a focus marker in Bilua. Any constituent marked with a topic or focus marker takes a preverbal position regardless of its function. A description of the basic verbal clause structure in this section is based on clauses that do not contain a marked constituent. First a discussion about core arguments in Bilua is presented in §3.2.1, then, the structure of verbal clauses is presented in §3.2.2. Before proceeding, however, a brief description of the Bilua VP structure is presented, as the discussion given below will be difficult to follow without some knowledge of the VP structure (see Chapter 8 for a full description of Bilua verb phrases).

A Bilua VP minimally contains a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references the subject, a verb, and a tense/mood marker, which is an enclitic on the verb. A transitive verb is obligatorily attached with an object clitic, which cross-references the object, and this usually occurs between the verb and the tense/mood marker.

(3.3) ...[*a=bai=k=a*]$_{\text{VP}}$...
1SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...I finished it...' (2-2-12)

A VP may optionally contain an aspectual/modal marker, the possessor-raising marker, a valency-increasing marker attached with an object clitic, and a modifier, all of which occur between the pronominal proclitic and the verb. In the following example, the VP contains a valency-increasing marker *ati* attached with an object clitic *l* (1SG.O) and a modifier *uri* attached with a ligature *a* (see §5.17 for the ligature). These all occur between the pronominal proclitic *ke* (3PL) and the verb *vail* attached with a present tense marker *a*.

(3.4) [*Ke=l=ati* *uri=a* *vail=a*]$_{\text{VP}}$.
3PL=1SG=VAL good=LIG look=PRES
'They look after me well.'

3.2.1 Core arguments

According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:26), core arguments are participants 'which are part of the semantic representation of the verb'. Following Dixon (1972), three different grammatical functions of core arguments are distinguished in Bilua: S (intransitive subject), A (transitive subject), and O (transitive object). In Bilua, these grammatical functions are marked on the verb phrase (VP) by bound pronouns: by a pronominal proclitic for S and A functions, and by an object clitic for the O function, which are obligatory constituents of VPs. This illustrates that Bilua is a nominative–accusative language and also a head-marking language in terms of marking of the grammatical functions (Nichols 1986), and following Nichols (1986:107–108), the term 'cross-reference' is used in describing the marking of grammatical functions on VPs. Hence, core arguments in Bilua are defined as arguments that are cross-referenced on the VP by bound pronouns. One type of core argument, however, is not cross-referenced on the VP by bound pronouns. This is discussed later in this section.

S/A arguments and the O argument are obligatorily expressed by pronominal proclitics and object clitics in VPs respectively, and they may be further expressed by optional NPs that are co-referential with these bound pronouns (see the next section for the discussion about expressions of core arguments). NPs expressing S/A/O arguments can all take both preverbal and postverbal positions. Their positions depend on whether they express an S/A argument or an O argument, and also the pragmatic function of the argument (see §14.6). The above illustrates that S and A arguments are syntactically distinguished from the O argument. Accordingly, it can be said that Bilua has two grammatical relations, 'subject' and 'object', which are associated with S and A arguments, and the O argument respectively. Another grammatical relation in Bilua, 'second object' is described later in this section. In the rest of this work, the terms subject and (direct) object are used sometimes in order to refer to grammatical relations, and other times in order to refer to arguments in subject and object grammatical relations.[8]

Subjects often have the semantic role of 'agent': 'a participant which the meaning of the verb specifies as doing or causing something, possibly intentionally' (Andrews 1985:68). In example (3.1) above, the subject has the semantic role of agent. Subjects may also have other semantic roles such as 'experiencer' and 'causer' as in examples (3.5) and (3.6) below.

(3.5) experiencer

...o̲=k=a	*zari=a*	*rae=ng=o...*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES	marry=2SG.O=NOM

'...he wants to marry you...' (59-11-95)

(3.6) causer (non-intentional action)

...vo=a	*botolo*	*inio*	*o̲*	*ere=k=e ko*
3SG.M=LIG	bottle	FOC.NONF	3SG.M	make=3SG.F.O=RMP3SG.F

ipututu...
eclipse

'...the bottle caused an eclipse...' (47-1-6)

Objects typically have the semantic role of 'patient': 'a participant which the verb characterises as having something happen to it, and as being affected by what happens to it' (Andrews 1985:68). In example (3.1) above, the object has the semantic role of 'patient'. Objects may also have other semantic roles such as 'product'[9] and 'recipient'.

(3.7) 'product'

Nio	*ke*	*ere=k̲=a*	*ko*	*bereti.*
SEQ	3PL	make=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	bread

'They made bread.' (16-1-7)

(3.8) 'recipient'

...kubo	*sailao*	*o=kati=m̲=a,*
many	food	3SG.M=give=3PL.O=PRES

'...he gave them much food,' (16-1-7)

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:29) distinguish two kinds of core arguments: direct core arguments, 'core arguments which are either unmarked, as in English, or marked by case alone, as in Icelandic', that is S, A, and O arguments; and oblique core arguments, 'core arguments which are adpositionally marked'. In Bilua, a participant that is part of the semantic representation of the verb may be postpositionally marked, but this is not treated as a core argument as a non-participant may also be postpositionally marked. According to Andrews (1985:69) participants are those which 'one would think of as actual participants in the situation implied by the verb', while non-participants are 'entities that do not really participate, but instead form part of the setting of the event'.[10] Postpositionally marked participant/non-participants in Bilua are not cross-referenced on the VP.

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[8] An argument introduced by the valency-increasing construction is also cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic; that is, it is also coded as an object, but this kind of argument is referred to as an 'added object' (see §9.4).

[9] The term 'product' is borrowed from Jauncey (1997:56).

For example, in a postpositional phrase *vo kasi* (3SG.M at), the postposition *kasi* marks that the referent of the governed NP, *vo* (3SG.M), has the semantic role of location/goal. This referent can be a participant or non-participant, depending on whether the verb is subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of location/goal or not. That is, the choice here depends on the semantics of the verb. In (3.9), the verb *barolo* 'to arrive' is said to be subcategorised for a participant with a semantic role of location/goal and so 'him' is a participant. In (3.10), on the other hand, the verb *raneo* 'to sleep overnight'[11] is not subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of goal/location, and so 'him' is not a participant. In both examples the underlined PP *vo kasi* (3SG.M at) is optional and 'him' is not cross-referenced on the VP by a bound pronoun.

(3.9) *Bazu ta ko=baro=a vo kasi.*
story TOP 3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.M at
'The story arrived at him.' (cf. (3.11))

(3.10) *A=da rane=la vo kasi.*
1SG=SIT sleep.overnight=RCP 3SG.M at
'I slept overnight at his place.'

The above illustrates that 'him' as a participant in (3.9) and 'him' as a non-participant in (3.10) are not syntactically distinguished: they are both marked by a postposition, and they are both treated as non-core arguments. Thus, a defining feature of non-core arguments is marking by a postposition. A non-participant and a participant also behave in the same way in the valency-increasing construction as illustrated below. Postpositional phrases are all treated as adjuncts together with other peripheral constituents (see next section).

The valency-increasing construction introduces a new core argument, and in this construction, a non-core argument can be realised as a core argument, and therefore it can be cross-referenced on the VP. It is cross-referenced by an object clitic, and thus it is coded as an object. Examples (3.11) and (3.12) are paraphrases of examples (3.9) and (3.10). 'Him', which has the semantic role of location/goal in both examples, is cross-referenced by the underlined object clitic *v* (3SG.M) on the VP, and thus it is a core argument.

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[10] These descriptions are used by Andrews (1985:69) in order to define two classes of semantic roles, 'participatory roles' and 'circumstantial roles', which are borne by participants and non-participants respectively.

[11] *Raneo*, with the default pronominal proclitic *ko* (3SG.F) (dummy it), means 'to become next day'. *Ko* here perhaps refers to 'the sun', thus, *ko=raneo* literally means 'the sun sleeps overnight' = 'it becomes next day'.

(3.11) ...*bazu* *ta* [*ko=v=ai* *baro=ke*]$_{\mathrm{VP}}$...
story TOP 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL arrive=HIST
'...the story reached him...' (12-3-21)

(3.12) [*A=v=ai* *rane=la*]$_{\mathrm{VP}}$
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL sleep.overnight=RCP
'I slept overnight at his place.'

In (3.11) and (3.12), a non-core argument is 'promoted' to a core argument. The speaker may promote a non-core argument to a core argument when he/she wants to highlight the affectedness of one of participants. In (3.11), the non-core argument 'him' is promoted to a core argument in order to highlight the affectedness of the promoted argument. This example occurs in a discourse in which the referent's family had been murdered and this story (news) reached him. Thus, the referent is affected by the event: he got upset upon hearing the news and searched for those who killed his family. If the speaker felt that there was no notion of affectedness of this referent, he/she would choose to express the event by (3.9) instead. Similarly example (3.12) highlights the affectedness of 'him'. Although arguments introduced by the valency-increasing construction are coded as objects, they have different semantic roles to non-promoted, original objects. These semantic roles are described in §9.4.

There is one type of core argument in Bilua that is not cross-referenced on the VP. This can be an argument of ditransitive verbs only, a subclass of transitive verbs. Bilua verbs can be divided into two groups on morphological grounds: intransitive and transitive verbs. Transitive verbs are those that obligatorily take object clitics, while intransitive verbs can never take object clitics. For example, a pair of intransitive and transitive verbs, *kejuto* and *kejueko* respectively, shares the meaning 'to cook (something)'. The stem of each of these verbs is *kejut* and *kejue* respectively, and *k* of *kejueko* is the default form of an object clitic, the third person singular feminine form, chosen for a citation form. *Kejue* can never occur without an object clitic, which is represented by *k* here, while *kejut* can never occur with an object clitic. The verb-final *o* in each of *kejuto* and *kejueko* is a nominal derivational enclitic, which is employed in the citation form of verbs.[12] Intransitive and transitive verbs are also semantically distinguished. See §4.4.

Ditransitive verbs are morphologically a subclass of transitive verbs: they obligatorily take an object clitic. Ditransitive verbs, however, can have three core arguments: arguments in subject and object relations, plus a third argument. This third argument is not cross-referenced on the VP, and it can be expressed only by an optional NP. This NP cannot be postpositionally marked and therefore it is treated as a core argument. The term 'second object' is employed to refer to the grammatical relation associated with the third argument. Example (3.8) above has a ditransitive verb *katiko* 'to give', and in this example, 'much food' is a second object and is not cross-referenced on the VP. A second object has either a semantic role of gift as in (3.8), or of concern, as 'with her study' in 'he helped her with (concerning) her study'. A list of ditransitive verbs is presented in §9.2.

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[12] Whether a verb is intransitive or transitive is clear from the absence/presence of an object clitic, and so this is not indicated in the gloss (see also §4.4).

An NP which expresses an argument (participant) that has the semantic role of gift may be treated as an adjunct, as this argument is not cross-referenced on the VP. However, this argument can never be marked with a postposition; nor can it ever be promoted to a core argument in the valency-increasing construction. Consequently it is treated as one type of core argument in this work.

3.2.2 Structure

The 'heart' of a clause in Bilua is the predicate. The predicate of a verbal clause is always a VP, whose head is always a verb, and except for when the verb is *elo* 'to become' or *iko* 'to put/cause', the VP on its own can form a clause. These two verbs require a complement whose occurrence is imposed by the verbs (see Andrews 1985:89). VPs headed with these verbs are always preceded by a complement phrase. This is discussed later in this section.

As described in §3.2.1, core arguments are obligatorily expressed by bound pronouns in the VP, and clauses may optionally have NP(s) which are co-referential with the bound pronouns in the VP. These optional NPs form the core of the clause together with the VP and the complement phrase. This leads to a question of what bears an argument expression of the verb: bound pronouns in VPs, optional NPs which are co-referential with the bound pronouns, or both? It is beyond the scope of this work to find a solution to this question, but in the brief discussion which follows, it is proposed that in Bilua both bound pronouns and optional NPs can be treated as argument expressions.

As noted above, grammatical functions in Bilua are marked by bound pronouns on VPs but not on NPs. Arguments may also have a particular pragmatic function, and this is not marked on bound pronouns but on optional NPs. When marked with a topic/focus marker, NPs present a topic/focus, while unmarked NPs typically introduce a new participant, or they may have other pragmatic functions (see §14). More importantly, the identity of bound pronouns is not clear by their own right: their identity has to be established first by NPs. Consequently, it can be said that both bound pronouns and NPs are expressions of arguments. However, as an argument always has a specific grammatical function, a bound pronoun is obligatory, whereas an NP is optional as it is not obligatory for an argument to have a particular pragmatic function encoded.[13]

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[13] According to Ezard (1997), in Tawala, an Austronesian language of Papua New Guinea, it is bound pronominal forms that count as an expression of core arguments, and these pronominal forms 'index' the person and number of arguments. Optional NPs, on the other hand, occur to mark a pragmatic role (topic and focus) (Ezard 1997:87–89, 92–93). Optional NPs in Bilua also occur to mark a pragmatic role. However unlike Tawala, in Bilua person/number/gender is marked on both NPs and bound pronouns in VPs (see §7.4 for person/number/gender marking on NPs).

Accordingly, the core in Bilua can be divided into inner and outer cores which are obligatory and optional respectively: the inner core contains the VP as well as the complement phrase, while the outer core contains core NPs.

In addition to the predicate and NPs which express core arguments, a clause may have other optional peripheral constituents such as the postpositional phrases mentioned in the last section. Other peripheral constituents are locational/temporal noun phrases, adverbs, adverbial clauses, the negation marker, and general modifiers. All these constituents function as adjuncts.[14] Adjuncts occur 'subject to the requirement that the sentence make sense' (Andrews 1985:89),[15] and '[t]he meaning of an adjunct does not vary as a function of the meaning of the predicate, while the meaning of an argument can vary as a function of the meaning of the predicate' (Comrie 1993).

This description of adjuncts also supports the contention that the third argument of a ditransitive verb, which was described in the last section, is not an adjunct. This is expressed by an NP and the meaning of such an NP, or in other words, the semantic role of such an NP, can be licensed only by the verb but not by the NP itself. For example, in (3.8), the NP *kubo sailao* 'much food' is considered to have the semantic role of gift because of the verb *katiko* 'to give', which assumes a participant with the semantic role of gift.

Postpositional phrases, locational and temporal NPs/adverbs usually occur in a postverbal position, but they may take a preverbal position to be a focus constituent (see §14.3.2). Non-locational/temporal adverbs and adverbial clauses precede or follow depending on types of adverbs and adverbial clauses. The negation marker and general modifiers always precede and follow the core respectively. Thus the basic verbal clause structure in Bilua is summarised in the following figure.[16]

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[14] Adverbs, general modifiers, and the negation marker all occur outside of the VP in Bilua and thus they are categorised as adjuncts.

[15] Note that Andrews (1985) treats adjuncts and complements together as obliques.

[16] The structure given here is similar to the layered structure proposed in Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 1993:5), but since the predicate obligatorily contains bound pronouns which are expressions of core arguments, there is no distinction made here between a nucleus and core (nucleus and arguments) as in RRG. As a matter of fact, predicate in this work and predicate in Van Valin's sense is different—Van Valin treats only the verb as the predicate, while this work treats the VP as the predicate. This difference is clearly demonstrated by a Lakhota example in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:33–34), in which the verb by itself is treated as the predicate. Accordingly, Van Valin and LaPolla treat the verb as the nucleus. They also treat pronominal affixes on the verb as core arguments, while independent NPs which cross-reference with these affixes are non-core.

Periphery	Core			Periphery
	Outer core	Inner core	Outer core	
PP locational NP temporal NP adverb adverbial clause negation marker	core NP	VP CompP + VP	core NP	PP locational NP temporal NP adverb adverbial clause general modifier
Optional		Obligatory	Optional	

Figure 3.1: Structure of verbal clauses

This is exemplified by the following three examples.

(3.13)	*Sai*	*vo=a*	*ziolo*	*ke=papue=v=e*	*jari*	*topi.*
	there	3SG.M=LIG	devil	3PL=sit=3SG.M.O=RMP	copra.house	on.top
	Adverb	NP		VP	locational NP	
	adjunct	outer core		inner core	adjunct	

'There, they sat the devil on the copra house.' (43-2-18)

(3.14)	...*ko=keju=la*	*ko*	*sailao.*
	3SG.F=cook=RCP	3SG.F	food
	VP		NP
	inner core	outer core	

'...food has cooked.' (27-16-98)

(3.15)	...*dole*	*o=ta*	*ev=a*...
	snake	3SG.M=SIT	become=PRES
	complement NP	VP	
		inner core	

'...he became a snake...'(24-12-98)

In (3.13), the verb is transitive and the subject is expressed by a pronominal proclitic *ke* (3PL) only, while the object is expressed by an object clitic *v* (3SG.M) as well as an NP *vo=a ziolo* 'the devil'. This NP, the adverb *sai* 'there', and the locational NP *jari topi* 'on the copra house' are all optional and they can be omitted without resulting ungrammaticality.

In (3.14), the verb is an intransitive one and thus there is only one argument, the subject 'food', which is expressed by a pronominal proclitic *ko* (3SG.F) as well as an NP *ko sailao* 'food'. This NP is optional and can be omitted.

In (3.15), the verb *elo* 'to become' is an intransitive verb, but this verb requires a complement. As the verb is intransitive, it has only one core argument, the subject, expressed by a pronominal proclitic *o* (3SG.M). *Dole* 'snake' forms an NP on its own and it is not a part of the VP, as it is possible to separate it from the VP by inserting a focus marker, whereas focus markers cannot occur within a VP. ‘Snake’ is not a core argument, as the VP does not contain a bound pronoun which is co-referential with the NP *dole* ‘snake’. It cannot be treated as an adjunct either as its presence is obligatory. Thus, it is a complement. When the verb is *iko* ‘to put/cause’, the complement phrase can also be an adjectival phrase, a postpositional phrase, or any locational phrase. Unlike core NPs or adjunct phrases, complement phrases have a fixed position in clauses—they can occur only in preverbal position.

The negation marker is an optional, non-core constituent of a clause and can thus be treated as an adjunct. The negation marker can occur only in the preverbal slot for adjuncts. If a clause has other adjunct(s) in preverbal position, the negation marker precedes them unless they are a linking adverbial or circumstantial adverb.

(3.16) *...pui kapiavole ko=kati=v=a ko=a bakisa*
NEG quickly 3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money
manner adverb predicate
‘...she didn’t give the custom money to him quickly (27-10-62)’[17]

(3.17) *Sole maba pui qe=raneo=vou...*
that’s.why truly NEG 2DU=be.overnight=FUT
linking adverbial circumstantial adverb predicate
‘So, truly you will not stay [there] overnight...’ (27-21-131)

The negation marker can be followed by a focus marker *inio* or a topic marker *ti*. The combination of the negation marker with *inio* indicates that an event has not happened yet but it is expected to happen soon, while the combination of the negation marker with *ti* indicates that an event has not happened contrary to expectation.

(3.18) *Pui nio o=vou=va...*
NEG FOC.NONF 3SG.M=die=PRES
‘He has not died yet [but he will die soon]...’ (26-22-117)

(3.19) *“Meqora, ngo=mama ta lai nio o=ta*
child 2SG=father TOP where FOC.NONF 3SG.M=SIT

ol=ala. Pui ti o=baro=a”, k=i=ko=la.
go=RCP NEG TOP 3SG.M=arrive=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘“Child, where has your father gone? He hasn’t arrived yet [he should be here by now]”, she said.’ (24-5-40/41)

These examples clearly illustrate that the negation marker is not a part of the VP, since in Bilua only a phrase but not a phrase constituent can be marked with a topic/focus marker.

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[17] Custom money is money made of a big seashell. It has a shape of bracelet. It is given from the parents of a male person to the family of his prospective bride.

3.3 Non-verbal clauses

A non-verbal clause typically consists of the subject, expressed by a subject NP marked with a topic marker, and the predicate, expressed by an NP, a PP headed with a similative postposition, a locational phrase (see §10.3 for locational phrases), or an existential marker. In addition to these, it may have an optional peripheral component. This can be a PP, a locational/temporal NP, an adverb, or an adverbial clause, and it may occur clause-initially or -finally.

Periphery	Core		Periphery
	subject	predicate	
PP locational NPs temporal NPs adverb adverbial clause	NP + topic marker	NP PP locational phrase existential marker	PP locational NPs temporal NPs adverb adverbial clause
Optional	Obligatory		Optional

Figure 3.2: Structure of non-verbal clauses

In example (3.20), the predicate is a headless NP (see §7.2.1.3.1).

(3.20)	*...vairutu*	[*komi=a*	*ipu*	*ta*]	[*qulepo=a=ma...*]
	today	PROX.SG=LIG	night	TOP	wonderful=LIG=3SG.F
	adjunct	subject			predicate

'...today, this night is a wonderful one...' (70-4-29)

Non-verbal clauses can be divided into three types on syntactic and semantic grounds: equational, locational, and existential. Each of these has an NP/PP, a locational phrase, and an existential marker respectively as the predicate. Different types of non-verbal clauses are described in §11.

This chapter presented structures of verbal and non-verbal clauses as well as a definition of core arguments in Bilua. The next chapter presents a description of open word classes.

4 *Open classes*

4.1 Introduction

In Bilua, nouns and verbs form open classes, and adjectives form a semi-open class. Criteria for open classes are given in §4.2 below. Brief descriptions of each open class are presented in subsequent sections. Closed classes are discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2 Open class criteria

Open classes in Bilua can be distinguished according to morphological and syntactic criteria. Verbs are distinguished from nouns and adjectives in the sense that they can be attached with a tense-mood marker. Only verbs can be the predicate head of a verbal clause. Nouns, but not adjectives, can be the head of an NP or the predicate head of a non-verbal clause. The above is summarised in Table 4.1. The symbol + indicates that the class has the listed function and – indicates that it does not.

Table 4.1: Open class criteria

	Nouns	Adjectives	Verbs
Attachment of a tense-mood marker	–	–	+
Predicate head of a verbal clause	–	–	+
Predicate head of a non-verbal clause	+	–	–
Head of an NP	+	–	–

Adjectives typically function as a modifier in an NP, but in Bilua, nouns, words in closed classes, phrases, and clauses may also function as a modifier in an NP, and as modifiers they are not morphologically distinguished—they all function as modifiers cliticised with a pronominal enclitic or a combination of a pronominal enclitic with a ligature, forming a modifier phrase (see §7.2.1.3.1).

Each of the three open classes is described below: nouns in §4.3, verbs in §4.4, and adjectives in §4.5.

4.3 Nouns

Bilua nouns are not grammatically marked for number and gender, but some kinship terms, personal names, and common nouns have a natural gender. For example, a kinship term *mama* 'father' is masculine or a female personal name *Kazuduri* 'Kazuduri' is feminine.

Bilua nouns can broadly be divided into two groups: locational nouns and non-locational nouns. Locational nouns are inherently locational and NPs headed with these nouns can function as locative adjuncts without a locative postposition. On the other hand, NPs headed with non-locational nouns cannot function as locative adjuncts without a locative postposition (see §10.3.2 and §10.3.3).

Non-locational nouns are further divided into three subclasses: common nouns, kinship terms, and personal names. They are distinguished on the basis of their ability to occur with optional NP constituents (see §7.2.2) as well as on semantic grounds. Locational nouns include two subclasses: relational nouns and placenames, and one noun *koi* 'place'. Syntactically, relational nouns and placenames behave in the same way (see §7.2.2.4).

There are two nouns which are syntactically distinguished from all other nouns and thus do not belong to any of the above-mentioned classes. These are *male* 'match' (in the sense of 'being equal' or a 'partner') and emphatic *ngavi* 'self'. These two nouns obligatorily occur with a pronominal proclitic, forming the direct type of possessive NP (see §7.3.1). An NP headed with either of these two nouns can never function as a locational adjunct, with or without a postposition. The above is summarised in the following figure.

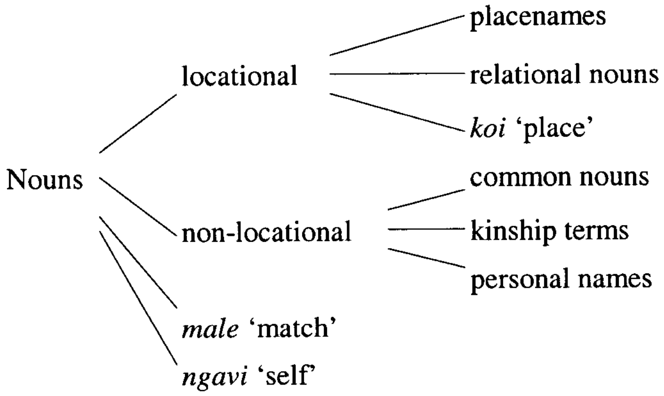

Figure 4.1: Subclasses of nouns

Nouns can also be divided into inalienably possessed nouns and alienably possessed nouns. The former are kinship terms, common nouns of body parts, two nouns, *male* 'match' and emphatic *ngavi* 'self', and common nouns which have a special significance in the life and culture of Vella La Vella island people, such as *pade* 'house', *peuru* 'village/home', *kiaro* 'garden', *udu* 'island', *baerebaere* 'friend' or *toutou* 'tribe'. All other nouns are alienably possessed nouns. Inalienably possessed nouns, except for *male* 'match' and emphatic *ngavi* 'self', can be the head of both types of possessive NP in Bilua, direct and non-direct types. Alienably possessed nouns can be the head of only the indirect type (see §7.3.2). *Male* 'match' and emphatic *ngavi* 'self' can only be the head of the direct type of possessive NP.

Each of five subclasses of nouns, common nouns, kinship terms, personal names, placenames and relational nouns is described in the following.

4.3.1 Common nouns

Common nouns form the largest subclass of nouns. Some examples of common nouns are:

pade	'house'
pesio	'language'
peuru	'village/home'
kana	'war'
tola	'pain'
sopu	'hill'

Among common nouns, there is a small group of temporal nouns. NPs headed with a temporal noun can function as a temporal adjunct (see §10.4.2). The above examples are all non-temporal nouns. Temporal nouns are:

taku	'time'	*lekito*	'early morning'
nganiu	'day'	*vikale*	'morning'
kaboso	'month'	*ngadale*	'afternoon'
sabere	'year'	*raisiraisi*	'evening'
koloko	'clock (o'clock)'	*ipu*	'night'

There are a few uncountable nouns, for example, *raisi* 'rice', *mosi* 'slippery cabbage', *nene* 'ngali nut', and *nudolo* 'noodle'. These nouns can be modified by a numeral, but when they are modified by a numeral, they mean 'bag/bunch/packet of such-and-such a thing' but not just 'such-and-such a thing'. For example, in (4.1) *raisi*, modified by a numeral, as underlined, means 'bag of rice' not just 'rice'.

(4.1) *A=databarae=k=ala* *omuqa raisi*.
1SG=buy=3SG.F.O=RCP two rice
'I bought two bags of rice.'

In contrast to uncountable nouns, countable nouns show no change of meaning when they are modified by a numeral, as in the underlined NP in the following example.

(4.2) *A=databarae=k=ala* *omuqa* *raro.*
1SG=buy=3SG.F.O=RCP two pot
'I bought two pots.'

One common noun *parani* 'warrior' can be used as an adjective as well. It means *parani* 'brave' as an adjective.

4.3.2 Kinship terms

Some kinship terms in Bilua have inherent gender and others do not. The following is the exhaustive list of kinship terms in Bilua. Those in the left column have inherent gender, and those in the right column do not have inherent gender.

Table 4.2: Kinship terms

niania	'mother' 'aunt (mother's or father's sister)' 'wife's sister'
mama	'father' 'husband's brother' 'father's brother'
papa	'mother's brother'
tanala	'husband'
tanama	'wife'

taite	'grandparent'
apakora	'brother's child'
mabuzu	'grandchild'
meqora	'child' 'sister's child' 'husband's brother' 'wife's sister'
mani	'wife's brother' 'husband's sister'
ravaza	'in-law other than *mani'*
kaka	'older sibling'
visi	'younger sibling'

Two adjectives, *reko* 'female' and *lasive* 'male', can also function as kinship terms meaning 'wife' and 'husband' respectively.

One disease word, *buabua* 'haemorrhoid' can also be used as a kinship term referring to the last-born child.

Meqora is also used as a common noun meaning 'child'. Since Bilua kinship terms cannot occur with a determiner, which marks indefiniteness, when this noun occurs with determiners, it signals that it is used as a common noun. In the following example, *meqora* is preceded by a determiner *kala.*

(4.3) *...ko=vijari=v=a* *kala* *meqora*
3SG.F=give.birth=3SG.M.O=PRES INDEF.SG.M child

lasive=a=la.
male=LIG=3SG.M
'...she gave a birth to a male child.' (27-2-10)

Kinship terms in Bilua can be used as modifiers in a modifier phrase (see §7.2.1.3.1 for modifier phrases). As modifiers, *kaka* 'older sibling' and *visi* 'younger sibling' mean 'older' and 'younger' respectively.

With kinship terms that do not have inherent gender, the gender can be specified by a modifier phrase (MP) which contains an adjective *reko* 'female' or *lasive* 'male' as a modifier, as illustrated by examples (4.4) and (4.5) below. In these examples, the modifier phrase, *reko=a=ma* (female=LIG=3SG.F) and *lasive=a=la* (male=LIG=3SG.M) respectively, are embedded into an NP headed with *taite* 'grandparent' and these specify the gender.

(4.4) *reko=a=ma* *taite*
female=LIG=3SG.F grandparent
MP
'grandmother'

(4.5) *lasive=a=la* *taite*
male=LIG=3SG.M grandparent
MP
'grandfather'

The gender can also be specified by the head of a modifier phrase, which always takes the form of a pronominal enclitic. In the following example, the pronominal enclitic *la* (3SG.M) specifies the gender as masculine.

(4.6) *qole=a=la* *taite*
old=LIG=3SG.M grandparent
MP
'old grandfather'

Some kinship terms can be used as vocatives on their own. In vocative use, kinship terms have restricted meanings. For example, *niania* as a vocative can only mean either 'mother' or 'aunt (mother's or father's sister)' although it also has a meaning 'wife's sister'. Other kinship terms which can be used as vocatives are *mama* 'father', *papa* 'uncle', *meqora* 'child', *taite* 'grandparent', and *mabuzu* 'grandchild'.

4.3.3 Personal names

Personal names are unique names of people. Some examples are:

Maikajara	'*Maikajara* (male)'
Kina	'*Kina* (female)'
Ilai	'*Ilai* (male)'
Kazuduri	'*Kazuduri* (female)'

4.3.4 Placenames

Placenames are unique names of countries, islands and villages. Some examples are:

Solomoni	'the Solomon Islands'
Gizo	'Gizo Island'
Vella La Vella	'Vella La Vella island'
Sabora	'Sabora village'

4.3.5 Relational nouns

Relational nouns indicate a spatial orientation. The following are Bilua relational nouns

Table 4.3: Relational nouns

keta	'edge'	*sipole*	'near'
kuleto	'front'	*tona*	'beside'
kupele	'outside'	*tova*	'behind'
okate	'high up'	*topi*	'on top'
omele	'below the surface'	*vima*	'underneath'
poro	'inside'	*zara*	'down below'
rana	'side'	*saka*	'seaside'
vaila	'end'		

Saka 'seaside' is included in the relational noun class, as it refers to the 'edge' of an island.

A relational noun occurs as the possessee of an indirect type of possessive NP. In this type of possessive NP, the possessor NP is typically marked with a possessive marker, an encliticised form of a demonstrative. This, however, is often omitted when the possessee is a relational noun. In example (4.7) the underlined NP *veutu tona* is reduced from *veutu=ko tona* (door=3SG.F beside) which literally means 'the door's beside'. This suggests that relational nouns are becoming postpositions.

(4.7)	*...meqora=ka=la*	*ta*	*o*	*ol=a*	*veutu*	*tona...*
	child=LIG=3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M	go=PRES	entrance	beside

'...the son, he went to beside the entrance...' (27-3-15)

Svorou (1993) studies twenty-six languages in terms of sources of 'spatial grams'—'grammatical forms of language which express primarily spatial relations' (1993:31) such as adpositions, affixes, case inflections, and spatial adverbs, and he argues that relational nouns (relational object-part terms, in his terminology), as well as three other kinds of nouns—body parts, environmental landmarks, and abstract spatial notions—may be grammaticalised as adpositions. Furthermore, in the course of this grammaticalisation, these nouns may go through a stage where they are used in a genitive construction which encodes a part–whole relationship, or where they are used as an adverb. Relational nouns in Bilua are apparently going through the grammaticalisation he describes. As noted above, relational nouns in Bilua are typically used in a possessive NP, and they are becoming like postpositions. Furthermore, two relational nouns *sipole* 'near' and *kuleto* 'front' can also be used as an adverb meaning 'soon' and '(at) first' respectively.

Tova 'behind' can also function as a modifier in a verb phrase, meaning 'after' (see §8.6). This is the only noun in the entire noun class, which can be a modifier in a VP.

4.4 Verbs

Verbs can typically be the predicate head of a verbal clause. Verbs in Bilua are broadly divided into two types: intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. In this chapter, verbs are given without the object clitic or a final *o*, which are normally employed in the citation form of verbs.

As noted in §3.2.1, intransitive verbs and transitive verbs are morphologically distinguished by their ability to take an object clitic: intransitive verbs can never have an object clitic, while transitive verbs obligatorily take an object clitic. For example, *nanat* and *nanae*, both of which roughly mean 'to bite', are an intransitive and transitive verb respectively. *Nanae* but not *nanat* takes an object clitic, as indicated by underlines.

(4.8) *Ko=nanat=ala.*
3SG.F=bite=RCP
'It did biting.'

(4.9) *Ko=nanae=v=ala.*
3SG.F=bite=3SG.M.O=RCP
'It bit him.'

This morphological difference between intransitive and transitive verbs is a reflection of the semantic difference between them. Both *nanato* an *nanaeko* roughly mean 'to bite', but the intransitive *nanato* expresses that one does biting, and so with this verb the identity of the patient or affectedness of the patient is not salient. It is because of this that *nanato* never takes an object clitic. Accordingly, the intransitive *nanato* can never occur with a patient expression—it never occurs with an O NP (see §9.3, however, for occurrences of an object with an intransitive verb). On the other hand, the transitive verb *nanaeko* expresses that one bites someone, and so with this verb the identity or the affectedness of the patient is salient.

In the above examples, intransitive and transitive verbs have an identical string of segments, *nana*. *Nanat* and *nanae* then can be segmented as *nana-t* and *nana-e*, and *-t* and *-e* might be regarded as intransitive and transitive markers respectively. As a matter of fact, most verbs in Bilua have both intransitive and transitive forms, sharing an identical string of segments. However, it is not always the case that an intransitive verb and a transitive verb consist of an identical string of segments, plus *-t* and *-e* respectively. For example, an intransitive verb *roquan* 'to care/love' and a transitive verb *roque* 'to care/love' share an identical string of segments *roqu,* and each of them additionally has *-an* and *-e* respectively. On the other hand, an intransitive verb *pazot* 'to hit' and a transitive verb *pazo* 'to hit' share an identical string of segments, *pazo*, but only the intransitive one additionally has *-t.* It is not predictable which forms intransitive and transitive counterparts manifest.

Each of verbs 'to bite', 'to care/love', and 'to hit' has another intransitive form, *nanail* 'to bite oneself', *roquil* 'to care about/love oneself', and *pazoil* 'to hit oneself' respectively. The *il* of these verbs can be considered to be a reflexive suffix, but it cannot be claimed that all verbs which have the segment *il* have a reflexive meaning. For example, a verb *soqoil* 'to run away' never has a reflexive interpretation. Nor is it the case that all verbs that have a reflexive meaning contain *-il.* Some verbs contain *-zi*, for example, *lainizi* 'to feel (touch) oneself'.

It appears that historically intransitive, both reflexive and non-reflexive, and transitive verbs developed from the same roots, which are described as identical strings of segments above, with each root choosing a particular intransitive, reflexive, and/or transitive suffix, but combinations of a root with an intransitive/reflexive/transitive suffix have subsequently been fully lexicalised. Thus, 'roots' have only historical significance. It is beyond the scope of this work to present a historical analysis of verbal morphology, and all verbs are treated as unanalysed stems. However, the term 'root' is employed to refer to the identical string of segments shared by intransitive and transitive verbs in the description of reduplication and derivational morphology in §2.8 and §6.5. Appendix 1 presents different intransitive, transitive, and reflexive suffixes employed by different roots, in order to demonstrate that the choice of intransitive, transitive, and reflexive suffixes is not predictable from the form or the meaning of the root.

Verbs are cited with an enclitic *o,* which is glossed as NOM for a nominal derivational enclitic, attached, and citation forms of transitive verb also have an object clitic, which is realised in the default form *k* (3SG.F.O), for example, *nanato* 'to bite' and *nanaeko* 'to bite'. This is how Bilua people cite verbs. An object clitic usually follows the verb, and thus the citation form of a transitive verb usually ends with *ko*, a combination of *k* (3SG.F.O) with *o* (NOM). Since transitive verbs and intransitive verbs are distinguished by the presence/absence of an object clitic in their citation forms, whether they end with *ko* or not, the distinction between them is not indicated in the gloss. Thus, both an intransitive verb *nanato* and a transitive verb *nanaeko* are glossed as 'to bite' and whether each of them is intransitive or transitive is not indicated. There are some exceptions to the above, however. With four verbs, *el* 'to see', *ov* 'to get', *u* 'to eat', and *i* 'to say', the object clitic precedes the verb, and an enclitic *o* is directly attached to the verb. Thus, their citation forms are *kelo* 'to see', *kovo* 'to get', *kuo* 'to eat', and *kio* 'to say' respectively.

There is a small subclass of transitive verbs, which are referred to as ditransitive verbs. A description of these is given in §3.2 and §9.2.

Bilua verbs can be classified into five classes in terms of the lexical semantics of verbs. This is presented in §8.4 in which VPs are described, as the lexical semantics of verbs interact with other VP constituents such as aspectual/modal markers. Verbs can also be distinguished by their valency. See §9.2.

4.5 Adjectives

Bilua adjectives do not directly modify the head; they form modifier phrases with pronominal enclitics, and these function as NP modifiers (see §7.2.1.3.1). For example, in an NP *silo=a=la meqora* (small=LIG=3SG.M child) 'small boy', *silo=a=la* is a modifier phrase and this modifies the head, *meqora.*[18] Adjectives can, however, function as modifiers without forming modifier phrases in an NP headed with the noun *koi* 'place', for example *ileile=a koi* (beautiful=LIG place) 'beautiful place' (see §7.2.2.4). The adjective *kiada* 'all' forms an adjectival phrase with a pronominal proclitic and this means 'by oneself', for example *o=kiada* (3SG.M=all) 'by himself'. A few adjectives can function as a modifier in a VP as well (see §8.6).

There are about 100 adjectives in Bilua, and they can be divided into different semantic groups as shown in Table 4.4 (following Dixon 1977:24 and 1991:78–85).

Adjectives *reko* 'female' and *lasive* 'male' can also function as kinship terms meaning 'wife' and 'husband'. Furthermore, *reko* 'female', but not *lasive* 'male', can also be used as a common noun. As a common noun, *reko* means 'woman'.

In Bilua, names of tribes are categorised as adjectives as well. Like other adjectives, they form a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic, for example, *Sabe=a=la maba* (Sabe=LIG=3SG.M person) '*Sabe* man'. However, they can modify the noun *toutou* 'tribe' without forming a modifier phrase, for example *Sabe toutou* (Sabe tribe) '*Sabe* tribe'.

A few adjectives can function as de-adjectival nouns and these can be the head of an NP. As de-adjectival nouns, they do not take an enclitic. Adjectives *rosi* 'long', *tapata* 'hard', and *tuvevo* 'true' mean 'length', 'hardship', and 'truth' respectively as de-adjectival nouns and they are categorised as common nouns. An abstract noun can also be derived from some adjectives, by a nominal derivational enclitic (see §6.3.2).

This concludes the description of open classes. The next chapter presents a description of closed classes.

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[18] This *a* here is a ligature. See §5.17 for a description of the ligature.

Table 4.4: Adjectives

Dimension	*silo* 'small'	*matu* 'big'	*rosi* 'long'
	puju 'short'	*posu* 'fat'	*adakiri* 'thin'
	riro 'narrow'	*sipi* 'slim'	*mota* 'thick'
	repaso 'wide'		
Physical Property	*zokele* 'firm'	*duki* 'heavy'	*vairu* 'clean'
	olu 'soft'	*laumade* 'smooth'	*aukozo* 'light'
	vualavuala 'hot'	*sarosaroro* 'cold'	
Colours	*sibi* 'black'	*tapo* 'white'	*diri* 'red'
	luqumu 'blue'	*vaqo* 'yellow'	*paqauva* 'green'
Human Propensity	*baisi* 'kind'	*lekuleku* 'weak'	*sarube* 'crazy'
	meomeo 'naughty'	*muino* 'selfish'	*lupalupa* 'lazy'
	ririzo 'capable'	*ngalopozi* 'cowardly'	*ukaka* 'careless'
	udo 'stupid'	*parani* 'brave'	*utu* 'idle'
Age	*vairu* 'new/young'	*qole* 'old'	
Value	*uri* 'good'	*ruqe* 'bad'	*kako* 'strange'
	qulepo 'important'		
Speed	*olu* 'slow'	*tauka* 'quick'	
Similarity	*edolo* 'different'	*ija* 'same'	
Qualification and Others	*tuvevo* 'true'	*sarusaru* 'wrong'	*tapata* 'hard'
	musu 'ripened'	*bule* 'calm/peaceful'	*batiro* 'rich'
	olu 'easy/soft'	*kaqa* 'dirty'	*ivo* 'sharp'
	kaitu 'future'	*sidopu* 'right/straight'	*olomoiza* 'quiet'
	raura 'expensive'	*lasive* 'male'	*reko* 'female'
	kiada 'all'	*ileile* 'beautiful'	

5 *Closed classes*

5.1 Introduction

This section presents closed word and morpheme classes. For some classes, only a list of words/morpheme is given, and a full description is given in subsequent chapters.

5.2 Adverbs

There is a small closed class of adverbs in Bilua. They can be divided into two types according to their functions: predicate modifiers and linking adverbials. Predicate modifiers modify predicates. Linking adverbials indicate a semantic link between clauses. In this sense, they are similar to coordinators but they are distinguished from coordinators as they do not link clauses syntactically.

Some words in Bilua occur in a VP functioning as a modifier. One of them, *maba* 'truly', belongs to the adverb class, and all others belong to the adjective, the noun, or the general modifier class.

Predicate modifiers are divided into four types on semantic grounds: manner adverbs, locational adverbs, temporal adverbs, and circumstantial adverbs. Temporal and locational adverbs present a temporal and locational setting respectively. Manner adverbs give information about the way the situation presented by the verb happens. Circumstantial adverbs are a group of adverbs that are neither temporal nor locational and give surrounding information about the situation presented by the predicate. Table 5.1 presents a list of predicate modifiers.

Table 5.1: Predicate modifiers

Manner adverbs		*kadaule* 'instantly' *kapiavole* 'quickly' *koaziole* 'straight' *matuvole* 'loudly' *ngadavole* 'day by day' *oluavole* 'slowly' *pujuavole* 'making it short' *taukavole* 'quickly' *tutumaziavole* 'straightaway'
Locational adverbs	deictic adverbs	*koi* 'here' *sai* 'there'
	indefinite locational adverb	*uki* 'somewhere there'
	distance adverb	*vanga* 'far'
Temporal adverbs		*lea* 'tomorrow' *ravi* 'yesterday' *vairutu* 'today/now' *erisanga* 'at present' *oqotimala* 'the day before yesterday' *oqotinga* 'the day after tomorrow' *lula* 'already' *mainio* 'later' *kuleto* 'first' *sipole* 'soon'
Circumstantial adverbs		*muli* 'altogether' *saita* 'first (this is done first)' *maba* 'truly' *esa* 'maybe' *mata/mati* 'again'

The indefinite locational adverb, *uki* 'somewhere there' is distinguished from an indefinite non-specific NP *ka koi* (INDEF place) 'somewhere' in the sense that the speaker knows where this somewhere is. That is, it is indefinite specific. It is often used when the speaker cannot name a location straightaway.

(5.1)	*...qe=zio=vou*	*uki*	*siqo*	*ale...*
	1DU.INC=go=FUT	somewhere	bush	in

'...we will go there (somewhere), to the bush...' (15-2-12)

It seems that manner adverbs have originated historically in postpositional phrases. They all end with *le,* which appears to have originated in the cliticised form of a locative postposition *kale* 'in'. For example, *matuvole* 'loudly' can be segmented into three morphemes: the adjective *matu* 'big', the nominal derivational enclitic *vo*, and the postposition *le.*

(5.2) *matu=vo=le*
big=NOM=in
'loudly'

There are five linking adverbials in Bilua. They have originated in a combination of two words; an adverb or a noun with a focus marker, or a postpositional phrase that again consists of two words, but they all have been lexicalised. Table 5.2 presents a list of linking adverbials with a description of their original parts.

Table 5.2: Linking adverbials

Linking adverbials	Original parts
sainio 'therefore'/'then'	*sai inio* (there FOC.NONF): two words[19]
soinio 'accordingly'	*so inio* (that FOC.NONF): two words
saitainio 'afterwards'	*saita inio* (first FOC.NONF): two words
saikazo 'following that'	*sai kazo* (there ABL): PP
sole 'that's why'	*so=le* (that=in): PP

All predicate modifiers and linking adverbials function as adjuncts. They are described with other kinds of adjuncts in Chapter 10.

5.3 General modifiers

General modifiers modify different types of words. Some of them may also modify a verbal predicate. When a general modifier modifies a verbal predicate rather than just a verb, it has a scope over the entire verbal predicate (see §10.10 for illustration with an example). Table 5.3 presents a list of general modifiers and the elements they can modify.

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[19] In a linking adverbial *sainio*, a focus marker *inio* is realised as *nio* since there is no long vowel in Bilua.

Table 5.3: General modifiers

	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Verbal 'Predicate'	Quantifier	Deictic 'Adverb'
Approximative *tiniavo* 'about'	+	–	–	–	numerals	–
Similative *jari* 'like'	–	+	–	+	–	–
Restrictive *pala* 'only'	+	*silo* 'small'	–	+	–	–
Completive *buti* 'finished'	+	–	–	–	–	+
sasa 'a bit/mock'	+	+	+	–	–	–
Intensifier *matu* 'very'	+	+	+	–	*kubo* 'many'	–

General modifiers, which can modify verbs, namely, *sasa* 'a little' and *matu* 'very', always precede the element they modify while others always follow it. *Matu* is also an adjective meaning 'big'. Unlike adjectives (see §4.5 and §7.2.1.3.1), general modifiers function as NP modifiers without forming modifier phrases with pronominal enclitics. The general modifier *matu* 'very' can only modify temporal nouns or one relational noun, *sipole* 'near'; for example, *matu raisiraisi* (very evening) 'late evening' and *matu sipole* 'very close'.

The completive *buti* 'finished' can modify a temporal noun and this indicates that the time the temporal noun indicates has been reached. For example, *raisiraisi buti* (evening finished) means that it has already become evening. It can also modify a deictic adverb and this indicates a completion of movement to the place referred to. To illustrate, *koi buti* '(here finished)' is used as a request to the addressee to (finish to) move to the speaker; that is, it means 'move here'.

The approximative *tiniavo* is realised as *tiania* when it follows the pronoun *so* 'that'. This combination means 'that's about it'.

Other general modifiers are referred to throughout the book.

5.4 Negation marker

The negation marker *pui* is in a class of its own. The negation marker may occur with an enclitic accompanied by a preceding ligature *a* (see §5.17). This results in a sequence of a diphthong and a vowel, *pui=a,* followed by an enclitic, but this does not conform with the phonotactics of Bilua—it results in a sequence of Vs. Therefore, to avoid such a sequence, the negation marker is realised as *puli* in this environment. As noted in §3.2.2, the negation marker *pui* functions as an adjunct: it negates a clause. The negation marker can also form a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic and this functions as an NP modifier, meaning 'no' (see §7.2.1.3.1). Finally, the negation marker forms a complex coordinator with a conjunction *melai* 'but' (see §13.2.4).

5.5 Pronouns

Pronouns in Bilua can be inflectional or non-inflectional. The former inflect for person, number, and gender, and the latter do not.

5.5.1 Inflectional pronouns

Inflectional pronouns are marked for a three-way person distinction (first, second, and third) and a three-way number distinction (singular, dual, and plural). Non-singular first person has an inclusive versus exclusive distinction. Third person singular has a masculine versus feminine distinction. Note that Bilua lacks grammatical gender in nouns, but a gender can be assigned to an NP by an optional NP constituent (see §7.4).

Inflectional pronouns can be free forms or bound forms. Free inflectional pronouns are demonstratives, independent pronouns, and indefinite pronouns. Demonstratives have deictic and definite marking functions. Bilua demonstratives have a two-way distinction between proximate (near-speaker) and distal (non-near speaker), and accordingly there are two sets of demonstratives, viz. proximate and distal demonstratives. Bilua has only first and second person independent pronouns, and like demonstratives they are all inherently definite. Bilua lacks third person independent pronouns, but their function is filled by demonstratives, which are used as third person independent pronouns. In contrast to demonstratives and independent pronouns, indefinite pronouns mark indefiniteness (see §7.2.1.1 for definiteness and indefiniteness). Bound inflectional pronouns are pronominal proclitics, object clitics, and pronominal enclitics.[20]

All free inflectional pronouns, demonstratives, independent pronouns, and indefinite pronouns, can be the head of NPs. They can also be optional constituents of NPs filling the slot for determiners.

Pronominal proclitics can be constituents of a VP or an NP and they attach to the left edge of a VP or an NP. That is, they attach to a phrase and thus they are clitics. Pronominal proclitics function as subject markers in VPs, cross-referencing subjects, while they function as possessor markers in NPs. As noted in §4.5, pronominal proclitics can also form an adjectival phrase, PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself'. Pronominal proclitics here mark the person, gender, and number of NPs they modify.

Object clitics are constituents of VPs and they function as object markers, cross-referencing objects. Object clitics are proclitics on valency-increasing markers—they occur in front of valency-increasing markers, attached to valency-increasing markers. With all but four verbs, object clitics are enclitics—they occur after verbs, attached to the verb. With four verbs, /k=el=o/ (3SG.F.O=see=NOM) 'to see', /k=oβ=o/ (3SG.F.O=get=NOM) 'to get', /k=u=o/ (3SG.F.O=eat=NOM) 'to eat', and /k=i=o/ (3SG.FO=say=NOM) 'to say', they are proclitics—they occur in front of verbs, attached to verbs. Thus, there are three different positions in VPs where object clitics occur, but they have the same realisations regardless of the position they take. This suggests that they are clitics not affixes. If they were treated as affixes, it would have to be proposed that there are three different sets of object affixes, one which attaches to valency-increasing markers, one which prefixes to verbs, and one which suffixes to verbs, yet they always have the same realisations. This is a rather odd thing to say. Furthermore, they can be attached to all valency-increasing markers and transitive verbs, and there is no arbitrary gap in the set of valency-increasing marker–object clitic combination or in the set of verb–object clitic combination.

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[20] Although terms 'clitic', 'enclitic', and 'proclitic' do not refer to a word class, these terms are employed here to distinguish different sets of bound pronouns.

Pronominal enclitics can be optional constituents of NPs or the head of modifier phrases (MPs) that are optional NP constituents. Like pronominal proclitics, they attach to a phrase—they attach to the right edge of an NP or an MP and thus they are clitics. In either case, pronominal enclitics mark the person, gender, and number of NPs.

Descriptions of NPs and MPs, and of VPs are presented in §7.2 and §8.2 respectively. The functions of inflectional pronouns are summarised in the following table.

Table 5.4: Functions of inflectional pronouns

Pronouns	Functions
demonstratives independent pronouns indefinite pronouns	head of NPs determiner
pronominal proclitics	subject marker in VPs possessor marker in NPs person/number/gender marker in NPs
object clitics	object marker in VPs
pronominal enclitics	head of MPs person/number/gender marker in NPs

All pronouns except for indefinite pronouns are listed in Table 5.5 below in order to demonstrate resemblances in forms across different sets of pronouns. Note that a distal–proximate distinction applies only to demonstratives and not to independent pronouns.

Table 5.5: Forms of definite pronouns

	Independent pronouns and demonstratives		Proclitics	Object clitics	Enclitics
	distal	proximate			
1SG	*anga*		*a*	*l*	*lala*
2SG	*ngo*		*ngo*	*ng*	*nga (langa)*
3SG.M	*vo*	*nei*	*o*	*v*	*la*
3SG.F	*ko*	*komi*	*ko*	*k*	*ma*
1DU.EXC	*eqe*		*qe*	*qel*	*qela*
1DU.INC	*aniqe*				
2DU	*qe*				
3DU	*nioqa*	*nioqi*	*qo*	*k* (same as 3SG.F)	*nioqa*
1PL.EXC	*aninge*		*nge*	*ngel*	*ngela*
1PL.INC	*anime*		*me*	*mel*	*mela*
2PL	*me*				
3PL	*se*	*ni*	*ke*	*m*	*mu/ke/ve*

Except for independent pronouns, the distinction between first person dual (both inclusive and exclusive) and second person dual, and the distinction between first person plural inclusive and second person plural is neutralised.

First and second person forms share the same consonant or the same consonant–vowel combination across different sets of pronouns. For example, second person singular forms all have the consonant *ng*, while first person plural exclusive forms all have the consonant–vowel combination *nge*.

The third person plural pronominal enclitic has a different realisation depending on the host. When the host is an indefinite marker *ka* it is realised as *ke* (see below); when the host is an interrogative marker *la*, it is realised as *ve* (see §5.6), otherwise it is realised as *mu*.

The second person singular pronominal enclitic is realised as *langa* when its host is an adjective. Otherwise, it is realised as *nga*.

When demonstratives and independent pronouns fill the slot for determiners, all but the first person singular independent pronoun *anga* and the third person dual distal demonstrative *nioqa* are attached with the ligature *a*,[21] which links demonstratives and independent pronouns to the following morpheme (see §5.17 for ligatures). The combination of the singular masculine proximate demonstrative *nei* and the ligature *a* is realised as *ne* in order to avoid a sequence of three vowels.

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[21] The ligature is normally realised as *ka* when it attaches to a morpheme ending with the vowel *a*, but *anga* and *nioqa* do not take this.

Indefinite pronouns are inherently third person and marked for number and gender: *kala* (INDEF.SG.M), *kama* (INDEF.SG.F), *kainioqa* (INDEF.DU) and *kake* (INDEF.PL). These can be segmented into the indefinite marker *ka* and a third person pronominal enclitic but they are all lexicalised as indefinite pronouns. Their original parts are: *ka=la* (INDEF=3SG.M), *ka=ma* (INDEF=3SG.F), *ka=inioqa* (INDEF=3DU), and *ka=ke* (INDEF=3PL). The third person plural pronominal enclitic is realised as *ke* and not as the usual *mu* when the host is the indefinite marker. The third person pronominal enclitic *nioqa* is realised as *inioqa* in the lexicalised form (see also §5.6). As mentioned above, indefinite pronouns can fill the slot for determiners. In this position, indefinite pronouns may not be marked for number and gender; that is, the indefinite marker *ka* may function as a determiner by itself (see §7.2.1.1.2).

Indefinite pronouns can be preceded by *mata* 'more', which is in the same form as an adverb *mata* 'again'. A combination of *mata* and an indefinite pronoun means 'other'. This is treated as one lexeme, as *mata* cannot occur without an indefinite pronoun. In the following example *mata* is followed by an indefinite pronoun *kake* as underlined. This means 'others'.

(5.3) *...kake ta lasive=a=mu ni mata kake ta*
INDEF.PL TOP male=LIG=3PL and other INDEF.PL TOP

parani poso.
warrior PL.M
'...some were men, and some others were warriors.' (21-9-54)

5.5.2 *Non-inflectional pronouns*

Non-inflectional pronouns are *so* 'that', *eri* 'something like this', and measure pronouns meaning 'one'.

5.5.2.1 So *'that' and* eri *'something like this'*

Two non-inflectional pronouns, *so* 'that' and *eri* 'something like this', have a clause as their antecedent and can be both anaphoric and cataphoric.

In (5.4), *so* 'that' is anaphoric, while in (5.5) *eri* 'something like this' is cataphoric. (In the following examples, pronouns *so* and *eri* are single-underlined and their antecedent is double-underlined.)

(5.4) *Sole o=beta kail=a so ti so ti so*
so 3SG.M=CONT go.up=PRES that INT that INT that

ti vanga azo inio o=ta v=a
and.then far.away ABL FOC.NONF 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL

k=e=a *o=momo.*
3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.M=back
'So, he kept going up, going up, going up, and going up, and from far away, he saw his back.' (24-5-60~61)

(5.5) *...vo* *ta* *eri* *k=i=o=la.*
3SG.M TOP s.th.like.this 3SG.FO=say=3SG.M=PRES

'Megorasaidi komi ta ko niuniu'.
family PROX.SG.F TOP 3SG.F fish
'...he said something like this. "Family, here is fish."' (24-3-24~25)

Eri 'something like this' commonly refers to the content of speech or event, as in (5.5), or it can be used to refer to an object within the sight of both speaker and addressee. *Eri* can also be employed accompanied with a gesture to show how one does something, as in (5.6).

(5.6) *...eri* *o* *i=k=a* *ta* *vuala-vuala*
s.th.like.this 3SG.M put=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then REDUP-hot

ko=a *suakao.*
3SG.F=LIG basket
'...he did something like this to it, and [he found that] the basket was hot.' (59-3-21) (more literally '...he put it in something like this, and [he found that] the basket was hot.')

5.5.2.2 *Measure pronouns*

Four measure pronouns, *pado* (MESone/MESpiece), *kena* (MESone/MESpiece), *leaza* (MESpiece), and *kobu* (MESpart) can never occur on their own, unlike other pronouns. They always occur with a numeral or a determiner. *Pado* can also be modified by PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself'. All four can be translated as 'one', and each measure pronoun substitutes specific things. *Kena* refers to a whole sweet potato, taro, or yam. It can also refer to a piece of banana or fish. *Pado* can refer to a whole banana or fish rather than a piece of banana or fish. Modified by PRON=*kiada* 'by herself', *pado* refers to a person. *Pado* can also refer to a piece of a long object, such as a stick. *Leaza* can refer to a crescent-shaped piece cut from something with an egg/ball shape, such as a betelnut or a cutnut. *Kobu* can refer to a part of an area. The above is summarised in the following table.

Table 5.6: Measure pronouns

Measure pronouns	Whole	Part/piece
kena	sweet potato/taro/yam	piece of banana/fish
leaza	–	crescent-shaped piece of betelnut/cutnut
kobu	–	part of an area
pado	house/dog/banana/fish/betelnut/person	piece of a long object

In the following example, NPs headed with a measure pronoun are underlined.

(5.7) NP headed with *pado*

...ko=pa	*kobue=k=a*	*ko*	*kevu*	*inio*
3SG.F=PROS	cut=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	bamboo	FOC.NONF

ka	*pado*	*ta*	*Koro-koroqanisi*
INDEF	MEApiece	TOP	REDUP-Korokoroqanisi

ko=kati=v=a,	*ka*	*pado*	*ta*	*ko=ngavi.*
3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES	INDEF	MEApiece	TOP	3SG.F=EMPH

'...she went and cut a bamboo in half, and one, she gave it to Korokoroqanisi, one, [she gave it to] herself.' (39-6-41)

Pado can also be an optional constituent of an NP (see §7.2.1.4).

5.6 Interrogatives

Each interrogative in Bilua belongs to a certain word class. One of the interrogatives, *noni* 'how/what', corresponds with the pronoun *so* 'that' (see §5.5.2.1). Bilua interrogatives and their classes are provided in Table 5.7 below.

Table 5.7: Interrogatives

Interrogative	Word Class
lai 'where'	deictic adverb
latau 'how many/how much'	quantifier
noni 'how/what'	pronoun *so* 'that'
loma 'what'	nouns (non-human)
lala (who.SG.M) 'who' *lama* (who.SG.F) 'who' *lainioqa* (who.DU) 'who' *lave* (who.PL) 'who'	nouns (human)

'When' is expressed by a PP *noni keru* (what TEMP) in Bilua, which is in contrast with a PP *so keru* (that TEMP) 'that time'.

Interrogatives meaning 'who' can be segmented into the interrogative marker *la* and a third person pronominal enclitic: *la=la* (INTRG=3SG.M), *la=ma* (INTRG=3SG.F), *la=inioqa* (INTRG=3DU), and *la=ve* (INTRG=3PL), but they are all lexicalised as interrogatives. With the interrogative marker *la* as its host, the third person pronominal enclitic is realised as *ve,* not as the usual *mu.*

It appears that *lai* 'where' and *latau* 'how many/how much' also contain *la*, the interrogative marker. *Lai* is considered to consist of *la* and *i*. *I* is shared with deictic adverbs, *koi* 'here' and *sai* 'there'. *Latau* could be segmented into *la* and *tau*, but there is no morpheme *tau* found in any other words in present-day Bilua.

Each interrogative behaves in the same way as other words in the word class it belongs to, or in the case of *noni* 'how/what', in the same way as the pronoun *so* 'that'. A phrase containing an interrogative is often marked with a focus marker (see §14.3.2).

5.7 Postpositions

A postposition is the head of a postpositional phrase. Postpositions in Bilua are:

locative *kasi* and *kale*	comitative *sate*
vicinity *vasi*	benefactive *kaqe*
ablative *azo*	privative *pide*
temporal *keru*	similative *jari*

There is also a complex postposition of reason *kale avo* 'because of'. PPs headed with all but the similative postposition can function as adjuncts. PPs as adjuncts are described in Chapter 10. PPs headed with the similative postposition can only be the core: a complement of the verb *iko* 'to cause' or a non-verbal predicate. Complements and non-verbal predicates are obligatory constituents of clauses and are described in §8.7 and §11 respectively.

5.8 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a separate class in Bilua. This class includes numerals and *kubo* 'many'. A quantifier can be an NP modifier or the head of an NP. The numerals up to ten are:

omadeu (madeu) 'one'	*varimuja (muja)* 'six'
omuqa (muqa) 'two'	*sikeura (keura)* 'seven'
zouke (ke) 'three'	*siotolu (tolu)* 'eight'
ariku (ariku) 'four'	*siakava (kava)* 'nine'
sike (ke) 'five'	*toni (ni)* 'ten'

The forms in brackets are old forms which are not used any more. Only some old people remember these forms. According to local people, these are forms which devils or spirits used to use and that is why local people do not use them any more.

The numerals for hundred and thousand are *paizana* and *vuro* respectively. Numbers over ten are expressed by a phrase which consists of numerals from one to ten listed above, *paizana* 'hundred', and *vuro* 'thousand', except for *karabete* 'twenty'.

(5.8) *toni omadeu*
ten one
'eleven'

(5.9) *zouke toni*
three ten
'thirty'

(5.10) *zouke toni omuqa*
three ten two
'thirty-two'

(5.11) *omadeu paizana siakava*
one hundred nine
'one hundred and nine'

(5.12) *omadeu vuro siakava paizana ariku*
one thousand nine hundred four
'one thousand, nine hundred and four'

5.9 Collective and plural markers

Collective markers have two forms: the plural form *madu* (COLL.PL) and the dual form *kidi* (COLL.DU), and they mark collectiveness. The plural form has another realisation, *mu,* but this occurs only in the indirect type of a possessive NP headed with the noun *maba* 'person' (see §7.3.2). There is only one plural marker, *poso* (PL.M). Collective and plural markers are all optional constituents of NPs (see §7.2.1.5).

5.10 Existential markers

Existential markers indicate the existence of an entity. Existential markers are divided into two types—non-specific location existential markers, which indicate the existence of an entity in a non-specific location (glossed as EXT followed by number/gender), and distal existential markers, which indicate the existence of an entity at some distance (glossed as D.EXT followed by number/gender).

Both types of existential markers have four realisations with different number/gender marking. Existential markers can only be the predicate of a non-verbal clause and the number/gender of existential markers agrees with the number/gender of the subject. In the following example, the existential marker is realised in the singular feminine form *ikoana* agreeing with the subject *matu=ma kea.*

(5.13) ...*matu=ma* *kea* *ta* *ikoana...*
big=3SG.F cave TOP EXT.SG.F
subject predicate
'...there was a big cave...' (26-14-81)

The following is the list of both types of existential markers.

Table 5.8: Existential markers

Number/gender	Non-specific	Distal
singular masculine	*inevoana*	*une*
singular feminine	*ikoana*	*uko*
dual	*inioqiana*	*unioqa*
plural	*inisiana*	*uni*

It appears that historically, existential markers originated in several segments. Non-specific locational existential markers can be segmented into four parts: *i,* two demonstratives, distal and proximate, and *ana.* It appears that *i* and *ana* form an existential marking discontinuous morpheme *i...ana.*

i- Proximate demonstrative - Distal demonstrative *-ana.*

Thus each of non-specific locational existential marker is analysed as:

	existential markers		original parts
singular masculine:	*inevoana*	→	*i-ne-vo-ana*
	EXT.SG.M		EXT-PROX.SG.M-3SG.M-EXT
singular feminine:	*ikoana*	→	*i-ko-ana*
	EXT.SG.F		EXT-PROX.SG.F-EXT
dual:	*inioqiana*	→	*i-nioqi-ana*
	EXT.DU		EXT-PROX.DU-EXT
plural:	*inisiana*	→	*i-ni-si-ana*
	EXT.PL		EXT-PROX.PL-3PL-EXT

With the singular masculine form, the singular masculine proximate demonstrative *nei* is realised as *ne.* The singular feminine proximate and distal demonstratives are both *ko,* and so the singular feminine form has only one of them, which is glossed as PROX.SG.F here. The dual proximate demonstrative is *nioqi* while the distal one is *nioqa.* Only the proximate one appears in the dual form. It appears that this is because of their similar forms. The vowel of the plural distal demonstrative *se* is realised as *si,* showing an assimilation to the preceding vowel.

Distal existential markers can be segmented into what appears to be a distal existential morpheme *u-* and a demonstrative: the proximate one[22] for singular masculine and plural, and the distal one for singular feminine and dual. Again, the singular masculine proximate demonstrative loses the final *i*. Thus, each of distal existential markers can be analysed as:

	existential marker		original parts
singular masculine:	*u-ne*	→	*u-ne (u-nei)*
	D.EXT.SG.M		D.EXT-PROX.SG.M
singular feminine:	*uko*	→	*u-ko*
	D.EXT.SG.F		D.EXT-3SG.F
dual:	*unioqa*	→	*u-nioqa*
	D.EXT.DU		D.EXT-3.DU
plural:	*uni*	→	*u-ni*
	D.EXT.PL		D.EXT-PROX.PL

Combinations of a distal existential marker *une* or *uko* with a noun *quli* 'thing', that is *une quli* and *uko quli,* form an idiom meaning 'that something'. They are used when the speaker cannot give the name of an entity straightaway in order to fill the gap in his speech.[23]

(5.14)

Uko	*quli*	*komi*	*seqara=ko*	*votu*
D.EXT.SG.F	thing	PROX.SG.F	betelnut=3SG.F	trunk

ke=k=ai	*ere=k=a*	*ko*	*mola.*
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL	make=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	canoe

'That something, this, with a trunk of a betelnut tree, they made a canoe.'
(34-1-14)

In the above example, the speaker refers to the trunk of a betelnut tree first by *uko quli* 'that something' and then by a deictic pronoun, and finally gives its name.

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[22] There is a semantic contradiction here. Distal existential markers indicate an existence of entity in some distance but two of them, singular masculine and plural ones, contain a proximate demonstrative.

[23] This is similar to the use of the indefinite locational adverb *uki* 'somewhere there'. It may be postulated that *u* of *uki* and *u* of *uko* (EXT.SG.F) and *une* (EXT.SG.M) originate in the same morpheme. There is no morpheme *ki*, however, found in present-day Bilua. It appears that *une quli* (EXT.SG.M thing) and *uko quli* (EXT.SG.F thing) originated in a non-verbal clause. Although the basic order of subject and predicate of non-verbal clauses is subject first and then predicate, this order can be reversed. *Une/uko* and *quli* can be regarded as the predicate and the subject of a non-verbal clause respectively, and this literally means 'there exists a thing'. Note that the subject of a non-verbal clause is usually marked by a topic marker but when the subject follows predicate, this does not appear.

5.11 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are divided into two types: coordinators and subordinators. Coordinators link constituents of same status. Linked elements can be nouns, phrases, non-verbal predicates, or clauses. Subordinators mark a dependent clause and link it to an independent clause.

Table 5.9: Conjunctions

Coordinators	conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and' disjunctive coordinator *ma* 'or' adversative coordinator *melai* 'but' sequential coordinator *ini o*'sequentially/and then', which is glossed as SEQ causal coordinators *ti* and *ta* 'and then/consequently', which are glossed as 'and then'. intensifying coordinator *ti*, which is glossed as INT
Subordinators	*puliako* 'before' *maqa* 'while' *palate* 'while' *le* 'in order to', which is glossed as PURP *tea* 'if' relative clause markers, *ni*, *ko*, *ma*, and *vo*

The adversative coordinator *melai* 'but' also forms a complex coordinator, 'not...but', with the negation marker *pui* 'not'. Causal coordinators *ti* and *ta* have developed from topic markers *ti* and *ta* (see §13.2.6).

The purposive subordinator *le* and relative clause markers are enclitics and attach to the right edge of a VP. Dependent clauses can also be marked with a locative postposition *kale* and a temporal postposition *keru*.

Coordinators and subordinators are described in Chapters 13 and 12 respectively.

5.12 Irrealis marker *tu*

The irrealis marker *tu* always occurs between two clauses. The clause that precedes is always an independent clause, while the clause that follows can be either an independent or a dependent clause. The irrealis marker *tu* denotes that the clause that follows presents an unrealised situation. For a description of the irrealis marker *tu*, see §12.3.2, §12.3.3, and §13.3.

5.13 VP particles

There are three kinds of VP particles: aspectual/modal markers, valency-increasing markers, and a possessor-raising marker, as listed in Table 5.10. These particles are all optional constituents of VPs and never occur without obligatory constituents of VPs.

Table 5.10: VP particles

Aspectual/modal markers	'situation-change' marker	*ta*
	continuity marker	*be/beta*
	prospective marker	*pa*
	implicative marker	*be*
Valency-increasing markers		*a, ai,* and *ati*
Possessor-raising marker		*ta*

The function of valency-increasing markers is to increase the valency by one. They always occur with an object clitic which cross-references one of the arguments. The possessor-raising marker *ta* always co-occurs with a valency-increasing marker. Valency-increasing and possessor-raising markers are described in §9.4 and §9.5 respectively. Aspectual/modal markers are described in §8.5.

5.14 Tense/mood markers

Tense/mood markers in Bilua are enclitics, which are attached to VPs: they are attached to the right edge of a VP. They can attach to a material already containing a clitic—they attach to a transitive verb–object clitic combination. These two factors illustrate that tense/mood markers in Bilua are clitics. In Bilua, there is a five-way tense distinction of present, near future, future, recent past, and remote past, each marked by a different tense marker. In addition to these, there is a historical tense marker. The tense distinctions of Bilua are discussed in §8.3. There is only one set of mood markers; these are imperative mood markers. Imperative mood markers agree with the addressee in number: singular, dual, and plural. The following two tables present the list of tense and imperative mood markers.

Table 5.11: Tense markers

Tense markers	Forms
present tense	*a/va*
near future tense	*o*
future tense	*ou/vou*
recent past tense	*ala/la*
remote past tense	*e/vi*
historical tense	*ake/ke*

Table 5.12: Imperative mood markers

Person	Forms
singular imperative markers	*a/e/vi*
dual imperative markers	*oko*
plural imperative markers	*omo*

Different realisations of tense/mood markers are dealt with in Appendix 2.

5.15 Topic and focus markers

There are three topic markers *ta*, *ti*, and *melai*, and two focus markers *inio* and *ikio*. A constituent marked with a topic marker presents a topic while a constituent marked with a focus marker presents a focus. Topic and focus markers play an important role in pragmatics in Bilua. These are described in §14.2 and §14.3.

5.16 Interjections and tags

The following table presents interjections and tags with their use and/or meaning.

Table 5.13: Interjections and tags

Interjections	*ee*	'yes'
	aki *ki*	to show surprise
	kio	'Is that so?' 'Really?'
	ako	'well'
	koe	to get an attention or to show surprise
Tag	*ze*	for confirmation, 'Is that OK?'

A disjunctive coordinator *ma* 'or' can be used as a tag in a polar question.

(5.15) *Ngo=da verep=a ma.*
2SG=SIT be.sick=PRES or
'Are you sick?'

5.17 Ligature

The ligature is an enclitic which takes various kinds of words as its host. The ligature has three realisations—*a*, *ka*, and *za*. The ligature is realised as *za* when it follows a diphthong *oi* or *ai*. Following the vowel *a*, it is realised as *ka*. Elsewhere it is realised as *a*.

The ligature links the host to certain types of morphemes that follow it. The host and the linked morpheme are always constituents of the same phrase. For example, in (5.16), the host of the ligature is an adjective which functions as a modifier in a VP, and this and the word which is linked by the ligature, the verb, are both constituents of a VP. In (5.17), an adjective *ileile* 'beautiful' and the third person singular pronominal enclitic *ma* (3SG.F) form a modifier phrase. Two morphemes are linked by the ligature, underlined.

(5.16) *A=da uri=a maqin=a.*
1SG=SIT good=LIG full=PRES
'I am nicely full.'

(5.17) *ile-ile=a=ma*
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.F
'beautiful one'

Morphemes which the ligature links are presented in Table 5.14 below.

There are some exceptions to this. Adjectives *kiada* 'all', *matu* 'big', *ukaka* 'careless', *utu* 'idle', and *aza* 'various', one numeral *omuqa* 'two', and relational nouns *tova* 'behind' and *rana* 'side', and a placename *Veala* never take the ligature. A PP headed with the comitative postposition *sate* does not take a ligature either.

Table 5.14: Morphemes which the ligature links

Morphemes preceding the ligature	Morphemes following the ligature
Any constituent which functions as an NP modifier: • adjectives and AdjPs • deictic adverbs and an adverb *lula* 'already' • placenames • kinship terms • relational nouns and NPs headed with relational nouns • numerals • the negation marker *pui* • interrogatives *lai* 'where' and *noni* 'how' • pronouns *so* 'that', *eri* 'something like this', and *pado* 'one' • PPs • future verbal clauses	• pronominal enclitics • the noun *koi* 'place'
• demonstrative • independent pronouns	Any NP constituent: • quantifier • NP modifier • head of NP
• adjectives	• verb
• the quantifier *kubo* 'many'	• the noun *koi* 'place'

5.18 Vocatives

There are two kinds of vocative affix in Bilua. A suffix *-o* can be attached to a personal name or a kinship term; for example, *Kina-o* (Kina-VOC) 'Kina' and *niania-o* (mother-VOC). All personal names and a few kinship terms can also be used as vocatives without a vocative suffix (see §4.3.2).

There is one set of vocative suffixes which can be attached to second person demonstratives. The choice of the form depends on the number/gender of the addressee: -*ila* (SG.M), -*iza* (SG.F), -*va* (DU and PL). Thus,

ngo-ila	*ngo-iza*	*qe-va*	*me-va*
2SG-VOC.SG.M	2SG-VOC.SG.F	2DU-VOC.DU	2PL-VOC.DU
'you (male)'	'you (female)'	'you two'	'you many'

This concludes the description of closed classes. The next chapter deals with derivational morphology in Bilua.

6 *Derivational morphology*

6.1 Introduction

There are four morphological processes which derive a word in Bilua: suffixation, encliticisation, compounding, and reduplication. In this chapter, each of these is dealt with in turn.

In this chapter, verbs are given in their stem forms without final *o* or an obligatory object clitic on transitive verbs.

6.2 Suffixation

Suffixation can derive verbs from verbs, nouns, and adjectives. There is only one suffix, *-kini*, which attaches to verbs, while there are several sets of suffixes which attach to nouns and adjectives.

6.2.1 Suffix on verbs, -kini

The suffix *-kini* has both derivational and valency-decreasing functions. It derives a reciprocal, intransitive verb which has a valency of one from a transitive verb which has a valency of two (see §9.2 for the valency of verbs). With this derivational process, most often both A and O arguments of the transitive verb become the S argument of the derived intransitive verb. Accordingly, the subject is always non-singular. For example, the verb in (6.1) is a transitive verb *torae* 'to meet', and the verb in (6.2) is an intransitive reciprocal verb derived from this by suffixation of *-kini*, *torae-kini* (meet-RECP) 'to meet each other'. The A and O arguments in (6.1) have both become the S argument in (6.2).

(6.1) *O=torae=k=ala.*
3SG.M=meet=3SG.F.O=RCP
'He met her.'

(6.2) *Qo=torae-kini=ala.*
3DU=meet-RECP=RCP
'They (he and she) met each other.'

There is one exception to this in the data. A derived reciprocal verb *pazo-kini* (hit-RECP) from the verb *pazoko* 'to hit' means 'to fight' and the subject of this verb can be singular, as in (6.3). Although the subject is singular in this example, the verb *pazokinio* 'to fight' implies that the action of hitting is exchanged between two parties—the subject hit someone else as well as being hit himself by this someone else. Thus, the verb still entails a reciprocal meaning.

(6.3)	*Sito*	*ta*	*kala*	*maba*	|	*vo*	*ta*
	Sito	TOP	INDEF.SG.M	person		3SG.M	TOP

	o=pazo-kini=e	*matu*	*kubo=a*	*koi.*
	3SG.M=hit-RECP=RMP	very	many=LIG	place

'*Sito* is a man, he fought at lots of places.' (12-1-2)

Only transitive verbs whose A and O arguments are both human take the suffix *-kini*. Some other verbs derived by suffixation of *-kini* are:

(6.4)	*bazue* 'to tell'	→	*bazue-kini* 'to tell each other' or 'to exchange conversation'
(6.5)	*vouvae* 'to kill	→	*vouvae-kini* 'to kill each other'
(6.6)	*roque* 'to care/love'	→	*roque-kini* 'to care/love each other'
(6.7)	*besie* 'to replace'	→	*besie-kini* 'to replace each other'

A ditransitive verb *katiko* 'to give' can also take the suffix *-kini*. With a Bilua verb *katiko* 'to give', the O argument is the recipient not the theme and thus it is human. With this verb, the suffix *-kini* is realised as *-ekini*

(6.8)	*Se*	*ta*	*ke=kati-ekini=a*	*ko*	*puaro.*
	3PL	TOP	3PL=give-RECP=PRES	3SG.F	present

'They exchange a present.'

6.2.2 *Suffixes on nouns and adjectives*

There are four sets of suffixes which attach to adjectives and nouns. One of the sets also attaches to loan words from English, as described below. Each set has two suffixes which derive an intransitive verb, and another suffix which derives a transitive verb. They are: *-k, -zi,* and *-ki, -mat, -muil,* and *-mu,-put, -puil,* and *-pue,* and *-t/Ø, -il,* and *-e.*

A source noun or adjective may take any of three suffixes, or just one or two of three suffixes. It is not fully predictable which one of these sets is applied to each noun/adjective. Thus, it can be said that derived verbs are all lexicalised.[24]

The first two of each set derives an intransitive verb, and derived intransitive verbs by the suffixation of the second suffixes in each set; that is, *-zi, -muil, -puil,* and *-il* have a semireflexive meaning 'do something oneself' or a reflexive meaning 'to do something

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[24] Because of this, in the rest of this work, segmentation of these morphemes is not shown.

(to) oneself'.[25] For example, an intransitive verb *uri-zi* derived from an adjective *uri* 'good' has a semireflexive meaning, 'to become better by oneself'. Another intransitive verb, *uri-k,* derived from the same adjective also means 'to become better' but does not have a semireflexive meaning.

The suffixes *-k, -zi,* and *-ki* are applied to an adjective denoting value, *uri* 'good', and *-k* and *-ki* but not *-zi* are applied to an adjective denoting size, *silo* 'small'. Both *-k* and *-zi* derive an intransitive verb, thus adding the meaning 'to become'. *-ki* derives a transitive verb adding the meaning 'to make'.

silo 'small'	*uri* 'good'
↓	↓
silo-k 'to become small'	*uri-k* 'to become better'
–	*uri-zi* 'to become better by oneself'
silo-ki 'to make s.th. small'	*uri-ki* 'to make s.th. better'

Here, the subject of the derived intransitive verb corresponds to the object of the derived transitive verb. For example, the subject 'he' in 'he became better' becomes the object in 'she made him better'. In both sentences, the one who became better is 'he'.

-k but not *-ki* or *-zi* can also be applied to a few temporal nouns:

raisi 'evening'	→	*raisi-k* 'to become evening'
ipu 'night'	→	*ipu-k* 'to become night'

-mat, *-muil*, and *-mu* attach to nouns of one or two syllables. Both *-mat* and *-muil* derive an intransitive verb, while *-mu* derives a transitive verb. Derived verbs express an activity involving the source noun. For example, a derived verb *raro-mat* from a noun *raro* 'pot' means 'to cook in a pot', and a derived verb *lezu-mat* from *lezu* 'head' means 'to study', an activity which involves the use of a head (brain). Here, the S argument of the intransitive verb corresponds to the A argument of the transitive verb.

raro 'pot'	*lezu* 'head'
↓	↓
raro-mat 'to cook s.th. in a pot (INTR)'	*lezu-mat* 'to study s.th. (INTR)'
–	*lezu-muil* 'to study by oneself'
raro-mu 'to cook s.th. in a pot (TR)'	*lezu-mu* 'to study s.th. (TR)'

-put, *-puil*, and *-pue* attach to nouns of three syllables or more. They are parallel with the last set: derived verbs express an activity involving the source noun, and the subject of the derived intransitive verb and the subject of the derived transitive verb correspond with each other. It is not understood why nouns of three syllables or more take *-put*, *-puil*, and *-pue* rather than *-mat*, *-muil*, and *-mu*.

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[25] In §4.4, it was noted that a verb containing a segment *-il* or *-zi* may have a reflexive meaning. The fact that derived verbs with suffixes *-zi* and *-il* can also have a reflexive meaning suggests that these are reflexive suffixes. Accordingly, *-muil* and *-puil* may be segmented into *-mu* and *-il*, and *-pu* and *-il* respectively. As indicated in §4.4, it is beyond the scope of this work to present a full discussion about verbal morphology.

iruru 'work'	*qusini* 'rope'
↓	↓
iruru-put 'to work'	*qusini-put* 'to make a rope'
iruru-puil 'to work by oneself'	–
irurupu-e 'to fix'	*qusini-pue* 'to make a rope'

There is also an example where *-put*, *-puil*, and *-pue* attach to an adjective. They can attach to the adjective *tuvevo* 'true'. Here, both *tuvevo-put* and *tuvevo-pue* mean 'to believe (something)'. The intransitive one, *tuvevo-put,* is usually nominalised by a nominal derivational enclitic (see §6.3.1): *tuvevo-put=o* meaning 'belief'.[26]

tuvevo 'true'
↓
tuvevo-put 'to believe s.b./s.th. (INTR)'
tuvivo-puil 'to believe oneself'
tuvevo-pue 'to believe s.b./s.th. (TR)'

-t/Ø, -il, and *-e* attach to some nouns/adjectives. Both *-t/Ø* and *-il* derive an intransitive verb, while *-e* derives a transitive verb. There appears to be no semantic regularity here.

tola 'pain'	*vozi*	*ija* 'equal'
↓	↓	↓
tola-t 'to feel main'	*vozi* 'to paddle'	*ija-t* 'to do pressing'
tola-il 'to make oneself feel pain'	–	*ija-il* 'to press oneself'
tola-e 'to make someone feel pain'	*vozi-e* 'to paddle'	*ija-e* 'to press (TR)'

Here, the subject of the intransitive verb corresponds sometimes with object and at other times with the subject of the transitive verb. For example, the subject in 'I feel pain' corresponds with the object in 'he made me feel pain', while the subject in 'I paddle' corresponds with the subject in 'I paddled a canoe'.

-put and *-pue* can also be attached to English verbs. For example,

develop	create
↓	↓
developu-put 'to develop (INTR)'	*create-put* 'to create (INTR)'
developu-pue 'to develop (TR)'	*create-pue* 'to create (TR)'

---

[26] Note that the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs is drawn on morphological grounds, viz. whether a verb has the ability to take an object clitic (see §4.4), but semantically here both intransitive and transitive verbs anticipate the existence of an object.

6.3 Nominal derivational enclitics

Nominal derivational enclitics *o* and *vo* derive an abstract noun. The derived noun belongs to the common noun class. *O* and *vo* are in complementary distribution; *o* attaches to verbs, while *vo* attaches to adjectives and the numeral *omadeu* 'one'.

6.3.1 Deriving a noun from a verb

A nominal derivational enclitic *o* derives an abstract noun from a verb or a verb accompanied by an object clitic and/or a modifier. *O* directly attaches to an intransitive verb or attaches to an object clitic on a transitive verb. Thus, *o* can attach to a material already containing a clitic and this indicates that *o* is a clitic not an affix.

(6.9) an intransitive verb
vouvat=o
kill=NOM
'killing'

(6.10) a transitive verb with an object clitic
vouvae=k=o
kill=3SG.F.O=NOM
'killing of her'

(6.11) an intransitive verb with a modifier
[*uri=a* *maqin*]=*o*
good=LIG be.full=NOM
'being nicely full'

Example (6.11) cannot be analysed as:

uri=a [*maqin=o*]

since, if this were the case, *uri* would be treated as an NP modifier. However, Bilua adjectives cannot function as NP modifiers by themselves—they form modifier phrases with pronominal enclitics and these function as NP modifiers (see §7.2.1.3.1). Thus, in (6.11), *o* is attached to a modifier–verb combination, not just to a verb. This is more evidence for *o* being a clitic, not an affix.

As the derived word is a noun, this can be the head of an NP. In the following example *saev=o* is a derived noun. It is the head of an NP modified by an MP *uri=a=ma.*

(6.12) *uri=a=ma* *saev=o*
good=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM
'good life'

When *o* attaches to a modifier–verb combination, the derived word does not occur with a modifier as it already contains a modifier. Neither does it occur with any other optional NP constituents, which mark either definiteness or number. This is because the derived noun refers to a state, that is semantically it still behaves like a verb. In (6.11), the derived noun refers to a state of being full. Because of this, it does not receive a definiteness marking or a number marking: it does not occur with optional NP constituents.

A Bilua nominalised verb can have argument(s) of its own, and an object clitic on a nominalised transitive verb cross-references the object. In (6.10), the object is third person singular feminine and so the object clitic is in the third person singular feminine form. If the object is third person singular masculine, it would have an object clitic *v* (3SG.M). To illustrate, *vouvae=v=o* (kill=3SG.M.O=NOM) means 'killing of him'.

When *o* is attached to a verb ending with *u* it is realised as zero. For example, the combination of the verb *teku* 'to lie' *o* is realised as *teku.* In such a case the gloss is given as verbNOM; for example, lieNOM.

Some more examples of nominalised verbs are:

roquan=o (care/love=NOM)	'caring/love'
zari=o (want=NOM)	'wish'
nianii=o (know=NOM)	'knowledge'
pazo-kini=o (hit-RECP=NOM)	'fight'

In the last example, *o* is attached to a derived stem, derived by a derivational suffix *-kini* (see 6.2.1)

6.3.2 Deriving a noun from an adjective or the numeral **omadeu** *'one'*

A nominal derivational enclitic *vo* derives a noun from an adjective or the numeral *omadeu* 'one'. *Vo* is realised as *avo* when it follows a high vowel *i* or *u*. It is realised as *vo* elsewhere.

vo → *avo* / vowel i, u _
vo elsewhere

There is no evidence that proves that *vo* is a clitic rather than an affix, but it is treated as a clitic in this work because *o,* another nominal derivational morpheme described in §6.3.1, is a clitic.

In the texts, there are six adjectives recorded which take a nominal derivational enclitic: *olaqu* 'suffering', *edolo* 'different', *aza* 'various', *ija* 'equal, *uri* 'good', and *kiada* 'all'.

(6.13)	*olaqu* 'suffering' (adjective)	→	*olaqu=avo* 'suffering' (noun)
(6.14)	*edolo* different'	→	*edolo=vo* 'difference'
(6.15)	*aza* 'various'	→	*aza=vo* 'variety'
(6.16)	*ija* 'equal	→	*ija=vo* 'equality'
(6.17)	*uri* 'good'	→	*uri=avo* 'goodness (Okay)'
(6.18)	*kiada* 'all'	→	*kiada=vo* 'everything'

In the following example, a nominal derivational enclitic is attached to an adjective *olaqu* 'suffering'. *Olaquavo* 'suffering' occurs in an object NP and is preceded by a demonstrative, *ko* (3SG.F). This suggests that the derived noun is a common noun (see §7.4).

(6.19)	*Enge*	*ta*	*nge=rove=a*	*tu*	*k=ov=o*	*ko*
	1PL.EXC	TOP	1PL.EXC=can=PRES	IRR	3SG.F.O=get=NOM	3SG.F

	olaqua=vo...
	suffering=NOM

'We can be subjected to suffering...' (64-3-18)

There are a few examples of *vo* cliticised to other adjectives in elicitation, and the derived noun can be a complement of the verb *iko* 'to cause'. These are described in §8.7.3.

The derived abstract noun *omadeu=vo* from the numeral *omadeu* 'one' means 'sameness'. In the following example, *omadeu=vo* is preceded by a demonstrative which is cliticised with a ligature *a*. This illustrates that the demonstrative and *omadeu=vo* form an NP whose head is *omadeu=vo* (see §5.5.1 and §5.17 for demonstratives and the ligature respectively). Thus the derived word is clearly a noun.

(6.20)	*O=vait=a*	*keru*	*mati*	*ko=a*	*omadeu=vo*.
	3SG.M=return=PRES	TEMP	again	3SG.F=LIG	one=NOM

'When he returns, again, the same thing (it's the same).' (24-4-30)

6.4 Compounding

Compounds in Bilua are all nouns. Sixteen lexicalised compounds were found in the data. Most of them consist of two nouns. Often, the two nouns are in a 'modifier–modified' relationship.

(6.21) *vaka-maba* (boat-person) 'white people'

(6.22) *vaka-peuru* (boat-village) 'western country'

(6.23) *ore-mari* (tree/stick-taro) 'cassava'

(6.24) *raro-pade* (pot-house) 'kitchen'

(6.25) *niru-turu* (coconut-shell) 'coconut shell'

(6.26) *kiti-saresare* (leg-plain) 'sole of foot'

(6.27) *ngase-saresare* (hand-plain) 'palm'

(6.28) *alil=o-nganiu* (be.born=NOM-day) 'birthday'

(6.29) *sinaqu-rusu* (unmarried.woman-youth) 'girl'

Two compounds consist of an adjective and a noun.

(6.30) *lasive-rusu* (male-youth) 'boy'

(6.31) *reko-rusu* (female-youth) 'girl'

Sinaqu-rusu and *reko-rusu* both mean 'girl', the former consisting of two nouns and the latter consisting of an adjective and a noun.

In the following five compounds, the two nouns do not show a modifying–modified relationship.

(6.32) *susu-pait=o* (breast-finish=NOM) 'last-born child'

(6.33) *maba-sisu* (person-seed/sweet potato) 'yam'

(6.34) *meqora-saidi* (child-family) 'family (with children)'

(6.35) *ranga-uza* (ember-fire) 'ember'

(6.36) *sakare-ju* (coconut.shell.filled.with.water-water) 'coconut shell filled with water'

The nouns *ranga* and *sakare* themselves mean 'ember' and 'coconut shell filled with water' respectively, and compounds containing these words *ranga-uza* (ember-fire) and *sakare-ju* still mean 'ember' and 'coconut shell filled with water' respectively.

There are four criteria which support the contention that these are compounds and can be considered to be one word. First, stress is applied only to the first syllable of the whole word, and the first syllable of the second part does not have stress. Second, compounds belong to common nouns, and like other common nouns they may form an NP with a distal demonstrative in postverbal position (see §7.4). Third, they can take a determiner. Fourth, no other constituents can intervene between their parts.

The above examples are established, lexicalised compounds, but a new compound can be freely formed for naming. For example, in telling a folktale, my informant referred to (named) a specific village as *matu-peuru* (big-village) 'Big Village'.

In the rest of this work, lexicalised compounds are written as one word, for example *raropade* 'kitchen', not *raro-pade* (pot-house). Non-lexicalised compounds, on the other hand, are written in their parts, for example *matu-peuru* (big-village) 'Big Village' not *matupeuru*.

6.5 Reduplication

Reduplication can be applied to nouns, verbs, adjectives, and numerals. A reduplicated form has the first two syllables repeated (CVCV reduplication). The formation of a reduplicated form is described in §2.8. Reduplication can be category changing (§6.5.1) or non-category changing (§6.5.2).

6.5.1 Category-changing reduplication

Reduplication of some nouns and verb roots can change the word class. When applied to a noun, it can derive an adjective (§6.5.1.1) or a verb (§6.5.1.2). From a verb, it can derive an adjective (§6.5.1.3) or a noun (§6.5.1.4).

6.5.1.1 Deriving adjectives from nouns

Reduplication of a noun can derive an adjective of physical description as in (6.37), (6.38), and (6.39) or other kind of adjectives as in (6.40).

	Nouns	Adjectives
(6.37)	*potu* 'wound'	*potupotu* 'having a wound'
(6.38)	*sisu* 'sweet potato'	*sisusisu* 'curly (like stems of sweet potatoes)'
(6.39)	*toruru* 'egg'	*torutoruru* 'round'
(6.40)	*puaro* 'gift'	*puaropuaro* 'generous'

6.5.1.2 Deriving verbs from nouns

Reduplication of a noun can derive a verb which describes an action involving the entity denoted by the noun. As noted in §6.2.8, derived verbs are fully lexicalised and the form of a derived verb, except for the repeated initial two syllables, is not predictable from the source word.

	Nouns	Verbs
(6.41)	*iqe* 'knee'	*iqeiqe* 'to kneel down'
(6.42)	*lenio* 'tongue'	*leniolenio t* 'to lick (INTR)', *leniolenioe* 'to lick (TR)'
(6.43)	*pari* 'dust/sand'	*pariparit* 'to play with sand (INTR)'
(6.44)	*revo* 'seaweed'	*revorevot* 'to pick up seaweed'

6.5.1.3 Deriving adjectives from verbs

Reduplication of a verb can derive an adjective which describes the resulting state brought out by the situation described by the verb. As described in §2.8, reduplication of verbs applies to roots, the identical segments shared by intransitive and transitive verbs. For example, an intransitive verb *tibur* 'to close' and a transitive verb *tiburi* 'to close' share the segments *tibur*, and reduplication applies to the first two syllables of this, *tibu*.

	Verbs	Adjectives
(6.45)	*tibur* 'to close (INTR)' *tiburi* 'to close (TR)'	*tibutiburi* 'closed'
(6.46)	*zoleil* 'to be happy' *zole* 'to make happy'	*zolezole* 'happy/pleasant'
(6.47)	*niumat* 'to break (INTR)' *niumaniumae* 'to break (TR)'	*niumaniuma* 'broken'
(6.48)	*sukat* 'to become full (INTR)' *sukati* 'to fill (TR)'	*sukasukati* 'full'
(6.49)	*pisailo* 'to break (INTR)' *pisae* 'to break (TR)'	*pisapisa* 'cracked'
(6.50)	*potas* 'to split (INTR)' *potasi* 'to split (TR)'	*potapotasi* 'split'

Reduplicated forms in (6.49) and (6.50) can also function as a noun meaning 'crack' and 'split' respectively.

6.5.1.4 Deriving nouns from verbs

Reduplication of a verb can derive a noun which denotes: the instrument of the situation described by the verb (instrumental nominalization) (Comrie & Thompson 1985:353); the result of the situation described by the verb (resultative nominalization);'[27] or the object of the verb (object nominalisation). Examples (6.51) to (6.53) are examples of instrumental nominalisation. Examples (6.54) and (6.55) are examples of resultative nominalisation, and examples (6.56) to (6.58) are examples of object nominalisation. There are a few others which do not belong to any of these nominalisation types as in examples (6.59) and (6.60).

	Verbs	Nouns
(6.51)	*buisit* 'to chase away flies (INTR)' *buisie* 'to chase away flies (TR)'	*buisibuisi* 'something with which to chase away flies' (for example a towel)
(6.52)	*volo* 'to take copra out of shell (INTR)' *voloe* 'to take copra out of shell (TR)'	*volovolo* 'a device to take copra out of a shell'
(6.53)	*papu* 'to sit' *papue* 'to sit'	*papupapu* 'chair'
(6.54)	*podet* 'to measure (INTR)' *podeti* 'to measure (TR)'	*podepodeti* 'measurement'

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[27] Comrie and Thompson (1985:355) refers to this kind of nominalisation as 'objective nominalization'.

(6.55)	*pitasat* 'to divide into groups (INTR)' *pitasi* 'to divide into groups (TR)'	*pitapitasi* 'division'
(6.56)	*pauzut* 'to adopt (INTR)' *pauzue* 'to adopt (TR)'	*pauzupauzu* 'adopted child'
(6.57)	*zaiti* 'to put stones on the top of	*zaitizaiti* 'stones which are put on oven' the top of a stone oven'
(6.58)	*bazut* 'to tell (INTR)' *bazue* 'to tell (TR)'	*bazubazu* 'stories'
(6.59)	*purat* 'to come out' *purae* 'to take out'	*purapura* 'hole'
(6.60)	*pait* 'to finish (INTR)' *pai* 'to finish (TR)'	*paitopaito* 'last one/end'

6.5.2 Non-category changing reduplication

Reduplication can be non-category changing. Some verbs, a few adjectives, a few nouns, and numerals can have a non-category changing reduplicated form. With verbs, nouns, and adjectives most commonly a reduplicated form indicates multiplicity—it indicates repetitive events for verbs and plurality for nouns and adjectives.

Examples of non-category changing duplication with verbs

(6.61)	*nanat* 'to bite (INTR)'	*nanananat* 'to bite many times (INTR)'
(6.62)	*nanae* 'to bite (TR)'	*nanananae* 'to bite many times (TR)'
(6.63)	*vatut* 'to move (INTR)'	*vatuvatut* 'to move many times (INTR)'
(6.64)	*vatuti* 'to move (TR)'	*vatuvatuti* 'to move many times (TR)'

Examples of non-category changing reduplication with nouns

(6.65)	*qole* 'elder'	*qoleqole* 'elders'
(6.66)	*reko* 'woman'	*rekoreko* 'women'

Examples of non-category changing reduplication with adjectives

(6.67)	*aza* 'various'	*azaaza* 'very much in variety'
(6.68)	*edo* 'different'	*edoedo* 'many different (ones)'

Non-category changing reduplication applies to only two nouns listed above. *Qoleqole* 'elders' occurs with a plural marker *poso* in an NP, although plurality is indicated by reduplication itself; for example *qoleqole poso* (elders PL.M). Plurality can also be indicated by a plural marker only, as in *qole poso* (elder PL.M) 'elders'. The regular plural form of *reko* 'woman' is a reduplicated form *rekoreko* 'women', and *reko* cannot occur with a plural marker *poso*, thus *reko poso* (woman PL.M) is ungrammatical.

The verb *padoil* 'to gather' is an exception. The reduplicated form of this verb, *padopadoi* does not mean 'to gather many times'. The verb *padoi* 'to gather' itself indicates that the subject is plural, and its reduplicated form denotes that the plural subject has an exhaustive interpretation as in the following example.

(6.69) *...kiada=mu* *ta* *ke=pado-padoi=va...*
all=3PL TOP 3PL=REDUP-gather=PRES
'...everyone [without exception, without leaving anyone], they gathered...'
(10-9-80)

A reduplicated form may have a superlative meaning. This applies to the reduplicated form of some words to which a notion of order applies. For example, the reduplicated form of *visi* 'younger', *visivisi*, means 'youngest'.

There is one case in which the meaning of the reduplicated form is not predictable from the non-reduplicated one. Here the reduplicated form *sarosaroro* of the adjective *saroro* 'fresh'/'water' means 'cold'.

Sisusisu, the reduplicated form of the noun *sisu* 'seed' means 'flower'. This can be attached with *-na*, and *sisusisu-na* means 'fruit'.[28] The origin of *-na* is not known.

As presented in §6.5.1.4, from a verb root *bazu* 'to tell', a noun *bazubazu* 'story' is derived. This can be attached with *-lao*, and *bazubazu-lao* means 'folktale. Again, the origin of *-lao* is not known.

A reduplicated form of a numeral acquires a meaning 'each'.
Examples of non-category changing reduplication with numerals

(6.70) *omuqa* 'two' *omuomuqa* 'two each'

(6.71) *siakava* 'nine' *siakasiakava* 'nine each'

(6.72) *omadeu-paizana-siakava* '109' *omaomadeu-paizana-siakava* '109 each'

The following example illustrates how a reduplicated form of a numeral occurs in a sentence.

(6.73) *A=qati=m=ala* *omu-omuqa* *lebu.*
1SG=give=3PL.O=RCP REDUP-two mango
'I gave them two mangoes each.'

In addition to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and numerals, one pronoun, *eri* 'something like this' can have a reduplicated form.

(6.74) *eri* 'something like this' *erieri* 'something like these'

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[28] *Sisu* also means 'sweet potato'. With this meaning, reduplication becomes category changing as shown in §6.5.1.1

6.6 Summary

In the sections above four types of derivational processes in Bilua were described. Suffixation can derive verbs from nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Encliticisation derives nouns from verbs, adjectives, the numeral *omadeu* 'one', and PPs headed with *kale*. Words derived from compounding can only be nouns and they often originate in two nouns. Reduplication can be applied to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and numerals and can be non-category changing. It can also be category changing: from a noun, it can derive an adjective or a verb, while from a verb, it can derive an adjective or a noun. The above is summarised in the following table.

Table 6.1: Derivational processes

Process	Source words	Derived words
suffixation	nouns adjectives verbs English verbs	verbs
encliticisation	verbs adjectives *omadeu* 'one'	nouns
compounding	often two nouns	nouns
reduplication	verbs	verbs nouns adjectives
	nouns	nouns adjectives verbs
	adjectives	adjectives
	numerals	numerals

This concludes the description of derivational morphology in Bilua. The next chapter presents a description of structures of NPs and their constituents.

7 *Noun phrases*

7.1 Introduction

A Bilua noun phrase (NP) can be an argument of a verbal predicate as in example (7.1), a subject of a non-verbal clause as in (7.2), a predicate of a non-verbal clause as in (7.3), a complement of a postposition as in (7.4), or an adjunct as in (7.5).

(7.1) *...o=kia=v=a vo=a buti.*
3SG.M=put.on=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M=LIG boot
'...he put on the boot.' (16-6-86)

(7.2) *Vo=ko ngi ta David Volosi.*
3SG.M=3SG.F name TOP David Volosi
'His name was David Volosi.' (23-4-45)

(7.3) *Kurou ni kobaka ta uri=a=ma baere-baere*
pigeon and snail TOP good=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-friend

kidi.
COLL.DU
'Pigeon and Snail were good friends.' (15-1-2)

(7.4) *...ke=k=ati kue=va komi=a udu ale.*
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL come=PRES PROX.SG.F=LIG island in
'...they came to this island with it.' (12-11-103)

(7.5) *Kiada=ma taku Barakoma=ko vail=o ale inio*
all=3SG.F time Barakoma=3SG.F look=NOM in FOC.NONF

se ta ke=ev=a.
3PL TOP 3PL=stay=PRES
'All the time, in the care of Barakoma, they lived.' (10-10-83)

Example (7.2) is distinguished from others in the sense that it presents a possessor–possessee relationship. Such an NP is referred to as a 'possessive NP', while an NP which does not present a possessor–possessee relationship is referred to as a 'basic NP'. Possessive and basic NPs are not only semantically but also syntactically distinguished. In (7.2), *vo* (3SG.M) is a possessor NP and this is marked with a possessive marker *ko* (3SG.F).

There is a three-way person distinction in Bilua for human referents: first, second, and third, and a three-way number distinction: singular, dual, and plural. Furthermore, third person singular has a gender distinction between masculine and feminine. Non-singular first person also has a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. The above is summarised in the following table.

Table 7.1: Person/number/gender distinction

Person	Number/Gender		
first	singular	dual.inclusive dual.exclusive	plural.inclusive plural.exclusive
second	singular	dual	plural
third	singular.masculine singular.feminine	dual	plural

Inflectional pronouns inflect according to these distinctions, but the distinctions may be partially neutralised when pronouns have certain functions (see §7.2.1.3.1 and §7.3.2).

Having a masculine–feminine distinction does not mean that Bilua nouns have grammatical genders. Except for nouns that have a natural gender, Bilua nouns are neutral with respect to gender, but a gender can be assigned to an NP by optional constituents, which inflect for genders (see §7.4).

Non-human referents do not have a gender distinction and they are always third person. They can only have a number distinction between singulative[29] and unspecified number. Singulative and unspecified number non-human referents are expressed by third person singular masculine and third person singular feminine pronouns respectively. For example, demonstratives *vo* (3SG.M) and *ko* (3SG.F) may refer to a single pig and pig(s) respectively.

An NP in Bilua is usually marked for person/number/gender according to the above distinctions. In this chapter, first a description of basic NPs is given in §7.2. This is followed by a description of possessive NPs (§7.3). Then, §7.4 discusses the system of person/number/gender marking on NPs in Bilua.

7.2 Basic NPs

The minimum constituent of a basic NP is the head. The NP head can be a noun, a free pronoun, or a quantifier. The head noun can be any noun except for two nouns, *male* 'match' and *ngavi* 'self', which can only be heads of possessive NPs (see §7.3). An NP may have optional constituent(s). The following is the structure of basic NPs with optional constituents. The constituents are listed in the order in which they occur in NPs.

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[29] The term 'singulative' is employed in order to distinguish non-human singular from human singular, which has a person/gender distinction as well as a number distinction.

(determiner)
(quantifier)
(modifier*)[30]
(a measure pronoun *pado*)
Head
(modifier)
(collective marker/plural marker)
(pronominal enclitic)

Co-occurrence of heads with optional constituents depends on the kinds of heads. This is described in §7.2.2.

Bilua modifiers take the form of a modifier phrase, a general modifier, or an adjectival phrase, PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself' (see §7.2.1.1.3). The head of an NP can be ellipsed when it contains a modifier phrase or the adjectival phrase PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself'.

In Bilua, a postverbal NP cannot consist only of a noun when the head is a non-locational noun. It usually has one or more of the optional constituents listed above, but when it does not, it obligatorily takes a distal demonstrative preceding the head. That is, an NP may consist of a distal demonstrative and the head, but the demonstrative here is not treated as one of optional NP constituents listed above. Bilua demonstratives can fill the slot for determiners, but in such a case, they are attached with a ligature (see §7.2.1.1.1). The distal demonstrative here on the other hand is not attached with a ligature and this suggests that the demonstrative is not filling the slot for determiners. It also lacks a deictic function. It appears that a postverbal NP has to be marked for person/number/gender in Bilua, and the demonstrative occurs just for this purpose. This is discussed in §7.4.

In this section, first each of optional NP constituents is described in §7.2.1. Following this, NPs with different kinds of heads are presented in §7.2.2. NPs under discussion are single-underlined while optional constituents under discussion are double-underlined.

7.2.1 Optional NP constituents

7.2.1.1 Determiners

Determiners occur in the NP-initial position. Determiners mark whether a particular referent is identifiable or not in the given discourse. A referent can be considered to be definite when the speaker can assume that the hearer knows and can identify the particular referent the speaker is talking about (Chafe 1976:39). A referent is identifiable when it has already been introduced.

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[30] * here indicates recursive.

A Bilua determiner takes the form of a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, the indefinite marker *ka* (INDEF), or an indefinite pronoun (see §5.5.1 for the list of demonstratives, independent pronouns, and indefinite pronouns). Demonstratives and independent pronouns mark definiteness, while the indefinite marker and indefinite pronouns mark indefiniteness. There are some exceptions to this, as described in the following subsections: demonstratives and independent pronouns in §7.2.1.1.1 and indefinite marker and pronouns in §7.2.1.1.2. Determiners are optional constituents of NPs, and NPs without a determiner can be definite or indefinite. This is discussed in §7.2.1.1.3.

7.2.1.1.1 Demonstratives and independent pronouns

Demonstratives mark definiteness as well as having a deictic function. There are two kinds of demonstratives in Bilua; these are proximate and distal demonstratives, as illustrated by examples (7.6) and (7.7) respectively. Demonstratives are cliticised with a ligature when they fill the slot for a determiner.

(7.6)	*...komi=a*	*Vella La Vella*	*udu*	*ale*	*ta*	*sikeura*
	PROX.SG.F=LIG	Vella La Vella	island	in	TOP	seven

vuro	*maba*	*ta*	*ikoana...*
thousand	person	TOP	EXT.SG.F

'...in this Vella La Vella island, there are seven thousand people...' (64-2-14)

(7.7)	*...lea*	*inio*	*mata*	*vo=a*	*ore*	*a=ba*
	tomorrow	FOC.NONF	again	3SG.M=LIG	tree	1SG=PROS

koi=v=ou...
climb=3SG.M.O=FUT
'...tomorrow, again, I will climb that (one) tree...' (2-9-55)

Distal demonstratives may be used without reference to distance. In that case, they just function as definite markers. In the discourse where example (7.8) below appears, the mother and the child are established participants.

(7.8)	*...ko=ta*	*kora-korai=va*	*ko=a*	*niania*	*vo=a*
	3SG.F=SIT	REDUP-be.angry=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	mother	3SG.M=LIG

meqora	*melai*	*pui*	*o=zolei=va.*
child	too	NEG	3SG.M=be.happy=PRES

'...she became angry, the mother, and the child too, he was not happy.' (24-8-84)

In an NP which presents a topic of a text, a demonstrative can be cataphoric. Such an NP often has a measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) 'one' as an optional constituent as well.

(7.9)	*Komi=a*	*pado*	*bazu-bazu*	*Voululu*
	PROX.SG.F=LIG	MESone	REDUP-story	Voululu

tou-tou	*kale=a=ma*	*vairutu*	*anga*	*ta*
REDUP-tribe	in=LIG=3SG.F	now	1SG	TOP

a=q=ai	*bazu-bazut=ou*	*ko=ko*	*k=i=o*
1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL	REDUP-tell=FUT	3SG.F=3SG.F	3SG.F.O=say=NOM

ni	*kal=o*	*ta*	*eri*	*nio.*
and	happen=NOM	TOP	s.th.like.this	FOC.NONF

'This story from Voululu tribe, now I am going to tell, the way it is told is something like this.' (67-1-1)
(more literally 'This story from Voululu tribe, now I am going to tell, its saying and way is something like this.')

First/second person independent pronouns can also fill the slot for a determiner, but their function here is to specify the person/number of the NP rather than marking definiteness. In the following example, the ligature on the independent pronoun indicates that the pronoun *enge* (1PL.EXC) does not form an NP of its own but it forms an NP with *saidi* 'family'; a ligature occurs only between morphemes which belong to the same phrase (see §5.17).

(7.10)	*enge=a*	*saidi*
	1PL.EXC=LIG	family

'we, family'

7.2.1.1.2 *Indefinite marker and pronouns*

Indefinite marker and pronouns indicate that the hearer is not expected to be able to identify the referent, and generally they also mark specificity. An exception to this is described later in this section. In (7.11) and (7.12), when the speaker utters the words 'war canoe' and 'island', he has a specific war canoe and island in his mind. In (7.13) the indefinite pronoun *kake* (INDEF.PL) refers to an indefinite quantity of specific people (people in the village).

(7.11)	*...se*	*ta*	*ke*	*ere=v=e*	*kala*	*niabara.*
	3PL	TOP	3PL	make=3SG.M.O=RMP	INDEF.SG.M	war.canoe

Ne=a	*niabara*	*ta*	*a=daite*	*Bobe=Vo.*
PROXSG.M=LIG	war.canoe	TOP	1SG=grand.parent	Bobe=3SG.M

'...they made a war canoe. This war canoe was my grandfather Bobe's.' (25-1-6~7)

(7.12)	*...ke=ke=ve*	*ka*	*pado*	*udu*	*ale.*
	3PL=go=RMP	INDEF	MESone	island	in

Ko=a	*udu=ko*	*ngi*	*ta*	*Vawa.*
3SG.F=LIG	island=3SG.F	name	TOP	Vawa

'...they went to an island. The name of the island was Vawa.' (12-2-8~9)

(7.13)	*...kake*	*maba*	*madu*	*ta*	*puli=a=ma*	*ko=a*
	INDEF.PL	person	COLL.PL	TOP	NEG=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.F=LIG

peuru ale.
village in
'...some people are missing in the village.' (26-2-13)

The distribution of the indefinite marker *ka* and indefinite pronouns is as follows. *Ka* occurs when the NP does not contain a modifier phrase, while indefinite pronouns occur when it contains one. Both modifier phrases and indefinite pronouns are marked for person, number, and gender, and they show agreement with each other. Compare (7.12) above and (7.14) below. Example (7.14) contains a modifier phrase *silo=a=la* (small=LIG=3SG.M) and so the NP contains an indefinite pronoun, *kala* (INDEF.SG.M). In (7.12), there is no modifier phrase and so the NP contains the indefinite marker *ka* (INDEF).

(7.14) *...se ta ke=ke=ve kala silo=a=la udu ale.*
3PL TOP 3PL=go=RMP INDEF.SG.M small=LIG=3SG.M island in

Ne=a udu=ko ngi ta Inia.
PROX.SG.M=LIG island=3SG.F name TOP Inia
'...they went to one small island. The name of this island was Inia.' (12-2-17~18)

The indefinite marker *ka* occurs with only certain non-human nouns: *udu* 'island', *ipu* 'night', *sabere* 'year', *taku* 'time', *rana* 'side', and *quli* 'thing', whose referents are all non-human. *Ka* itself does not say anything about the number but it can be used in combination with a measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) 'one' or a plural marker *poso* to specify singularity or plurality as in (7.12) above and (7.15) below.

(7.15) *...esa ka poso sabere ta matu=ma vari=o*
maybe INDEF PL.M year TOP big=3SG.F increase=NOM

ko=ta el=ou komi=a Sabora.
3SG.F=SIT become=FUT PROX.SG.F=LIG Sabora
...maybe, for years [to come, the population of] this village Sabora will show a big increase.' (23-7-72)

Ipu 'night' with the indefinite marker *ka* is a fixed expression meaning 'a night for someone', that is a night event organised for someone as in the following example. To express 'one night', a numeral is used: *omadeu ipu* (one night).

(7.16) *...se ta ke ere=k=ou ka pado ipu.*
3PL TOP 3PL make=3SG.F.O=FUT INDEF MESone night
'...they will make a night [for the chief who died].' (23-3-38)

The indefinite marker *ka* may also occur in an NP which has a female referent as in (7.17) but it never occurs in an NP which has a male referent. Thus, example (7.18) is ungrammatical. In an indefinite NP which has a male referent, indefiniteness can be marked only by an indefinite pronoun as in (7.19).

(7.17) *...se ta ke=kati=v=ake ka pado reko...*
3PL TOP 3PL=give=3SG.M.O=HIST INDEF MESone wife
'...they gave him a wife...' (26-25-132)

(7.18) **Ke=kati=k=ake* *ka* *pado* *lasiverusu.*
3PL=give=3SG.F.O=HIST INDEF MESone boy
'They gave her a boy.'

(7.19) *Ke=kati=k=ake* *kala* *lasiverusu.*
3PL=give=3SG.F.O=HIST INDEF.SG.M boy
'They gave her a boy.'

It is not understood why an indefinite marker *ka* can only occur in an NP with a female referent. Moreover, there is a further constraint on this; such an NP may be employed only when the NP is an object of a verb whose object is normally restricted to a non-human referent. In (7.17), a gift, the object of the verb *katiko* 'to give', is normally restricted to a non-human referent. Otherwise, an indefinite NP contains an indefinite pronoun as a determiner. *Kelo* 'to see' in the following example does not have a selectional restriction for the type of the object: it can be human or non-human. Therefore, the object NP contains an indefinite pronoun, *kama* (INDEF.SG.F), not an indefinite marker *ka* (INDEF).

(7.20) *A=q=ea=la* *kama* *sinaqurusu.*
1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES INDEF.SG.F girl
'I saw a girl.'

Combinations of an indefinite marker/pronoun with a few nouns are used like some English indefinite pronouns, and with these nouns, the NP can only be non-specific: *kala quli* (INDEF.SG.M thing)/*kama quli* (INDEF.SG.F thing) 'something' and *kala maba* (INDEF.SG.M person)/*kama maba* (INDEF.SG.F person), 'somebody', and *kama taku* (INDEF.SG.M time)/*ka taku* (INDEF time) 'sometimes/sometime'.

(7.21) ...*kama* *quli* *ikio* *nei* *o=ta* *vuat=ala...*
INDEF.SG.F thing FOC.F PROX.SG.M 3SG.M=SIT eat=RCP
'...he ate something...' (43-4-43)

(7.22) ...*ngo=q=e=a* *kama* *sinaqurusu* *ma* *kama*
2SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES INDEF.SG.F girl or INDEF.SG.F

maba.
person
'...did you see a girl or somebody?' (59-4-35)

(7.23) *Ka* *koi* *ke=baro=a.*
INDEF place 3PL=arrive=PRES
'They arrived somewhere.' (16-3-41)

(7.24) *Kama* *taku* *inio* *qe=tauve=l=ou...*
INDEF.SG.F time FOC.NONF 2DU=help=1SG.O=FUT
'Sometime, you will help me...' (27-20-123)

A measure pronoun, in combination with a determiner, means 'one of many' (see also §7.2.1.4). This meaning entails definiteness and thus when an indefinite marker/pronoun co-occurs with a measure pronoun, it is considered not to mark indefiniteness anymore. In the following example, each underlined NP refers to one of five parts of Vella La Vella island, and thus it is identifiable and definite.

(7.25) *Vella La Vella udu ta sike kobu.*
Vella La Vella island TOP five MESpart

Kala kobu ta Bilua, kala kobu
INDEF.SG.M MESpart TOP Bilua INDEF.SG.M MESpart

ta Joria, kala kobu ta Dovere,
TOP Joria INDEF.SG.M MESpart TOP Dovere

kala kobu ta Silomai ni kala
INDEF.SG.M MESpart TOP Silomai and INDEF.SG.M

kobu ta Kuri-kuri.
MESpart TOP REDUP-Kuri
'Vella La Vella island has five areas. One (of them) is Bilua, one (of them) is Joria, one (of them) is Dovere, one (of them) is Silomai, and one (of them) is Kurikuri.' (9-1-3~4)

A proximate demonstrative and an indefinite pronoun can co-occur when the identity of a referent is not accessible but when its kind or its description is accessible. In the discourse in which (7.26) occurs, the hearer knows that the speaker has killed something, but the hearer does not know what it is exactly.

(7.26) *...me=ba v=el=ou ne=a kala*
2PL=PROS 3SG.M.O=see=FUT PROX.SG.M=LIG INDEF.SG.M

quli anga a=vouvae=v=ala=ni,
thing 1SG 1SG=kill=3SG.M.O=RCP=REL.NONF
'...you are going to see this thing which I killed,' (26-22-117)

There is no example in the data where a distal demonstrative occurs with an indefinite pronoun. Such an example was not found in elicitation either.

7.2.1.1.3 NPs without a determiner

Bilua nominals can be divided into two broad groups: ones which are inherently definite and ones which are not inherently definite. The former are all except common nouns, viz. pronouns, kinship terms, personal names, and locational nouns. Since they are inherently definite, they cannot co-occur with an indefinite marker/pronoun (see last section for exceptions, measure pronouns) and definiteness does not need to be marked by a demonstrative or an independent pronoun. An NP headed with a personal name, a kinship term, or a locational noun optionally contains a demonstrative. An NP headed with a quantifier is always definite as well, and this optionally contains a demonstrative or an independent pronoun but not an indefinite marker/pronoun.

Nominals which are not inherently definite are common nouns. Bilua common nouns are not marked for specificity either. In an NP headed with a common noun, definiteness and specificity can be marked by a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, or an indefinite marker/pronoun, but this marking is optional. When an NP is headed with a common noun and when this does not contain any determiner, it can be definite, indefinite specific, or indefinite non-specific. In (7.27), the underlined NP is definite and identifiable, as this is a body part of a current participant. In (7.28), the underlined NP is indefinite specific. The speaker starts his story about 'two men' with this sentence. In (7.29), the underlined NP refers to a category 'food', and thus it is indefinite non-specific.

(7.27) ...*omuqa kiti ta o=soloe=k=e toupa=le.*
two leg TOP 3SG.M=dangle=3SG.F.O=RMP lake=in
'...[his] two legs, he dangled them into the lake.' (24-6-63)

(7.28) *Omadeu taku nio omuqa maba ta qo=ta*
one time FOC.NONF two person TOP 3DU=SIT

koiv=a mujor=o=le.
go.up=PRES bonito.fishing=NOM=PURP
'Once upon a time, two men, they went up to do bonito fishing.' (47-1-1)

(7.29) ...*raisi-raisi ko e=va* | *sailao*
REDUP-evening 3SG.F become=PRES food

qo=k=o=a | *qo=saqor=a,*
3DU=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3DU=go.down=PRES
'...it became evening, the two got food, and they went down,' (24-3-28)

7.2.1.2 Quantifiers

A quantifier can be a numeral or *kubo* 'many'.

(7.30) ...*kubo maba madu ta ke=ta mumai=va...*
many person COLL.PL TOP 3PL=SIT get.lost=PRES
'...many people, they have got lost...' (26-8-46)

(7.31) *Nio zouke sinaqurusu ta ke=ta mutai=va.*
SEQ three girl TOP 3PL=SIT hide=PRES
'And three girls, they hid.' (39-13-84)

A quantifier *kubo* itself does not trigger plural agreement even though it refers to a plural number. It triggers default agreement, signalled by third person singular feminine. In (7.32) below, the object clitic on the verb, which agrees with the NP *kubo reko* (many wives), is in the third person singular feminine form. In (7.30) above, it is a collective marker *madu* and not a quantifier *kubo* 'many' that triggers plural agreement.

(7.32) *Enge=ko kal=o ta lekasa ta o=rove=a*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F happen=NOM TOP chief TOP 3SG.M=can=PRES

k=ov=o *kubo reko.*
3SG.F.O=get=NOM many wife
'As for our way, a chief could have many wives.' (23-2-16)

7.2.1.3 Modifiers

A modifier can be a modifier phrase, a general modifier, or an adjectival phrase PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself'. It can also be an adjective, but only when the head is a locational noun *koi* 'place' (see §7.2.2.4).

7.2.1.3.1 Modifier Phrase

In Bilua, constituents which function as modifiers, except for general modifiers and the adjectival phrase PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself', cannot function as modifiers on their own. They form a modifier phrase (MP) with a pronominal enclitic. The enclitic is directly attached to the constituent that has a modifying function or is linked to it by a ligature depending on the modifying constituent (see §5.17). Thus, the structure of MPs is as follows (X represents the constituent which has a modifying function):

X(=LIG)=PRON

The head of an MP is the pronominal enclitic, which refers to the head of the NP. In the following example, the MP *silo=a=ma* (small=LIG=3SG.F) consists of the adjective *silo* 'small' and the head *ma* (3SG.F), which refers to the head of the NP, 'person'.

(7.33) *silo=a=ma* *maba*
small=LIG=3SG.F person
'a small woman'

The pronominal enclitic as the head of an MP takes one of third person singular forms: *la* (3SG.M) and *ma* (3SG.F). Bilua NP can be headless when it contains an MP, and in a headless NP, the head of an MP can be any third person pronominal enclitic. This is discussed later in this section. The pronominal enclitic here marks the person, number, gender of the NP; *la* (3SG.M) marks third person singular masculine while *ma* (3SG.F) marks non-third person singular masculine. Thus, here the person/number/gender distinction of pronominal enclitics is partially neutralised. The distribution of *la* and *ma* is summarised in the following table.

Table 7.2: Distribution of pronominal enclitics as heads of modifier phrases

Pronominal enclitic	Human	Non-human
la (3SG.M)	third person singular masculine	singulative
ma (3SG.F)	non-third person singular masculine	unspecified number

For example, in (7.34), the NP is marked as third person singular masculine by the pronominal enclitic *la* (3SG.M). In both (7.33) above and (7.35) below, the NP is marked as non–third person singular masculine by the pronominal enclitic *ma* (3SG.F). Example (7.33) does not contain any constituent that marks dual or plural, and thus it is singular and it is also feminine, as *ma* is indeed the third person singular feminine form of pronominal enclitic. In (7.35), optional NP constituents, namely the independent pronoun *enge* (1PL.EXC) and the phrase-final pronominal enclitic *ngela* (1PL.EXC), mark first person plural exclusive, and thus the NP is first person plural exclusive. Plurality is also marked by the plural marker.

(7.34) *silo=a=la maba*
silo=LIG=3SG.M person
'a small man'

(7.35) *enge=a Solomoni=a=ma maba poso=ngela*
1PL.EXC=LIG Solomon=LIG=3SG.F person PL.M=1PL.EXC
'we, Solomon people'

There are various constituents which function as modifying constituents. They can be words, phrases, and clauses, and include the following:

adjectives and adjectival phrases
kinship term
placename
deictic adverbs and an adverb *lula* 'already'
interrogatives *lai* 'where' and *noni* 'how'
pronouns *so* 'that', *eri* 'something like this', and *pado* 'one'
a relational noun or an NP headed with a relational noun
numerals
the negation marker *pui*
postpositional phrases
future clauses.

Only some of kinship terms can have a modifying function, and with this function, they have a different meaning (see §4.3.2). For example, *kaka* means 'older sibling' as the head of an NP, but it means 'older' as a modifying constituent.

(7.36) *ko=a kaka=ka=ma meqora*
3SG.F=LIG older=LIG=3SG.F child
'the older daughter'

Placenames, deictic adverbs, and an interrogative *lai* 'where' as modifying constituents mean '(something/somebody) from such and such place' as in (7.35) above and in (7.37) below. An example with *lai* 'where' is given later below in (7.49).

(7.37) *koi=za=ma qole poso*
here=LIG=3SG.F elder PL.M
'elders from here' (10-10-87)

Lula 'already' means 'past', as a modifying constituent.

(7.38) *lula=ma taku*
already=3SG.F time
'past time (in the past)' (23-1-1)

As modifying constituents, pronouns *so* 'that', *eri* 'something like this', and *pado* 'one' mean 'that kind of', '(things) like these', and 'whole' respectively. The interrogative *noni* 'how', which behaves in the same way as the pronoun *so* 'that', means 'what kind of' as a modifying constituent.

(7.39) *So=a=ma bazu-bazu ta ikoana.*
that=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-story TOP EXT.SG.F
'There are those stories (those kinds of stories).' (10-8-67)

(7.40) *kiada=ma eri-eri=a=ma bianga-bianga*
all=3SG.F REDUP-s.th.like.this=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-insect
'all insects like these'

(7.41) *pado=a=ma nganiu*
MESone=LIG=3SG.F day
'the whole day'

(7.42) *noni=a=ma saev=o*
how=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM
'what kind of life' (64-3-22)

In the data, there are two relational nouns which function as modifying constituents, *kuleto* 'front' and *tova* 'behind'. As modifying constituents, they mean 'first' and 'last' respectively. The relational noun *rana* 'side' is found as the head of a possessive NP which functions as a modifying constituent. In the following example, a possessive NP, *lasive=ko rana*, functions as a modifying constituent, forming an MP with a pronominal enclitic. In this example in which the NP is headless, the pronominal enclitic is realised as *mu* (3PL) (see below).

(7.43) *lasive=ko rana=mu*
husband=3SG.F side=3PL
'those who are from the husband side' (21-5-25)

As modifying constituents in MPs, numerals except for *omadeu* 'one' become ordinals. 'First' is expressed by an MP consisting of a relational noun *kuleto* 'front' and a pronominal enclitic linked by the ligature *a*.

(7.44) *omuqa=ma taku*
two=3SG.F time
'the second time' (16-7-91)

(7.45) *kuleto=a=la kobaka*
first=LIG=3SG.M snail
'the first snail' (16-7-91)

The negation marker as a modifying constituent means 'no'.

(7.46) ...*puli=a=ma bolo a=dorae=k=a...*
NEG=LIG=3SG.F pig 1SG=meet=3SG.F.O=PRES
'I encountered no pig...' (43-3-30)

The following are examples of postpositional phrases and future clauses as modifying constituents. When a future clause functions as a modifying constituent, the distinction between future and near future is neutralised, and it can only take the future tense marker (*v*)*ou,* which is realised as (*v*)*o*, attached with the ligature *a*. Thus, in (7.48), the future tense marker *vou* is realised as *vo*. Example (7.48) is a headless NP.

(7.47) *komi=a peuru kale=a=ma maba madu*
PROX.SG.F=LIG village in=LIG=3SG.F person COLL.PL
'people in this village' (26-1-4)

(7.48) *Inio ke=zio=vou ko=a rekorusu=ko peuru*
SEQ 3PL=go=FUT 3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.F village

ale. Sai ke=zio=vo=a=mu ta kake ta
in there 3PL=go=FUT=LIG=3PL TOP INDEF.PL TOP

reko-reko...
REDUP-woman
'And, they will go to the girl's village. As for people who will go there, some are women...' (21-9-53~54)

As noted above, a Bilua NP can be headless; the head of an NP can be ellipsed when it contains an MP. This often happens when the head is the noun *maba* 'person'. In fact, the ellipsed head is usually regarded as the noun *maba* 'person', unless the discourse indicates that it is something else. When the head of an NP is ellipsed, the head of the MP can be any third person pronominal enclitic, and each of third person pronominal enclitics marks the following person, number, and gender.

Table 7.3: Distribution of pronominal enclitics in the modifier phrase in a headless noun phrase

Pronominal enclitic	Human	Non-human
la (3SG.M)	third person singular masculine	singulative
ma (3SG.F)	singular except for third person singular masculine •first person singular •second person singular •third person singular feminine	unspecified number
nioqa (3DU)	dual of any person	–
mu (3PL)	plural of any person	–

A person distinction can be marked by an additional first/second person pronominal enclitic, which takes the phrase-final position (see §7.2.1.6), and if an NP does not contain this, it is third person by default. In (7.48), the head of the MP is the third person plural pronominal enclitic *mu* (3PL) and the NP does not contain a first/second person pronominal enclitic, and consequently the NP is considered to be third person plural. In example (7.49) the head of an MP is *mu* (3PL) but this is attached with the second person plural pronominal enclitic and so it is second person plural.

(7.49) *...lai=za=mu=mela inio me.*
where=LIG=3PL=2PL FOC.NONF 2PL
'...you are people from where?' (9-3-16)

The following are two more examples of headless NPs. None of these examples contains a first/second person pronominal enclitic, and thus they are both third person.

(7.50) *"Koe visi=a=mu ta, pui kapiavole*
INTJ younger=LIG=3PL TOP NEG quickly

ke=rorot=a=ni..."
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF
'"Younger ones, they are not ones who quickly marry..."' (27-18-113)

(7.51) *...nioqi=a omuqa maba ta Kutakabai tou-tou*
PROX.DU=LIG two person TOP Kutakabai REDUP-tribe

kale=a=nioqa.
in=LIG=3DU
'...the two people were people from the Kutakai tribe.' (47-1-3)

As illustrated by (7.49), a Bilua NP that has a first or second person referent contains a first/second person pronominal enclitic in the phrase-final position. In present Bilua, the head pronominal enclitic of the MP is freely ellipsed when the head of a first/second person NP is ellipsed. In the data, it is often ellipsed as in example (7.52); the pronominal enclitic *mu* (3PL) is ellipsed, but there are examples in which it is not ellipsed as in example (7.49) above.

(7.52) *Enge* *ta* *pui* *koi=za=ngela.*
1PL.EXC TOP NEG here=LIG=1PL.EXC
'We are not people from here,' (25-1-2)

Furthermore, the head of an MP can be ellipsed when all of the following four conditions are fulfilled—[1] the head of the NP is ellipsed, [2] the referent of the NP is non-human, [3] the NP is a non-verbal predicate, and [4] the modifying constituent is an adjective.

(7.53) *Komi=a* *siele* *ta* *silo.*
PROX.SG.F=LIG dog TOP small
'This dog is a small one.'

It might be considered that *silo* 'small' in this example directly functions as a non-verbal predicate. That is, an adjective can be a non-verbal predicate. However, *silo* 'small' is instead treated as a headless MP for two reasons. First, the lack of a pronominal enclitic is possible only when the referent of the NP is non-human. It is rather odd to say that an adjective can be a non-verbal predicate only when the referent is non-human. Second, *silo* 'small' can also occur with a pronominal enclitic, forming an MP, and indeed in the data, an adjective usually occurs with a pronominal enclitic and there are only a few examples in which the head of an MP, a pronominal enclitic, is ellipsed.

An MP that consists of a kinship term and a pronominal enclitic linked by a ligature can be treated as one lexeme functioning as a personal name (see §7.4), and this can be the head of an NP. In (7.54), the MP *mama=ka=la* (father=LIG=3SG.M) is treated as a personal name; the referent is named as 'father'. This is the head of an NP which contains a determiner realised as *vo* (3SG.M) attached with a ligature.

(7.54) ...*vo=a* *mama=ka=la* *vo* *ta* *so*
3SG.M=LIG father=LIG=3SG.M 3SG.M TOP that

k=i=o=vou.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=FUT
'...the father (one), he will say so.' (21-2-8)

An MP commonly takes pre-head position, but the data contains a few examples in which an MP headed with a common noun or a kinship term takes a post-head position.

(7.55) *Ko=vijari=v=a* *kala* *meqora* *lasive=a=la,*
3SG.F=deliver=3SG.M.O=PRES INDEF.SG.M child male=LIG=3SG.M
'She gave a birth to a male child,' (27-2-10)

It might be postulated that *kala meqora lasiveala* is a juxtaposition of two appositional NPs, *kala meqora* and *lasiveala.* However, *kala meqora lasiveala* forms one intonation unit and it is best to treat it as forming a single NP. *Lasiveala* here can be moved to a pre-head position without resulting ungrammaticality or change of meaning. It is not understood what may trigger an MP to take a post-head position.

7.2.1.3.2 General modifiers

There are four general modifiers which can function as NP modifiers: *sasa* 'mock / a bit', the restrictive *pala* 'only', the approximative *tiniavo* 'about', or completive *buti* 'finished'. The first one can occur only in pre-head position, while the latter three can occur only in post-head position.

(7.56) ...*sasa mola ke ere=k=a...*
mock canoe 3PL make=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...they made a mock canoe...' (34-1-14)

(7.57) ...*kaboka pala ikio sai.*
snail only FOC.F there
'...only snails were there.' (38-1-6)

(7.58) ...*enge tiniavo komi=a bolo...*
1PL.INC about PROX.SG.F=LIG pig
'...this pig is about [the size] of us...' (67-4-44)

(7.59) *raisi-raisi buti*
REDUP-evening finished
'already evening (evening finished)' (67-2-16)

General modifiers, *pala* 'only, *tiniavo* 'about', and completive *buti* 'finished' always occur NP-finally, regardless of what constituent they modify.

(7.60) *siotolu koloko tiniavo*
eight clock about
'about eight o'clock' (43-4-37)

*7.2.1.3.3 PRON=*kiada *'by oneself'*

PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself', which consists of a proclitic and an adjective *kiada* 'all'[31] usually follows the head as in the following example, but when it modifies a locational noun *koi* 'place' or a measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) 'one', it precedes the head (see §7.2.2.4 and §7.2.2.5.3).

(7.61) *"Noni sole inio me ta bita ko=kiada*
how that's.why FOC.NONF 2PL TOP string.bag 3SG.F=all

me=q=ati vait=a..."
2PL=3SG.F.O=VAL return=PRES
'"Why did you return with a string bag alone..."' (22-3-13)

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[31] Thus, *kiada* is glossed as 'all' in the examples. It is preceded by a proclitic which encodes person, number and gender.

An NP modified by PRON=*kiada* can be headless. In the following example, the first underlined NP is headless, while in the second one the head *kaka* 'elder sibling' is retained.

(7.62)	...*ko=kiada*	*inio*	*ko=vaita*	*kaka=ka=ma*	*ko=kiada*
	3SG.F=all	FOC.NONF	3SG.F=return	older=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.F=all

inio	*ko=vait=a.*
FOC.NONF	3SG.F=return=PRES

'...the older sister returned by herself, she returned by herself.' (27-23-145)

7.2.1.4 *Measure pronoun* pado *'one'*

A measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) can be an optional constituent of an NP. This is usually accompanied with a determiner, and the measure pronoun means 'one of many'.

(7.63)	*Vouvat=o*	*ta*	*kama*	*pado*	*matu*	*ruqe=a=ma*	*quli.*
	kill=NOM	TOP	INDEF.SG.F	MESone	very	bad=LIG=3SG.F	thing

'Killing is one very bad thing/ one of many very bad things.' (12-8-83)

(7.64)	*Komi=a*	*pado*	*rorot=o=ko*	*keve*	*ta*	*matu*
	PROX.SG.F=LIG	MESone	marry=NOM=3SG.F	way	TOP	very

ruqe=a=ma.
bad=LIG=3SG.F
'This way of marriage is a very bad one (among three ways of marriage).' (21-6-33)

7.2.1.5 *Collective markers and the plural marker*

Collective markers *madu* (COLL.PL) and *kidi* (COLL.DU) mark collectiveness. The former is the plural form and the latter is the dual form.

(7.65)	...*maba*	*madu*	*ta*	*ke=mamaz=a*	*koi*	*ko=a*
	person	COLL.PL	TOP	3PL=rest=PRES	here	3SG.F=LIG

zae	*ale.*
area	in

'...people, they rest here, in that area.' (26-12-68)

(7.66)	...*komi=ko*	*mama*	*ni*	*niania*	*kidi*
	PROX.SG.F=3SG.F	father	and	mother	COLL.DU

qe=ba	*opie=k=ou...*
1DU.EXC=PROS	visit=3DU.O=FUT

'...we are going to visit her father and mother...' (27-17-108)

In (7.66), the head of the NP is coordinated nouns *mama ni niania* 'father and mother', and thus the number is two. Because of this, the collective marker has the dual form *kidi*.

A collective marker also functions to mark that the NP has a human referent. That is, an NP which contains a collective marker always has a human referent, regardless of whether the head is inherently human or non-human. In (7.67), the head of the NP is non-human: *kana* (war), but the NP itself is human: 'those warriors'. In (7.68), the head of each of two underlined NPs is a numeral, which is inherently neither human nor non-human, but the NPs are human.

(7.67) *Ni=a kana madu ta ke=ta baro=a.*
3SG.M=LIG war COLL.PL TOP 3PL=SIT arrive=PRES
'Those warriors arrived.' (25-2-19)

(7.68) *Siakava madu ke=soroe=m=a. Omuqa kidi ta*
nine COLL.PL 3PL=send=3PL.O=PRES two COLL.DU TOP

qo=bori=k=a ko=a podala ore...
3DU=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG podala tree
'They sent (a collection of) nine people. (A pair of) two people carried the *podala* tree...' (22-5-21~22)

An NP which contains the plural marker *poso* can be either human or non-human. The plural marker is optional when the NP has other constituents which mark/imply plurality. This is illustrated by (7.69-a) and (7.69-b).

(7.69-a) *Ni erisanga ta matu kubo maba poso ta inisiana*
and today TOP very many person PL.M TOP EXT.PL

Sabora.
Sabora
'And today, many people live in Sabora.' (10-15-127)

(7.69-b) *...matu kubo maba ta ko el=ou komi=a*
very many person TOP 3SG.F stay=FUT PROX.SG.F=LIG

peuru ale.
village in
'...many people will stay in this village.' (64-2-15)

(7.70) *Ni ke=vouvat=e aza-aza=ma zae poso kale.*
and 3PL=kill=RMP REDUP-various=3SG.F area PL.M in
'And they killed at various places.' (10-2-21)

In (7.69-b) the pronominal proclitic which cross-references with the underlined NP is in the third person singular feminine form, as the quantifier *kubo* 'many' cannot trigger plural agreement (see §7.2.1.2).

7.2.1.6 Pronominal enclitics

An NP which has a first or second person referent obligatorily takes a first/second pronominal enclitic in phrase-final position. The function of this pronominal enclitic is to mark first or second person. In (7.35) repeated below, the head of an NP is *maba* 'person'. The first person is marked by the final pronominal enclitic *ngela* (1PL.EXC) as well as the initial independent pronoun *enge* (1PL.EXC).

(7.35') *enge=a* *Solomoni=a=ma* *maba* *poso=ngela*
1PL.EXC=LIG Solomon=LIG=3SG.F person PL.M=1PL.EXC
'we, Solomon people'

Without the final pronominal enclitic and the independent pronoun, that is as *Solomoniama maba poso*, this would be interpreted as third person plural meaning 'Solomon people'. This is because a common noun is third person by default (see §7.4).

The following is another example. In this example, there is a slight pause between *anga* (1SG) and *ore=lala* (tree=1SG), and this suggests that each of *anga* and *ore=lala* forms an NP. That is, one NP is filled with two NPs in apposition. The first NP is realised as an independent pronoun and the second as a common noun marked with a pronominal enclitic marking the first person. These two NPs have the same referent and the first person is already marked by the pronoun in the first NP, but the second NP still requires a pronominal enclitic because of an obligatory marking of first or second person.

(7.71) [*anga*] [*ore=lala*]
1SG tree=1SG
'I, [who am] a tree' (67-1-7)

Note that in example (7.35) above, *enge=a* (1PL.EXC=LIG) does not form an NP of its own. It forms an NP with the rest, as clearly indicated by the ligature *a*, which occurs in order to link constituents in the same phrase (see §5.17 for the ligature).

7.2.2 Heads of NPs

7.2.2.1 Common nouns

An NP headed with a common noun can have any kind of optional NP constituents. As mentioned in §4.5 and §6.3.1, de-adjectival nouns and nominalised verbs belong to the common noun class. In examples (7.73) and (7.74), the head is a nominalised verb and de-adjectival noun respectively. In this section, the head of an NP in issue is double-underlined and the NP itself is single-underlined.

(7.72) ...*kake* *maba* *poso* *inio* *ke* *ol=a,*
INDEF.PL person PL.M FOC.NONF 3PL go=PRES
'...some people went.' (25-7-50)

(7.73) ...*enge* *ta* *nge=q=ai* *zari=a* *tu*
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES IRR

k=ov=o *kama* *uri=a=ma* *saev=o*...
3SG.F.O=get=NOM INDEF.SG.F good=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM
'...we want to get a good life...' (64-1-6)

(7.74)	*...nge=q=e=ala*		*komi=a tapata...*
	1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=see=RCP	PROX.SG.F=LIG	hardship
	'...we saw this hardship...' (26-9-49)		

7.2.2.2 Kinship terms

An NP headed with a kinship term can have any optional NP constituents, except for indefinite markers. This is because kinship terms are inherently definite.

(7.75)	*reko=a=ma*	*kaka*
	female=LIG=3SG.F	older.sibling
	'older sister'	

(7.76)	*eqe=a*	*mama*	*ni*	*niania*	*kidi=qela*
	1DU.EXC=LIG	father	and	mother	COLL.DU=1DU.EXC
	'we the father and mother' (21-2-14)				

7.2.2.3 Personal names

An NP headed with a personal name may have a demonstrative and/or a modifier, and it is always definite.

(Demonstrative) (Modifier) Personal name

(7.77)	*...ka*	*pado*	*ta*	*Koro-koroqanisi*
	INDEF	MESpiece	TOP	REDUP-Korokoroqanisi

ko=kati=v=a...
3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES
'...one, she gave it to *Korokoroqanisi...*' (39-6-41)

(7.78)	*piza=ka=la*	*Volosi*
	strong=LIG=3SG.M	Volosi
	'strong *Volosi*'	

7.2.2.4 Locational nouns

An NP headed with a locational noun, a placename, a relational noun, or the noun *koi* 'place', may have a demonstrative and/or a modifier.

(Demonstrative) (Modifier) Locational Noun

(7.79) *...enge=ko udu, komi=a Bilua.*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F island PROX.SG.F=LIG Bilua
'...our islands, this Bilua (island).' (10-3-32)

(7.80) *ile-ile=a=ma Vella La Vella*
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.F Vella La Vella
'beautiful *Vella La Vella*'

(7.81) *...okate nio o=baro=a...*
up.high FOC.NONF 3SG.M=arrive=PRES
'...he arrived up high...' (43-2-16)

(7.82) *...ko=ta v=a pusae=k=a ko=a*
3SG.F=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL wash=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG

poro...
inside
'...she washed the inside of his [mouth]...' (39-5-36)
(more literally, 'she washed the inside of him...')

An NP headed with *koi* 'place' cannot have a person/number/gender specification. Because of this, *koi* 'place' cannot be modified by a modifier phrase, as this contains a pronominal enclitic, which is marked for person/number/gender. It can, instead, directly be modified by an adjective.

(7.83) *ileile=a koi*
beautiful=LIG place
'beautiful place'

However, *koi* 'place' can be modified by PRON=*kiada* (PRON=all), although this is marked for person/number/gender. PRON=*kiada* normally means 'by oneself', but a combination of PRON=*kiada* with *koi* 'place' means 'all parts of one's body'. A pronominal clitic preceding *kiada* here marks the person/number/gender of 'one's'. For example,

(7.84) *...o=saqae=v=a o=kiada koi...*
3SG.M=brush=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M=all place
'...he brushed all parts of his body...' (39-9-54)

The noun *koi* 'place' can also co-occur with quantifiers *kubo* 'many' and *omadeu* 'one'. When *kubo* 'many' modifies the noun *koi* 'place', it takes a ligature: *kubo=a koi* (many=LIG place) 'many places'. *Omadeu koi* (one place) means 'one (same) place'.

7.2.2.5 Free pronouns

7.2.2.5.1 Inflectional pronouns

Inflectional free pronouns: independent pronouns, demonstratives and indefinite pronouns, can be the head of NPs. They all typically form NPs on their own, but they may optionally have a post-head general modifier, *tiniavo* 'about' or *pala* 'only'.

(7.85) Independent pronoun
Anga ta koi...
1SG TOP here
'I am here...' (2-5-28)

(7.86) Distal demonstrative
Se ta pui ke=v=e=a vo.
3PL TOP NEG 3PL=3SG.M.O=see=PRES 3SG.M
'They did not see him.' (12-4-32)

(7.87) Proximate demonstrative
"*Meqorasaidi komi ta ko niuniu...*"
family PROX.SG.F TOP 3SG.F fish
'"Family, here is fish..."' (24-3-25)

(7.88) Indefinite pronoun
...kiada=ma maba ko=vuat=a, pui kake pala.
all=3SG.F person 3SG.F=eat=PRES NEG INDEF.PL only
'...everyone ate, not only some.' (28-7-73)

7.2.2.5.2 So *'that', and* eri *'something like this'*

So 'that' or *eri* 'something like this' typically forms an NP on its own but it may optionally have a general modifier *tiniavo* 'about'.

(7.89) Pronoun *so* 'that'
...vo ta so k=i=o=vou.
3SG.M TOP that 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=FUT
'...he will say that.' (21-2-8)

(7.90) Pronoun *eri* 'something like this'
...eri tiniavo ke=ta vou=va,
s.th.like.this about 3PL=SIT die=PRES
'...something like approximately this [many people] died,' (26-5-30)

7.2.2.5.3 Measure pronouns

One group of pronouns, measure pronouns, cannot form an NP on their own. They always have to be accompanied by a determiner or a numeral. Measure pronouns are all translated as 'one'.

Determiner/Numeral Measure pronoun

(7.91) *...omadeu pado ikio vo=ko epa.*
one MEAone FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F fruit
'...there was one fruit of [the betelnut tree].'
(more literally '...its fruit was one piece.') (59-1-8)

Pado (MESone) 'one' can also be accompanied by PRON=*kiada* 'by oneself'.

(7.92) *Ko=kiada pado ko=beta kue=va...*
3SG.F=all MEAone 3SG.F=CONT come=PRES
'She was coming by herself...' (27-8-46)
(more literally 'By herself one came...')

7.2.2.6 Quantifiers

An NP headed with a quantifier can only have an optional demonstrative or independent pronoun.

(demonstrative/independent pronoun) quantifier

(7.93) *Se=a meqora poso ta omuqa ta*
3PL=LIG child PL.M TOP two TOP

reko, zouke ta lasive.
female three TOP male
'As for those children, two are female, and three are male.' (23-3-31)

(7.94) *...se=a zouke ta ke=ta nga=va...*
3PL=LIG three TOP 3PL=SIT be.frightened=PRES
'...those three, they were frightened...' (48-4-30)

One might consider treating these NPs as headless NPs in which quantifiers function as modifiers, but this cannot be true. This contention is supported by the following evidence. Bilua have two focus markers, *ikio* (FOC.F) and *inio* (FOC.NONF), which can mark an NP, and these two forms are distributed according to the person, number, and gender of the NP—*ikio* (FOC.F) for third person singular feminine NPs and *inio* (FOC.NONF) for non-third person singular feminine NPs (see §14.3.2 for focus markers). Now, consider example (7.95).

(7.95) *...vo ta omuqa ikio vo=ko meqora*
3SG.M TOP two FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F child

sole.
that's why
'...because he has two children.' (27-4-20)
(more literally '...as for him, his children were two, that's why.')

In this example, the NP marked with a focus marker is third person dual but a focus marker is realised as *ikio* (FOC.F), which contradicts the above distribution. It is postulated that the above distribution does not apply to an NP headed with a quantifier, and such an NP can only be marked by *ikio* (FOC.F). Indeed, this is the case—no NP headed with a quantifier can be marked by *inio* (FOC.NONF) and this illustrates that the NPs analysed in this section are not headless NPs but NPs headed with quantifiers.

One might, on the other hand, consider that the NPs presented in this section are all headless NPs, and headless NPs can only be marked by *ikio* (FOC.F), not by *inio* (FOC.NONF). This however again proves not to be true, as illustrated by example (7.96). In this example, the underlined predicate NP is a headless NP but it is marked with the focus marker *inio* (FOC.NONF) not *ikio* (FOC.F). The predicate NP here consists of a modifier phrase *matu siloala* 'very big' and this is accompanied with a pronominal enclitic *nga* (2SG) agreeing with the subject NP in person, number, and gender. Thus, this NP is encoded as second person singular, and is marked with *inio* (FOC.NONF) following the distribution of focus markers outlined above. Thus, one cannot say that all headless NPs are marked by *ikio* (FOC.F), and again this proves that the NPs analysed in this section are not headless NPs but NPs headed with quantifiers.

(7.96)	*...ngo*	*ta*	*matu*	*silo=ala=nga*	*inio...*
	2SG	TOP	very	small=3SG.M=2SG	FOC.NONF

'...you are a very small one...' (59-4-29)

7.3 Possessive NPs

Possessive NPs present a possessor–possessee relationship. Formally there are two possessive NPs in Bilua, which are distinguished on syntactic grounds: direct type, of which the possessor is directly marked on the possessee noun; and indirect type, of which the possessor is not directly marked on the possessee noun.

The two types of possessive NPs are distinguished on semantic grounds as well; they express different semantic relationships between the possessor and the possessee. With the direct type, the relationship is always inalienable, and accordingly the possessee noun in the direct type of possessive NP can only be an inalienable noun (see §4.3). On the other hand, with the indirect type, the relationship may be either inalienable or alienable. The possessee noun in the indirect type of possessive NP can be any noun except for *ngavi* 'self' and *male* 'match', regardless of whether the possessor and the possessee are in an inalienable or alienable relationship. *Ngavi* 'self' and *male* 'match' can only be possessee nouns in the direct type of possessive NP (see example (7.101) and (7.102) below).

In both types of possessive NP, the possessee noun is the head of a possessive NP, as clearly shown by cross-referencing on the VP. Examples (7.97) and (7.98) are direct and indirect types of possessive NPs respectively. In both (7.97) and (7.98), the possessive NP is the subject, and the double-underlined pronominal proclitic on the VP, the subject marker, agrees in person, number, and gender, with the possessee *mama* 'father'. In this section, possessive NPs are single-underlined.

(7.97) ...*ke=mama* *ta* *o=ta* *vouv=a.*
3PL=father TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES
'...their father died.' (59-1-1)

(7.98) ...*nioqa=vo* *mama* *ta* *pui* *o=baro=a.*
3DU=3SG.M father TOP NEG 3SG.M=arrive=PRES
'...their father did not arrive.' (24-4-36)

7.3.1 Direct type

Minimum constituents of the direct type of possessive NP are a pronominal proclitic and the head noun, referring to the possessor and the possessee respectively. The pronominal proclitics are attached to the head noun.[32] That is, the possessor here is directly marked on the possessee noun. In addition to these, this type of possessive NP may also have a collective marker or the plural marker but no other constituents of basic NPs.[33] This means that the pronominal proclitic is cliticised to the head first and to this, a collective or a plural marker may be added. Thus, the structure of direct possessive NPs is schematised as:

[[Pronominal Proclitic $_{\text{possessor}}$ Noun $_{\text{possessee}}$] (COLL/PL)] $_{\text{possessive NP}}$

Some examples are:

(7.99) ...*o=bazue=m=a* *o=baerebaere* *poso.*
3SG.M=tell=3PL.O=PRES 3SG.M=friend PL.M
'...he told his friends.' (15-2-15)

(7.100) ...*o=bazue=k=a* *o=kaka* *kidi.*
3SG.M=tell=3DU.O=PRES 3SG.M=elder.sibling COLL.DU
'...he told his two brothers.' (59-3-22)

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[32] Pronominal proclitics that refer to possessor always attach to a noun and this might suggest that they are prefixes rather than proclitics. However, remember that these morphemes also occur in VPs, cross-referencing subjects. In such a case, they may be attached to an object clitic, an aspectual/modal marker, the possessor-raising marker, a modifier, or a verb. That is, they can be attached to various kinds of words and this indicates that they are clitics.

[33] If a possessive NP is to have a modifier, the possessive NP has to be an indirect type of possessive NP.

When the head is *male* 'match' or *ngavi* 'self', the NP cannot have a plural or collective marker.

(7.101) ...*ko=ngavi* *nio* *ko=ta* *ol=a.*
3SG.F=EMPH FOC.NONF 3SG.F=SIT go=PRES
'...she herself went.' (27-22-141)

(7.102) ...*anga* *inio* *ko=male...*
1SG FOC.NONF 3SG.F=match
'...it's me who is her '[good] match...' (67-2-18)

PRON=*male* 'one's match' can only be the predicate of a non-verbal clause (see §12.3.3 for more examples).

7.3.2 Indirect type

The indirect type of possessive NP has several functions in addition to presenting a possessor–possessee relationship. This section presents the structure of the indirect type of possessive NP first, and then its functions are described.

The indirect type of possessive NP contains an embedded NP, a possessor NP. The possessor NP has a basic NP structure but this never contains a measure pronoun *pado* (MESone) or a general modifier. The possessor NP is attached with a possessive marker, which is an encliticised form of a third person singular distal demonstrative, *vo* (3SG.M) or *ko* (3SG.F). These pronouns mark the person/number/gender of NPs in the same way as pronominal enclitics in modifier phrases do: *vo* (3SG.M) marks third person singular masculine while *ko* (3SG.F) marks non-third person singular masculine.

Table 7.4: Distribution of distal demonstratives as possessive markers

Pronouns	Human	Non-human
Vo (3SG.M)	third person singular masculine	singulative
Ko (3SG.F)	non-third person singular masculine	unspecified number

The possessor NP attached with a possessive marker usually precedes the possessee noun, and the minimum constituent of a possessive NP is the possessor NP attached with a possessive marker and the possessee noun. Thus, the minimum structure of the simple possessive NP is:

Possessor NP=Marker Possessee N

Examples (7.103), (7.104), and (7.105) are examples of an indirect type of possessive NP. In (7.103), the distal demonstrative, which functions as a possessive marker, is realised as *vo* for a third person singular masculine referent, while in both (7.104) and (7.105) it is realised as *ko* for a non-third person singular masculine referent. Example

(7.105) contains a plural marker so the NP is plural and means ‘that man’s children’, while example (7.104) lacks a plural marker and so the NP is singular and means ‘that man’s daughter’, as *ko* is indeed the third person singular feminine form of distal demonstrative. In this section, the head of a possessive NP is double-underlined, and the possessor NP is marked with square brackets.

(7.103) [*vo=a* *maba*]*=vo* *megora*
3SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F child
‘that man’s son’

(7.104) [*vo=a* *maba*]*=ko* *megora*
3SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F child
‘that man’s daughter’

(7.105) [*vo=a* *maba*]*=ko* *megora* *poso*
3SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F child PL.M
‘that man’s children’

The indirect type of possessive NP can have any optional constituents of basic NPs: a determiner, a quantifier, a modifier phrase, a collective marker, a plural marker, a pronominal enclitic, but not a general modifier or an adjectival phrase PRON=*kiada* ‘by oneself’, and the head can only be a noun. The head of the possessor NP is often a demonstrative or an independent pronoun but it can also be a non-locational noun. Examples with different kinds of heads are presented later below.

The position of the possessor NP within the possessive NP depends on the head of the possessor NP. When it is not a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, or a nominalised verb, it takes the NP-initial position, and this can never be followed by a determiner, as no determiner in Bilua can occur in a position other than the NP-initial position, and other NP constituents follow this, taking the position they do in basic NPs.

Possessor NP= Marker (QANT) (MOD) Possessee N (COLL/PL) (PRON)

In (7.106), the head of the possessor NP is a personal name, Ilai.

(7.106) [*Ilai*]*=ko* *matu=ma* *pade*
Ilai=3SG.F big=3SG.F house
‘Ilai’s big house’

Example (7.107) is not grammatical as the head of the possessor NP is followed by a determiner.

(7.107) *[*maba* *vo=a*] *ko* *pade*
person 3SG.M=LIG 3SG.F house
‘that person’s house’

When the head of the possessor NP is a demonstrative, an independent pronoun, or a nominalised verb, the possessor attached with a possessive marker immediately precedes the head, and other pre-head NP constituents precede this.

(DEM) (QANT) (MOD) Possessor NP=Marker Possessee N (COLL/PL) (=PRON)

In both examples below, the possessor NP is a demonstrative. Constituents preceding this cannot be regarded as parts of the possessor NP—they are constituents of the possessive NP in which the possessor NP is embedded. This is because an NP headed with a demonstrative can have neither determiner nor modifier phrase as described in §7.2.2.5.1.

(7.108) *ko=a reko=a=ma [se]=ko ravaza*
3SG.F=LIG female=LIG=3SGF 3PL=3SG.F in-law
'their mother in-law' (16-7-100)

(7.109) *kake [vo]=ko vaki-vakina*
INDEF.PL 3SG.M=3SG.F REDUP-troop
'his troops'

In (7.110), the possessor NP is a nominalised verb *pazokinio* 'fight'. Similar to (7.108) and (7.109) constituents preceding *komia matuma* are not constituents of the possessor NP, but constituents of the possessive NP. The nominalised verb here presents the purpose that the possessive NP head is used for, and in such a case it cannot co-occur with optional NP constituents.

(7.110) *komi=a matu=ma [pazo-kini=o]=ko vaka*
PROX.SG.F=LIG big=3SG.F hit-RECP=NOM=3SG.F ship
'this big warship (this big ship for war)'

A determiner in a possessive NP is optional. A possessive NP is typically definite regardless of whether it contains a determiner or not. However, a possessive NP can be indefinite when it does not contain a determiner. The interpretation depends on the discourse. The discourse in which example (7.111) below occurs indicates that this is indefinite.

(7.111) *matu=ma [pazo-kini=o=ko] vaka*
big=3SG.F hit-RECP=NOM=3SG.F ship
'a big warship (a big ship for war)' (12-4-37)

The possessor NP can be a direct type of possessive NP headed with *ngavi* 'self'. PRON=*ngavi* here means 'one's own'. This behaves in the same way as a possessor NP headed with non-demonstrative, non-independent pronoun, or non-nominalised verb. Thus, the possessor NP takes the NP-initial position like example (7.106) above.

(7.112) [*ke=ngavi*]=*ko* *lekasa* *madu*
3PL=EMPH=3SG.F chief COLL.PL
'their own chiefs' (12-11-106)

The plural collective marker is realised as an enclitic *mu* in an indirect type of a possessive NP headed with the noun *maba* 'person', as in example (7.113) below. In other cases, it is always realised as *madu* (COLL.PL) as in (7.112) above. In (7.113), the possessor NP is headed with a common noun and so the demonstrative preceding it is a constituent of the possessor NP.

(7.113) [*ko=a* *sinaqurusu*]=*ko* *maba=mu*
3SG.F=LIG girl=3SG.F person=COLL.PL
'the girl's people' (21-10-60)

The head of an indirect type of possessive NP can be ellipsed. Ellipsis may occur when the head is identifiable from the discourse. In (7.114), *anga=ko* (1SG=3SG.F) is a headless possessive NP, and the head of the possessive NP is expressed in the preceding NP, *koa rekoama taite* 'the grandmother'. It is not the case that in (7.114) *anga=ko* is a postposed possessive modifier NP and *koa rekoama taite* and *angako* form a possessive NP. *Angako koa rekoama taite* would be ungrammatical because of the position of the determiner, *koa.*

(7.114) ...*ke=k=ati* *kail=a,* *ko=a* *reko=a=ma*
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL go.up=PRES 3SG.F=LIG female=LIG=3SG.F

taite [*anga*]=*ko*...
g.parent 1SG=3SG.F
'...they took her up, the grandmother, [who is] mine...' (25-7-56)

In (7.115), *ko=ngavi=ko* (3SG.F =EMPH=3SG.F) is a headless possessive NP. The sentence preceding this tells that she threw out her son's food, and (7.115) tells what she did with her own food.

(7.115) [*Ko=ngavi*]=*ko* *ta* *ko=tukie=k=a* *tuto* *kale.*
3SG.F=self=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=keep=3SG.F.O=PRES coconut.container in
'As for her own [food], she kept it in a coconut container.' (27-3-17)

The following are some examples with different kinds of heads. The heads of both possessor NPs and possessive NPs are double-underlined.

(7.116) [*enge*]=*ko* *visi=nga*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F younger.sibling=2SG
'you who are our younger sister' (59-8-64)

(7.117) [*anga*]=*vo* *Pare*
1SG=3SG.M Pare
'my Pare'

(7.118) *[enge]=ko Solomoni Ailadi*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F Solomon Islands
'our Solomon Islands'

(7.119) *[eqe=a mama ni niania kidi=qela]=ko*
1DU.EXC=LIG father and mother COLL.DU=1DU.EXC=3SG.F

matu=ma zari=o
big=3SG.F want=NOM
'we, who are the father and mother's big wish' (21-2-14)

(7.120) *[sapera]=ko vima*
floor=3SG.F underneath
'underneath the floor' (16-5-62)

An indirect type of possessive NP has one of five different functions: it indicates a possessor–possessee relationship as in (7.121), it indicates a whole–part relationship as in (7.122), it functions as a temporal adjunct as in (7.123), it forms a nominalised complement as in (7.124), or its possessor NP presents a purpose as in (7.125).

(7.121) Possessor–possessee relationship
[se]=ko zaloni
3PL=3SG.F ornament
'their ornaments' (67-5-50)

(7.122) Whole–part relationship
...[vo]=ko zavu-zavu melai ko=ta kajorio=ke...
3SG.M=3SG.F REDUP-beard too 3SG.F=SIT come.off=HIST
'...his beard too came off...' (26-17-96)

(7.123) Temporal adjunct
[Omuqa sabere]=ko tova inio ko ta
two year=3SG.F behind FOC.NONF 3SG.F TOP

ko=rove=a tu kil=o koi Vella La Vella.
3SG.F=can=PRES IRR come=NOM here Vella La Vella
'After two years, it could come to this Vella La Vella island.' (10-7-59)

(7.124) Nominalised complement
A=q=e=a [vo]=ko vouvat=o...
1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F kill=NOM
'I see his murder...' (12-13-113)

(7.125) Purpose
...ko=baro=a [sailao]=ko taku...
3SG.F=arrive=PRES food=3SG.F time
'...the time for food (eating) arrived...' (27-3-16)

The first two are conventional functions of possessive NPs and do not need any explanation here. Possessive NPs as temporal adjuncts and as nominalised complement clauses are described in §10.4.2 and §12.3.4 respectively. Here, only the last one, the 'purpose' function is described.

The possessor NP may refer to a purpose, what the possessor noun is (used) for. In such a case, both head of the possessor NP and possessee noun can only be common nouns. Often the head of the possessor NP is a nominalised verb as in (7.110) repeated below, while the possessee noun is a noun *taku* 'time' as in (7.125) above and (7.126) below. A nominalised verb as the head of the possessor NP always presents a purpose.

(7.110)	*komi=a*	*matu=ma*	*[pazo-kini=o]=ko*	*vaka*
	PROX.SG.F=LIG	big=3SG.F	hit-RECP=NOM=3SG.F	ship

'this big warship (this big ship for war)'

(7.126)	*...ko=baro=a*	*[bolo=ko*	*padoe=k=o]=ko*	*taku...*
	3SG.F=arrive=PRES	pig=3SG.F	gather=3SG.F.O=NOM=3SG.F	time

'...the time for gathering pigs arrived...' (67-3-38)

In example (7.126), *bolo=ko padoe=k=o* 'gathering pigs' itself is a possessive NP; *boloko* is a possessor NP, which forms a possessive NP with a nominalised verb *padoeko*, and this possessive NP, *bolo=ko padoe=k=o,* itself functions as a possessor NP and thus is attached with *ko*. The head of the entire NP is *taku* 'time'.

7.4 Person, number, and gender marking

In the last two sections, two types of NPs in Bilua, basic and possessive NPs, are described. Bilua NPs are usually marked for person/number/gender. Exceptions to this are categorical and generic NPs. For example, in (7.127) the underlined NP refers to a category of 'food' and this is not marked for person/number/gender. When such an NP is cross-referenced on the verb, it is realised in the default form, the third person singular feminine form. Thus, in (7.127) the object clitic which cross-references the NP *sailao* 'food' is realised as *k* (3SG.F.O).

(7.127)	*...niania=ka=ma*	*ta*	*sailao*	*ko*	*ere=k=a...*
	mother=LIG=3SG.F	TOP	food	3SG.F	make=3SG.F.O=PRES

'... the mother, she did food-making...' (27-3-15)

An NP which refers to a category thus can consist of the head on its own. It may, however, contain a modifier phrase, and this refers to a subcategory. In the following example, *uriama pade* 'good house' is a subcategory of a category *pade* 'house'.

(7.128)	*...nge=q=a*	*zari=a*	*k=ov=o*
	1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES	3SG.F.O=get=NOM

uri=a=ma	*pade...*
good=LIG=3SG.F	house

'...we want to get good houses...' (64-3-23)

In Bilua, common nouns, kinship terms, locational nouns, personal names, quantifiers, non-inflectional pronouns, and quantifiers have default interpretation as third person, and first/second person can be marked by a first/second person pronominal enclitic in the NP-final position. Personal names and a few kinship terms are marked for gender as well. Some kinship terms can be used as vocatives. This is then interpreted as second person.

In an NP whose head is not marked for gender, gender can be specified by an optional NP constituent; a demonstrative, which fills the slot for a determiner, a pronominal enclitic in a modifier phrase, and/or a demonstrative which functions as a possessor marker in a possessor NP. These are all pronouns which inflect for gender.

(7.129) *vo=a* *silo=a=la* *meqora*
3SG.M=LIG small=LIG=3SG.M child
'the small boy'

(7.130) *ko=ko* *meqora*
3SG.F=3SG.F child
'her daughter'

The above applies only when the NP is third person singular: Bilua has a gender distinction only for third person singular, as shown in Table 7.1.

The direct type of possessive NP can have neither determiner nor modifier phrase, and consequently, the direct type of possessive NP cannot be marked for gender.

(7.131) *a=meqora*
1SG=child
'my child (male or female)' (43-5-56)

In such a case, gender can be found only from the discourse. However, in a direct type of possessive NP headed with *ngavi* 'self', PRON=*ngavi* 'oneself', the pronominal proclitic specifies the gender.

(7.132) *o=ngavi*
3SG.M=self
'himself' (27-24-153)

Number can be specified by a quantifier and/or a collective/plural marker.

(7.133) *matu kubo maba madu*
very many person COLL.PL
'(a group of) a large number of people' (12-1-5)

An NP can also be interrogative 'who'. The interrogative 'who' has default interpretation as third person, but similar to NPs headed with a common noun or a kinship term, it can take a first/second person pronominal enclitic for a first/second person marking.

(7.134) "*Ngo=daite ta lala?*"
2SG=g.parent TOP whoSG.M
'"Who is your grandfather?"' (39-9-56)

(7.135) "*Lala=nga* *inio* *ngo?*"
whoSG.M=2SG FOC.NONF 2SG
'"Who are you?"' (39-9-55)

In Bilua, generally first/second person NPs cannot have a gender specification. When the head of an NP is the interrogative 'who', however, a first/second person NP can have a gender specification, as the interrogative word 'who' itself has a gender specification. In (7.135), the interrogative word 'who' is in the singular masculine form and this is marked with a second person singular pronominal enclitic. Thus, the referent is second person singular masculine. If the interrogative is in the singular feminine form, the referent is second person singular feminine.

It is illustrated above that person, number, and gender of NPs can be marked by optional NP constituent(s) and NPs often contain optional NP constituent(s). A postverbal NP headed with a non-locational noun in Bilua can never consist of the head on its own. That is, there is a slot to be filled. Non-locational nouns are, as set out in §4.3, common nouns, kinship terms, and personal names. The slot is generally filled by one of the optional NP constituents, but if not, it is filled by a distal demonstrative by default. The demonstrative here cannot be treated as a determiner, as it is not attached with a ligature. For example,

(7.136) *Ni* *ke=v=e=ake* *vo* *Sito*.
and 3PL=3SG.M.O=RMP=HIST 3SG.M Sito
'And they saw Sito.' (12-7-63)

Thus, the lack of the ligature indicates that *vo* (3SG.M) does not function as a determiner. It might be postulated that each of *vo* and *Sito* forms an NP of its own and *vo* and *Sito* are two appositive NPs. However, such a demonstrative and the head always form one intonation unit and so it is best to treat them as forming a single NP, and *vo* occurs just to fill the slot. Furthermore, such an NP can be a categorical/generic NP as illustrated by examples (7.139) and (7.140) later in this section, and this illustrates that the demonstrative here does not function as a determiner: it does not have a definiteness-marking function or a deictic function.

As illustrated above, NPs are usually marked for person, number, and gender by optional constituents, while demonstratives, which may precede the head, are marked for person, number, and gender as well. This raises the contention that it is obligatory for a postverbal NP to be marked for person, number, and gender by a non-head constituent. This contention is supported by the fact that even personal names, which are always third person singular and which also have an inherent gender marking, cannot form an NP on their own in postverbal position, and the distal demonstrative, which is neither the head nor a determiner, occurs for an obligatory person, number, and gender marking.

The distal demonstrative which precedes the head can only be the third person singular one. This is because when a referent is not third person singular, an NP would have an optional constituent. The demonstrative is realised as *vo* (3SG.M) or *ko* (3SG.F) depending on the gender for a human referent and depending on the number for a non-human referent.

Table 7.5: Distribution of third person singular distal demonstratives as a person/number/gender marker

Demonstratives	Human	Non-human
vo	third person singular masculine	singulative
ko	third person singular feminine	unspecified number

The following is an example with a kinship term.

(7.137)	*...k=i=o=la*	*vo*	*meqora.*
	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES	3SG.M	child

'...said the son.' (27-17-109)

As noted in §7.2.1.3.1, a combination of a kinship term and a pronominal enclitic is used like a personal name and this is treated as one lexeme. The following example clearly illustrates this. In this example, a kinship term cliticised with a pronominal enclitic is preceded by a demonstrative without a ligature.

(7.138)	*...ko=baro=a*	*ko*	*niania=ka=ma...*
	3SG.F=arrive=PRES	3SG.F	mother=LIG=3SG.F

'...the mother arrived...' (27-8-47)

As noted above, a categorical/generic NP is not generally marked for a person/number/gender. This kind of NP still however has to contain a demonstrative in postverbal position. Similarly to (7.127), the underlined NP in (7.139) refers to a category of 'food', but it contains a demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F). Example (7.140) expresses to what category the thing she saw belongs; the object NP *vo siloilo* 'firefly' refers to a category. Since she saw only one firefly, this is coded as singulative, as indicated by the singulative form of object clitics in the VP, *v* (3SG.M), and so the demonstrative is realised in the singulative form as well agreeing with this.

(7.139)	*...ke=ngavi*	*nio*	*ke*	*ere=k=a*	*ko*	*sailao.*
	3PL=self	FOC.NONF	3PL	make=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	food

'...they made food themselves...' (59-1-5)

(7.140)	*...ko=v=e=a*	*kala*	*bianga-bianga*
	3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES	INDEF.SG.M	REDUP-insect

silo=a=la	*ipu*	*ale,*	*uza*	*ta*	*ngase*	*topi*	*ko=a*
small=LIG=3SG.M	night	in	fire	TOP	hand	on	3SG.F=LIG

reko,	*inio*	*ko=v=e=a*	*vo*	*siloilo...*
woman	SEQ	3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES	3SG.M	fire.fly

'...she saw one small animal in the darkness, with a fire on her hand, the woman, she saw one firefly.' (39-4-30~31)
(more literally '...she saw one small animal in the night, a fire was on her hand, the woman , and she saw one firefly...)

It appears that the obligatory person/number/gender marking in (7.139) and (7.140) is because of the object clitic in the preceding VP. That is, the object clitic, which itself is marked for person/number/gender, requires the NP which follows and which is co-referential with this object clitic to show agreement. For example, in (7.139) the object clitic *k* (3SG.F) requires that the NP be third person singular feminine, and so the NP contains the demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F). Similarly, in (7.140), the object clitic *v* (3SG.M) requires the NP to be third person singular masculine and so the NP contains the demonstrative *vo* (3SG.M). When the NP precedes the VP as in (7.127), however, there is no such a requirement, and the object clitic in the VP takes the default form, the third person singular feminine form.

Unlike non-locational nouns, locational nouns do not require such a demonstrative.

(7.141) *Qo=baro=i* *Roviana...*
3DU=arrive=RMP Roviana
'The two arrived at *Roviana*' (10-6-53)

This concludes the description of NPs in Bilua. The next chapter deals with verb phrases and complement phrases.

8 *Verb phrases and complement phrases*

8.1 Introduction

As noted in §3.2.2, the 'heart' of a Bilua verbal clause is the predicate, which is a verb phrase (VP). A Bilua verb phrase, except for when it is headed with one of two verbs, *elo* 'to become' and *iko* 'to put/cause', can form a clause on its own. A VP headed with one of these two verbs always requires a complement. A complement is expressed by a complement phrase, which can be a noun phrase, a postpositional phrase, an adjectival phrase, or any locational phrase (see §10.3 for locational phrases). In this chapter, first a description of VPs is presented and then a description of complement phrases is presented.

8.2 Verb phrases

8.2.1 Introduction

The defining feature of the VP in Bilua is that the head can only be a verb and it usually contains a pronominal proclitic, which functions as a subject marker, and a tense/mood marker. In the following example, the underline marks the VP.

(8.1) ...*o=koit=a*...
3SG.M=climb=PRES
'...he climbed...' (2-4-19)

8.2.2 Constituents of VPs

Generally, a Bilua VP minimally contains a pronominal proclitic, the head (a verb with or without an accompanying object clitic, see §8.2.3), and a tense/mood marker. A VP may also have optional constituents. Except for when the head (verb) is *kio* 'to say' or *tu...keu* 'to be long', the three minimum constituents occur in the order of pronominal proclitic, head, and tense/mood marker, and optional VP constituents occur between the pronominal proclitic and the head. Constituents of VPs are (in order of their occurrence):

Pronominal proclitic
(Aspectual/Modal marker)
(Possessor-raising marker)
(Object clitic)
(Valency-increasing marker)
(Modifier)
Head = verb (with or without an accompanying object clitic)
Tense/mood marker

The first five of these constituents—pronominal proclitic, aspectual/modal marker, possessor-raising marker, object clitic, and valency-increasing marker—form a preverbal complex, which has a template structure. A template structure consists of a sequence of morpheme slots (Simpson & Withgott 1986). Each of these slots can be filled with a certain type of morpheme. It is not necessary to fill all slots, but an occurrence of one morpheme in one slot may require a co-occurrence of another morpheme in another slot, or block an occurrence of another morpheme.

In the Bilua preverbal complex, the slot for aspectual/modal markers may be filled by two aspectual/modal markers (see §8.5.6). When the slot for valency-increasing markers is filled, the slot for object clitics has to be filled as well, while when the slot for the possessor-raising marker is filled, the slot for valency-increasing markers must be filled. Furthermore, in certain circumstances, an occurrence of a valency-increasing marker *a* requires the co-occurrence of the possessor-raising marker (see §9.4.4). On the other hand, the situation-change marker *ta* prohibits an occurrence of the possessor-raising marker and valency-increasing markers. Thus, the situation-change marker never co-occurs with the possessor-raising marker or a valency-increasing marker.

The head, a verb with or without an accompanying object clitic, and a tense/mood marker also form a template structure. Here, there are three slots: one for verbs, one for object clitics, and one for tense/mood markers. When the slot for verbs is filled, this requires the slot for tense/mood markers to be filled. Furthermore, when the slot for verbs is filled by a transitive verb, this requires the slot for object clitics to be filled. In texts, however, there are a few examples in which an object clitic and a tense/mood marker are ellipsed together, but there is no example in which only one of them is ellipsed.

A VP whose head is *kio* 'to say' or *tu...keu* 'to be long' has a different structure. With the verb *kio* 'to say', the pronominal proclitic is realised as an enclitic[34]—it always follows its host, the verb. Furthermore, this verb takes an object clitic as a proclitic.[35] The verb *kio* 'to say' cannot co-occur with aspectual/modal markers or the possessor-raising marker. Furthermore, with this verb, the pronominal proclitic and the valency-increasing marker do not form a preverbal complex either. This is because the pronominal proclitic does not take the usual VP-initial position, but follows the verb. The following is an example of a VP with the verb *kio* 'to say'. (In the following examples, VPs are underlined.)

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[34] It is rather odd to say that a proclitic is realised as an enclitic, and it might be better to replace the term 'pronominal proclitic' with the term 'pronominal clitic'. However, there are two other sets of pronominal clitics in Bilua, which are referred to as pronominal enclitics and object clitics, and the term 'pronominal proclitic' is employed in this work in order to make a distinction from these two sets of clitics.

(8.2) *...se* *ta* *eri* *v=ati* *k=i=ke=la.*
3PL TOP s.th.like.this 3SG.M.O=VAL 3SG.F.O=say=3PL=PRES
'...they, they said to him something like this.' (25-7-50)

With *tu...keu* 'be long', the preverbal complex occurs between *tu* and *keu*.

(8.3) *Tu* *a=da* *keu=vou* *Gizo.*
be.long 1SG=SIT be.long=FUT Gizo
'I will be in Gizo for a long time.'

(8.4) *...puliako* *tukeu* *inio* *ke=mama* *ta* *o=ta*
before be.longNOM FOC.NONF 3PL=father TOP 3SG.M=SIT

vou=va.
die=PRES
'...before long, their father died.' (59-1-1)

In example (8.4), the verb *tu...keu*, which is realised as *tukeu*, occurs in a non-finite temporal clause that is marked with a subordinator *puliako*. A VP which follows a subordinator *puliako* 'before' always consists of a verb and the nominal derivational enclitic *o* only (see §12.4.1). In example (8.4) the combination of the verb *tu...keu* with the nominal derivational enclitic *o* is realised as *tukeu*—the combination of the verb final *u* with the enclitic *o* is realised as *u* (see Appendix 2). This illustrates that *tu* and *keu* form one lexeme.

In the following, all VP constituents except valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker are described. Valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker are described in the next chapter on valency and transitivity. The present chapter also includes a classification of verbs in terms of lexical semantics, as semantic of verbs may contribute to interpretation of aspectual/modal markers as described in §8.5.

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[35] The basic position of an S/A NP and an O NP for all verbs except *kio* 'to say' is preverbal and postverbal position respectively. This order corresponds to the order of the pronominal proclitic that cross-references the S/A argument, the verb, and the object clitic in the VP. With the verb *kio* 'to say', the basic position of A and O NPs are postverbal and preverbal respectively. This order again corresponds to the order of the object marker, the verb, and the pronominal in the VP. There are three other verbs that take an object marker as a proclitic, but with these verbs, the subject marker precedes the head. It is not understood why *kio* 'to say' is different from other verbs with this regard.

8.2.3 VP head

Only a verb can be the head of a VP. Bilua verbs can be divided into two types depending on the obligatory presence/absence of an object clitic (see §4.4). Transitive verbs are obligatorily cliticised with an object clitic while intransitive verbs can never be cliticised with an object clitic. Since the object clitic is obligatory for transitive verbs, this can be regarded as a part of the head. In the following examples, underlines mark the VP head.

(8.5) Intransitive verb
O=ta *lezumat=a.*
3SG.M=SIT study=PRES
'He is studying.'

(8.6) Transitive verb
O=tatabarae=k=ala.
3SG.M=buy=3SG.F.O=RCP
'He bought it.'

The type of verbs indicates the number of core arguments cross-referenced on the VP. Intransitive and transitive verbs have one and two core arguments respectively cross-referenced on the verb, as illustrated by the above examples. However, when the VP has a valency-increasing marker, these numbers are increased by one, as a valency-increasing marker obligatorily occurs with an object clitic (see next chapter).

8.2.4 Pronominal proclitics and object clitics

There are two kinds of pronouns which can be constituents of a VP: pronominal proclitics and object clitics. Lists of pronominal proclitics and object clitics are repeated below from §5.5.1.

Table 8.1: Pronominal proclitics

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	masculine	feminine	exclusive	inclusive	exclusive	inclusive
1st	*a*				*nge*	
2nd	*ngo*		*qe*		*me*	
3rd	*o*	*ko*	*qo*		*ke*	

Table 8.2: Object clitics

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	masculine	feminine	exclusive	inclusive	exclusive	inclusive
1st	*l*		*qel*		*ngel*	*mel*
2nd	*ng*				*mel*	
3rd	*v*	*k*			*m*	

Pronominal proclitics take the VP-initial position and they function as subject markers. Object clitics obligatorily occur with transitive verbs and valency-increasing markers, and they function as object markers. In (8.7), the object clitic on the verb *k* (3SG.F.O) expresses the direct object, 'food', while the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker *v* (3SG.M.O) expresses the added object, 'him' (see §9.4 for added objects).

(8.7) *Ke=v=a* *ina-inae=k=e...*
3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL REDUP-get.ready=3SG.F.O=RMP
'They got food ready for him...' (26-22-121)

8.3 Tense/mood markers

The last slot of a VP is filled with a tense or mood marker, which is an enclitic. The second final slot in the VP is always filled with the head. Thus, tense/mood markers are always cliticised to the head: an intransitive verb or a transitive verb with its object clitic. In a non-finite clause, the slot for a tense/mood marker is filled with the nominal derivational enclitic, which marks non-finiteness (see §12.3.3) instead of a tense/mood marker.

There is a five-way tense distinction in Bilua, each tense indicated by a different tense marker: recent past, remote past, future, near future, and present. The list of five types of tense markers is presented at the end of this section.

Tense locates a situation with regard to a reference time. Normally, the reference time coincides with the speech time, and speakers locate a situation with regard to the speech time. This tense system, where the speech time is the reference time, is called absolute tense. The reference time, however, can be some other time than the speech time, and this is called relative tense. In Bilua, when a situation occurs prior to the reference time, that is when the tense is absolute or relative past, the VP contains a recent or remote past tense marker. Recent past extends to around two days prior to the reference time. When a situation occurs after the reference time, that is when the tense is absolute or relative future, the VP contains a future or near future tense marker. In general, when the tense is future, this is indicated by the future tense marker, but the speaker may use the near future tense marker instead when he/she feels that event is going to happen in the near future, in the next two days or so, or when he/she feels that the situation is definitely going to happen. The speaker may also employ the near future tense marker when he/she is making a request to the hearer. When a situation occurs at the reference time, when the tense is absolute or relative present, the VP has a present tense marker.

Relative present tense is in fact regarded as historical present tense where the past time is looked upon as present. In the historical present tense, situations that happened in the past are described as if they are happening at the speech time. Historical present tense can be employed once the time of the story is established in the past. This is done by the historical tense marker. For example, in (8.8), first the historical tense marker *ke* (HIST) establishes the time as past. After this, the present tense marker *a* (PRES) is employed in order to indicate the historical present tense. In the last clause, the VP has the near future tense marker *o* (NRFUT), as the event described in this clause occurs posterior to the reference time.

(8.8) *Omadeu taku sike tamania ke=beta e=ke.*
one time five brother&sister 3PL=CONT stay=HIST

Ke=beta e=ke inio omadeu ta reko=a=ma
3PL=CONT stay=HIST and.then one TOP female=LIG=3SG.F

se=ko visi ta reko=a=ma. Nio kama
3PL=3SG.F younger.sibling TOP female=LIG=3SG.F SEQ INDEF.SG.F

taku ko=baro=a nio ni=a sike tamania
time 3SG.F=arrive=PRES SEQ PROX.PL=LIG five brother&sister

ta "me=ba mujor=o" k=i=ke=la.
TOP 1PL.INC=PROS fish.bonito=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3PL=PRES
'Once upon a time, there were five brothers and sisters living. They were living, and one was a female one, their younger one was a female one. And then, [one day], these five brothers and sister, they said, "we will go and fish bonitos."' (48-1-1~3)

The historical tense marker may also occur within a text. The speaker may use the historical tense marker from time to time in order to reassure the hearer that the time is set in the past. Occasionally, the remote past tense marker occurs in a text in which the historical present tense is employed. In the following example in which the historical tense is employed, the first, second, and third clauses have the present tense, the historical tense, and the remote tense markers respectively.

(8.9) *Ni ko=ko tova se ta ke=v=ati ol=a*
and 3SG.F=3SG.F behind 3PL TOP 3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL go=PRES

Fiji. Ni Fiji se ta ke=vae=v=ake vo.
Fiji and Fiji 3PL TOP 3PL=leave=3SG.M.O=HIST 3SG.M

Ni vo ta o=vou=vi sai Fiji.
and 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=die=RMP there Fiji
'And, after that, they took him to Fiji. And they left him. And he died there in Fiji.' (12-8-78~80)

The historical tense marker can be employed only when the tense is relative present tense. It cannot be employed when the tense is relative future or relative past. Example (8.10) occurs in the discourse when someone who belongs to United Church arrived at Guadalcanal, this person found that Anglican Church had already arrived there. That is, the reference time here is in the past, the time he arrived at Guadalcanal, and the event of Anglican Church's arrival occurred in the past relative to this reference time. Thus the tense here is relative past, and accordingly the remote tense marker is employed. This cannot be replaced by the historical tense marker or the present tense marker.

(8.10) *Anglican ta lula ko=ta baro=i̲ Guadalcanal.*
Anglican TOP already 3SG.F=SIT arrive=RMP Guadalcanal
'Anglican church had already arrived at Guadalcanal.' (10-6-49)

There is only one type of mood marker in Bilua—the imperative mood marker. The lack of an imperative mood marker results in a declarative or interrogative mood. When a VP has an imperative mood marker, the pronominal proclitic understood as the second person can be ellipsed.

(8.11) *Melai kue=mo, tu pa k=e=mo saita.*
but come=IMP.PL IRR PROS 3SG.F.O=see=IMP.PL first
'But come, come and see it first.' (26-24-127)

Imperative mood markers agree with the addressee in number. In the above example, the number of addressees is plural and thus the imperative mood marker is in the plural form.

The following two tables repeated from §5.14 present a list of all tense and imperative mood markers. The distribution of different realisations of these morphemes is described in Appendix 2.

Table 5.11: Tense markers

Tense markers	Forms
present tense	*a/va*
near future tense	*o*
future tense	*ou/vou*
recent past tense	*ala/la*
remote past tense	*e/vi*
historical tense	*ake/ke*

Table 5.12: Imperative mood markers

Person	Forms
singular imperative markers	*a/e/vi*
dual imperative markers	*oko*
plural imperative markers	*omo*

8.4 Classification of verbs in terms of lexical semantics

Aspectual/modal markers may express different meanings interacting with the lexical semantics of verbs. Thus it is necessary to examine the lexical semantics of verbs before a description of aspectual/modal markers is presented.

Verbs can be classified in terms of lexical semantics, that is in terms of the kinds of situations they represent. The classification of verbs presented here is a modification of Sasse's classification of 'states of affairs' (Sasse 1990). In this work, the term 'situation' is used instead of state of affairs.

Every situation, in principle, has a beginning point and an end point, and between these two points lies the duration over which the situation is true. This is schematised as follows. The duration between the beginning point and the end point is referred to as the 'in-situation'.

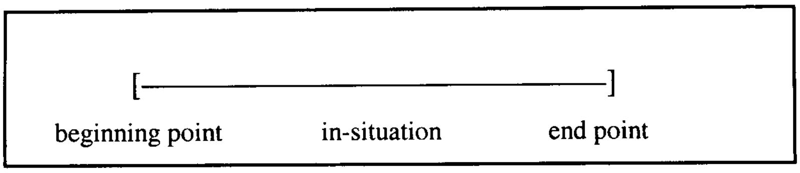

Figure 8.1: Internal structure of situation

The beginning point, the in-situation, and the end point are not equally conceivable for all situations. For example, a situation may be conceived as having only the in-situation without the beginning and the end points. Accordingly, situations can be classified in terms of which of these two points and in-situation they involve.

Verbs in Bilua can be divided into five classes in terms of the kinds of situations they represent: 'stative', 'durative', 'gradually terminative', 'totally terminative', and 'terminative-inchoative'.

Stative verbs represent situations which involve only the in-situation. With stative verbs such as *elo* 'to stay', there is no inherent beginning or end point.

Situations represented by durative verbs involve the beginning and end points as well as the in-situation. Most activity verbs, such as *iruruputo* 'to work' and *rereo* 'to run' are durative verbs.

Situations represented by gradually terminative verbs also involve the beginning and end points as well as the in-situation. However, with this class of verbs, the beginning point and the end point do not have equal status; the end point is more salient than the beginning point. Unless the end point is reached, one cannot say the situation occurred. For example, with a verb *zio* 'to go', unless one reaches the destination, one cannot say one went (to such and such a place). On the other hand, with a durative verb *iruruputo* 'to work', one can say one worked as soon as one started working.[36]

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[36] Durative verbs and gradually terminative verbs correspond to telic and atelic by Comrie (1976:44–48).

Situations represented by totally terminative verbs involve the beginning point and the end point which overlap with each other, and they do not involve an in-situation. The situations are instantaneous ones. For example, *pazoto* 'to hit' represents an instantaneous situation.

Terminative-inchoative verbs are a combination of totally terminative verbs and stative verbs. They represent one situation in which the beginning point and the end point overlap with each other and the following situation which was brought out by this situation and which involves only the in-situation.[37] For example, a verb *lojo* 'to stand (up)' represents the situation of standing up as well as the following situation, a state of standing.

Situations represented by each of these classes of verbs are schematised as follows.

Stative	—————————
Durative	[————————]
Gradually terminative	[————————]
Totally terminative	[]
Terminative-inchoative	[]————————

Figure 8.2: Situations represented by different classes of verbs

The following are some examples of verbs in each class.

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[37] This is parallel to the inchoative-stative state of affairs in Sasse's (1990) classification of states of affairs, which has the beginning point and the following in-situation (in-situation is situation in his term), but no end point.

inchoative-stative [————————

Sasse treats the beginning point as an entering phase, and the beginning point and the following in-situation form as one situation. In the classification presented in this work, however, the entering phase and the in-situation are treated as two separate situations, and two situations are encoded on one verb.

Table 8.3: Examples of verbs in different verb classes

Classes	Examples
Stative verbs	*elo* 'to stay' *zario* 'to want' *nianiio* 'to know' *maqino* 'to be full (to be not hungry)' *dudeo* 'to be sleepy'
Durative verbs	*iruruputo* 'to work' *rereo* 'to run' *siusiuto* 'to swim' *vuato* 'to eat' *lezumato* 'to study' *abuabuto* 'to fish'
Gradually terminative verbs	*zio* 'to go' *saqoro* 'to go down' *kailo* 'to go up' *keju* 'to cook (ITR)' *vaito* 'to return'
Totally terminative verbs	*pazoto* 'to hit' *tupario* 'to kick' *pialo* 'to drop'
Terminative-inchoative verbs	*teku* 'to lie down' *papu* 'to sit down' *lojo* 'to stand up' *barolo* 'to arrive' *vou* 'to die' *kilo* 'to come' *elo* 'to become'

8.5 Aspectual/modal markers

8.5.1 Introduction

There are four kinds of aspectual/modal markers in Bilua:

the 'situation-change' marker *ta*
the continuity marker which is realised as *be* or *beta*
the implicative marker *be*
the prospective marker *pa*

The term 'aspectual/modal marker' is used in a broad sense here. Among aspectual/modal markers in Bilua, all but the prospective marker *pa* have both aspectual and modal implications, but only one of them, the continuity marker, can be said to be a purely aspectual marker. '*Aspect* is a grammaticalised mechanism for describing certain [situations] in terms of stativity...and terminativity' (Sasse 1990:37). Stativity is indicated by the imperfective aspect, which selects the in-situation, while terminativity is indicated by the perfective aspect, which selects the boundary, the end point of the situation. The prospective marker *pa* does not make any reference to stativity/terminativity of the situation.

The continuity marker in Bilua always selects the in-situation, and thus it can be said that it is an imperfective aspect marker. The situation-change marker *ta* selects the in-situation and the beginning of the situation when the tense is absolute present and future tense respectively, but it selects neither in-situation nor beginning/end points in past and future tenses. The implicative marker also selects neither in-situation nor beginning/end points, but it implies that the end point was reached.

In Bilua, terminativity is usually indicated by the lack of an aspectual/modal marker. A VP may not have any aspectual/modal marker and this presents a situation as a whole. Example (8.14) below without an aspectual/modal marker presents a situation as a whole. On the other hand, examples (8.12) and (8.13) with the situation-change marker and the continuity marker respectively present the situation without reference to the beginning nor the end point. The difference between (8.12) and (8.13) is that (8.13) has a 'continuity' reading. The verb *iruruputo* 'to work' in the following examples is a durative verb. VPs are underlined in this section.

(8.12) *O=ta iruruput=a.*
3SG.M=SIT work=PRES
'He is working.'

(8.13) *O=beta iruruput=a.*
3SG.M=CONT work=PRES
'He's been working (and will continue to work).'

(8.14) *O=iruruput=ala.*
3SG.M=work=RCP
'He worked.'

In this section, a description of VPs without aspectual/modal markers is first presented in §8.5.2. This is followed by a description of each aspectual/modal marker: the situation-change marker *ta* in §8.5.3, the continuity marker *be/beta* in §8.5.4, the implicative marker *be* in §8.5.5, and the prospective marker *pa* in §8.5.6. Section §8.5.7 then presents a summary in which a diachronic analysis of the situation-change marker *ta*, the continuity marker *be/beta,* and the implicative marker *be* is presented. It proposes a hypothesis that a continuity marker *beta* in fact consists of two morphemes: the continuity marker *be* and the situation-change marker *ta*. It also proposes that the continuity marker developed from the implicative marker. Occurrences of aspectual/modal markers are very restricted in dependent clauses. See Chapter 12.

8.5.2 VP without aspectual/modal markers

As noted above, the lack of aspectual/modal markers results in presenting a situation as a whole. This is regardless of the tense or the class of verbs. However, when a tense is absolute present, the VP cannot lack an aspectual/modal marker. This is because the present tense refers to the speech time, which is a point rather than a period of time. It is impossible to present a situation as a whole when there is no period during which this can occur. A situation represented by a totally terminative verb is an instantaneous one, and so one expects that it is possible to present it without an aspectual/modal marker as the situation is realised. Contrary to the expectation however, this is expressed by a VP with the situation-change marker *ta*, as illustrated by (8.21) in the next section.

In **Error! Reference source not found.** above and (8.15) and (8.16) below, the underlined VP presents a situation as a whole: an event of eating from the beginning point to the end point in **Error! Reference source not found.**, an event of going from one place down to another in (8.15), and an instant event of falling in (8.16).

(8.15) Historical present tense/Gradually terminative verb

...*o=saqor=a* *inio* *o=lokie=k=a* *ko=a*
3SG.M=go.down=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG

qusini.
rope
'...he went down and he coiled the rope.' (2-9-52)

(8.16) Future tense/Totally terminative verb

Ko=pial=ou.
3SG.F=fall=FUT
'It will fall.'

With terminative-inchoative verbs, which involve two situations—a totally terminative situation and a stative situation—the lack of aspectual/modal markers presents both situations. In (8.17), *o=teku=a* 'he lay down' expresses the event of his taking a lying position as well as the resultative state of his lying. The resultative state does not have an inherent end point. Therefore, in (8.17) the state of his lying is continuing while he is watching the mother's path. With stative verbs, a VP without an aspectual/modal marker presents a state going over an unspecified period as in (8.18).

(8.17) Historical tense/Terminative-inchoative verb

...*veutu* *tona* *inio* *o=teku=a* *saitainio,*
entrance beside FOC.NONF 3SG.M=lie=PRES afterwards

o=k=ati *vail=a* *niania=ko* *keve* *koi* *vasi.*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL look=PRES mother=3SG.F way here around
'...he lay beside the entrance, and he watched the mother's paths nearby.'
(27-7-43)

(8.18) Historical tense/Stative verb

Ne=a *matu-peuru* *ta* *matu* *kubo* *maba* *madu*
PROX.SG.M=LIG big-village TOP very many person COLL.PL

ke *ev=a* *koi...*
3PL stay=PRES here
'As for this big village, a large number of people stayed here...' (26-1-2)

The end of a state can be indicated by an adjunct. In (8.19), an adjunct *zouke ma ariku sade* 'three or four weeks' presents a boundary of the state.

(8.19) Historical present tense/Stative verb
...kama *taku* *ta* *zouke* *ma* *ariku* *sade* *ke* *ev=a.*
INDEF.SG.F time TOP three or four Sunday 3PL stay=PRES
'...sometimes, they stayed for three or four weeks.' (23-1-5)

8.5.3 Situation-change marker **ta**

The situation-change marker *ta*, generally speaking, introduces a new situation or a change of situation.

(8.20) *...ke=lilit=a* *ta* *maba* *ta* *lula* *ko=m=ai*
3PL=look.back=PRES and.then person TOP already 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL

kasake=a. *Inio* *se* *ta* *ke=ta* *sogoi=va*
attack=PRES SEQ 3PL TOP 3PL=SIT run.away=PRES

se=a *zouke* *saidi.*
3PL=LIG three family
'...they looked back, and the [head-hunters] had already attacked them. And the family of three, they ran away.' (25-3-22~23)

In this example, the situation-change marker *ta* selects the beginning point of a situation and introduces a new situation of their running away. The situation-change marker *ta* occurs with intransitive verbs but not with transitive verbs. This is discussed later in this section.

The situation-change marker *ta* expresses different meanings depending on the tense. With the future tense, the situation-change marker indicates a prospect that a situation-change will happen, and this is further divided depending on the person of the subject—an intention for first person as in (8.21), a request for second person as in (8.22), and a supposition for third person as in (8.23).

(8.21) Intention (first person)
...koi *ngo* *kasi* *a=da* *raneo=vou.*
here 2SG at 1SG=SIT sleep.overnight=FUT
'...here, at your place, I am going (intend) to sleep overnight.' (59-11-90)

(8.22) Request (second person)

"Ngo=baizie=k=a *sole* *ngo=da* *saqol=o"*
2SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES that's.why 2SG=SIT go.down=NRFUR

nio *k=i=a=la.* *"Ee" k=i=o=la.*
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES yes 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"You finished so you come down (I request you to come down)," I said. "Yes," said he.' (2-8-50~51)

(8.23) Supposition (third person)
...koe *ako* *so* *ta* *o=ta* *vou=vou* *inio*
INTJ INTJ that TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=FUT FOC.NONF

anga=vo *meqora.*
child=3SG.M 1SG=3SG.M
'...Oh, [if it went on like this] he, my child, will die.' (27-5-27)
(more literally, 'Oh, if so, he will die, my child.')

In example (8.23) a pronoun *so* 'that' refers to the situation in which the son does not eat.

Without the situation-change marker, the underlined VPs in (8.21), (8.22), and (8.23) would simply present a situation in the future: they would mean 'I will stay overnight', 'you will go down', and 'he will die' respectively without any prospective reading.

In §8.5.6 below, a description of the prospective marker *pa* is presented. *Pa* indicates a prospect, and in addition to this, it indicates a movement. In (8.21) above, an adverb *koi* 'here' implies that the situation is going to be realised without any change of location; that is, without the subject's movement. Because of this lack of movement, *pa,* an indicator of a movement, cannot replace *ta* (*da*) in (8.21); only *ta* (*da*) can occur in this example.

With the past tense, the situation-change marker indicates that a situation in the past has some relevance to the current situation. In other words, because of this situation in the past, the situation changed and the current situation exists. This is similar to the function of the English present perfect as in the following example.

(8.24) *"Ki* *meqora* *nei* *ta* *kama* *quli* *ikio*
INTJ child PROX.SG.M TOP INDEF.SG.F thing FOC.F

nei *o=ta* *vuat=ala..."*
PROX.SG.M 3SG.M=SIT eat=RCP
'"Child, he has eaten something..."' (43-4-43)

The above example occurs in the discourse in which the mother (speaker) and the child see a devil coming down, and she suspects that her husband has eaten something and this caused the devil's coming.

Another example is:

(8.15) *...me* *ta* *me=ba* *kati=l=ou* *ko* *vozi-vozi*
2PL TOP 2PL=PROS give=1SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F REDUP-propeller

vaka=ko, *ko=ta* *pia=vi* *sole.*
ship=3SG.F 3SG.F=SIT fall=RMP that's.why

'...[I request that] you will give me a propeller for a ship, because it has fallen [and so there is no propeller].' (10-11-93)

In the above example, *ta* indicates a resultative state as well as present relevance: there is no propeller and this has relevance to the current situation in that the speaker needs a propeller.

Without the situation-change marker, the underlined VPs in **Error! Reference source not found.** and (8.15) simply present a situation in the past as a whole and would mean 'he ate' and 'it fell' respectively.

In future and past tenses, *ta* indicates the same meaning regardless of the semantic class of the verb. On the other hand, in absolute present and historical present tenses, lexical semantics of verbs contribute to the meaning expressed by *ta*. In other words, it expresses different meanings depending upon how it interacts with the lexical semantics of each verb.

In the absolute present tense, *ta* indicates the in-situation, but not the beginning or the end point, and this interacts with the lexical semantics of verbs expressing different meanings. With stative verbs, *ta* expresses a present state. Example (8.16) with a stative verb expresses a state of being full at the time of speech.

(8.16) Stative verb
A=da maqin=a.[38]
1SG=SIT be.full=PRES
'I am full.'

With durative verbs, it indicates the situation is ongoing. Example (8.17) expresses that an event of his working is on-going at the time of speech.

(8.17) Durative verb
O=ta iruruput=a.
3SG.M=SIT work=PRES
'He is working.'

With gradually terminative verbs, *ta* indicates the phase towards the end point. Example (8.18) expresses that the subject, 'I', is in the process of getting to Hilda.

(8.18) Gradually terminative verb
A=da ol=a Hilda kasi.
1SG=SIT go=PRES Hilda at
'I am going to (on the way to) Hilda's place.'

---

[38] The beginning point can be selected by the verb *elo* 'to become'. In the following example the verb *maqino* 'to be full', combined with a modifier *uri* 'good', is nominalised and this is a complement of the verb *elo* 'to become' (see §8.7.2)

...maba uri=a maqin=o o=ta ev=a...
truly good=LIG be.full=NOM 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES
'...truly, he became nicely full...' (43-3-27)

Example (8.19) is another example with the verb *zio* 'to go'. Notice that here the speaker assumes that the subject 'he' has not reached her yet and he is still on the way.

(8.19) *O=ta ol=a Nerida kasi.*
3SG.M=SIT go=PRES Nerida at
'He has gone to Nerida (and probably has not reached her yet).'

If the speaker assumes that he has already reached her, he might say:

(8.20) *O=ta ol=ala Nerida kasi.*
3SG.M=SIT go=RCP Nerida at
'He has gone to Nerida (and so he is not here).'[39]

Totally terminative verbs do not involve the in-situation and so *ta* cannot select the in-situation. *Ta* however can still occur with totally terminative verbs. It selects the point just after the end point, and this means that the situation just happened. Example (8.21) expresses that the event of hitting just happened.

(8.21) Totally terminative verb
O=ta pazot=a.
3SG.M=SIT hit=PRES
'He (just) hit.'

With terminative-inchoative verbs, *ta* selects the in-situation which follows the end point. In fact, it selects the point just after the end point. Thus, *ta* indicates a resultative state as well as indicating that the event which brought about this state just happened. Example (8.22) expresses that he just stood up, and as a result he is standing.

(8.22) Terminative-inchoative verb
O=ta lojo=a.
3SG.M=SIT stand.up=PRES
'He has just stood up (and is standing).'

The meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the absolute tense are summarised in the following table.

Table 8.4: Meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the absolute present tense

Classes of verbs	Meanings
stative	state
durative	on-going situation
gradually terminative	phase towards the end point
totally terminative	recent past
terminative-inchoative	resultative state (and recent past)

---

[39] In the data, the verb *zio* 'to go' in the past tense most often occurs with the situation-change marker *ta*. There may be a grammatical or a pragmatic reason for this, which is not known.

With one gradually terminative verb *vaito* 'to return', *ta* picks up the in-situation, as it does with other gradually terminative verbs, but it also has an exceptional use—it may also indicate that the end point has just been reached.

(8.23)

A=da	*vait=a.*
1SG=SIT	return=PRES

'I am returning (I am on the way to go home).'
'I just returned (and I am here).'

The interpretation of (8.23) depends on the context. When one utters it, walking home, it has the first interpretation 'I am returning', but when one utters it on arrival at home, it has the second interpretation 'I just returned'.

With the historical present tense, the situation-change marker *ta* selects the beginning of a situation; that is, it indicates an arrival of a new situation or a change of situation. Note that the situation-change marker does not mention anything about the end point being reached or not. This does not mean the end point was never reached. Whether the end point was reached or not becomes clear from the discourse. In (8.24) with a durative verb and in (8.25) with a gradually terminative verb, the end of the situation is indicated by the verb *paiko* 'to finish' and is implied by the verb *barolo* 'to arrive' respectively in the following clause.

(8.24) Durative verb

O=baro=a	*sai*	*ti*	*nioqa*	*ta*	*qo=ta*
3SG.M=arrive=PRES	there	and.then	3DU	TOP	3DU=SIT

koazat=a...	*qo=pai=k=a*	*saila-sailaot=o*
take=PRES	3DU=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES	REDUP-collect.food=NOM

ti	*ke=ta*	*saqor=a.*
and.then	3PL=SIT	go.down=PRES

'He arrived there and the two, they got food...the two finished getting food and they went down.' (27-12-73~74)

(8.25) Gradually terminative verb

Saikazo	*qo=ta*	*ol=a,*	*inio*	*ko=a*
following.that	3DU=SIT	go=PRES	SEQ	3SG.F=LIG

kata	*kasi*	*o=baro=a.*
branch	at	3SG.M=arrive=PRES

'Following that, they left, and they arrived at the branch.' (15-4-33)

With stative verbs, which do not have an inherent beginning point, *ta* presents a state that is true at some point, that is at a reference time. Example (8.26) expresses the state of being hungry at some point in the past.

(8.26) Stative verb

O=ta	*luap=ake.*
3SG.M=SIT	be.hungry=HIST

'He was hungry.' (47-2-9)

With totally terminative verbs and terminative-inchoative verbs with which the beginning point and the end point overlap, *ta* indicates both the beginning and end points as well as indicating that the situation has a relevance to another situation.

(8.27) Totally terminative verb

Ivere ale o=ta podak=a. Sai nio
sea in 3SG.M=SIT come.out=PRES there FOC.NONF

ke=niae=v=a...
3PL=feed=3SG.M.O=PRES
'He had come out into the sea. It was there, they fed him...' (34-3-29~30)

(8.28) Terminative-inchoative verb

Ke=mama ta o=ta vou=va inio se=ko
3PL=father TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES FOC.NONF 3PL=3SG.F

niania ni se=a zouke meqora inio sai
mother and 3PL=LIG three child FOC.NONF there

ke=beta ev=a.
3PL=CONT stay=PRES
'Their father had died, and it was their mother and those three children who kept living there.' (59-1-2)

Example (8.27) expresses that the event of his coming out into the sea has relevance to the situation of their feeding him there at the sea. Example (8.28) expresses that the event of the father's dying has relevance to the situation of only the mother and the children living there.

The following table summarises the meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the historical present tense.

Table 8.5: Meanings of *ta* with different classes of verbs in the historical present tense

Classes of verbs	Meanings
stative	state
durative	beginning of situation
gradually terminative	beginning of situation
totally terminative	relevance
terminative-inchoative	relevance

The following two tables summarise meanings expressed by the situation-change marker *ta* in different tenses and with different classes of verbs.

Table 8.6: Meanings of *ta* in past and future tenses

Past tense	Future tense		
current relevance	prospect		
	first person	second person	third person
	intention	request	supposition

Table 8.7: Meanings of *ta* in absolute present and historical present tenses

Classes of verbs	Absolute present tense (*ta* is obligatory)	Historical present tense
	in-situation	change of situation
stative	state	state
durative	on-going situation	beginning of situation
gradually terminative	phase towards the end point	beginning of situation
totally terminative	recent past	relevance
terminative-inchoative	resultative state (and recent past)	relevance

Table 8.7 above shows that *ta* functions like an imperfective aspect marker in absolute present and historical present tenses: in the absolute tense, it selects the in-situation, while in the historical present tense, it picks up the beginning of the situation but does not make any reference to the end point. Because of this, *ta* indicates different meanings according to how it interacts with the lexical semantics of verbs. When *ta* occurs in the future tense, it functions as just a modal marker, and it does not make any reference to stativity or terminativity. When it occurs in the past tense, it implies a completion of the situation since the current situation is dependent on the completion of another situation. However, it is not the function of *ta* to indicate terminativity since it does not select the end point.

Thus, *ta* may function like an imperfective aspect marker. Perhaps because of this characteristic, *ta* can only occur with intransitive verbs—according to Hopper and Thompson (1980), there is a correlation between imperfective aspect and low transitivity.

The situation-change marker *ta* does not occur in a clause that presents a habitual/generic situation or a condition, or in negated clauses.

(8.29) *...niania=ka=ma* *ko* *ol=a* *kiaro* *kasi,* *vo* *ta*
mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F go=PRES garden at 3SG.M TOP

o=lulue=k=a *o=baro=a* *kiaro* *kale* *inio*
3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=arrive=PRES garden in SEQ

vo *ta* *o=marong=a* *juli=ko* *raki* *ale.*
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=sleep=PRES banana.tree=3SG.F root on
'...the mother went to the garden, as for him, he followed her, he arrived at the garden, and then he slept on the root of a banana tree.' (27-2-13)

(8.30)	*Ko=lupao=va,*	*ti*	*ko=noqoe=k=ou*	*ko*	*ore*	*ma*
	3SG.F=dislike=PRES	and.then	3SG.F=hold=3SG.F.O=FUT	3SG.F	tree	or

tataikili	*ma*	*esa*	*kama*	*pata-pata.*
trunk	or	maybe	INDEF.SG.F	REDUP-stump

'If she dislikes it, she will hold a tree, a trunk, or maybe a stump.' (21-1-57)

(8.31)	*...pui*	*o=vait=a.*
	NEG	3SG.M=return=PRES

'...he didn't return.' (16-2-26)

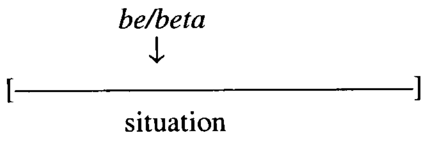
Example (8.29) describes habitual situations: it describes what the mother and the son do every day. In example (8.30), the underlined clause presents the condition under which the situation described by the next clause occurs. Example (8.31) is a negated clause.

A conditional clause presents a background situation against which another situation occurs. Because of this, the situation described by a conditional clause needs to be presented as a whole, since unless the end point of this background situation is reached, another situation does not occur. Therefore, a conditional clause cannot have a morpheme that may function as an imperfective aspect marker. *Ta* functions as an imperfective aspect marker in the absolute present or historical present tense, and thus if a conditional clause is in the absolute present or historical tense, *ta* cannot occur. In (8.30), the tense is the historical tense. *Ta* does not occur when a conditional clause is in the future or past tense either. As described above, *ta* indicates a prospective situation and relevance in future and past tenses respectively, but one would not be concerned whether there is a prospect that a background situation happens or not, or whether a background situation has a relevance to the current situation. Thus, *ta* never occurs in a conditional clause.

A negated clause expresses that a situation-change does not happen and thus, the situation-change marker does not occur in a negative clause. In presenting a habitual/generic situation, the situation is presented as a whole and this can be expressed without any aspectual/modal markers (see §8.5.2).[40]

8.5.4 Continuity marker **be/beta**

The continuity marker *be/beta* indicates continuity of a situation at a reference time as schematised below.



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[40] A clause that presents a habitual situation may have a prospective marker *pa*, which would indicate a movement or a continuity marker *beta* with its sequential use.

(8.32) *Ke=beta iruruput=ala.*
3PL=CONT work=RCP
'They were working.'

As described in §8.5.2, a VP without an aspectual/modal marker presents a situation as a whole. Example (8.32) without *beta* would mean 'they worked'.

Two forms *be* and *beta* are in complementary distribution. *Be* occurs with transitive verbs and *beta* occurs with intransitive verbs. An analysis of this distribution of *be* and *beta* is presented in §8.5.7 below. The above is an example with an intransitive verb. An example with a transitive verb is:

(8.33) *...sainio ke=be vijari=v=a ko=a votu ale.*
therefore 3PL=CONT keep=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG container in
'...therefore, they continued to keep him in the container.' (34-2-19)

As mentioned in the last section, there is a correlation between imperfective aspect and low transitivity. There is also a correlation between perfective aspect and high transitivity. Although the continuity marker can co-occur with transitive verbs, this rarely happens, since the continuity marker is an imperfective aspect marker.

There are two uses of the continuity marker: a 'continuous' use and a 'sequential' use, both having the semantic core 'continuity'. The choice depends on the tense and lexical semantics of verbs as well as discourse. In the following, first, two uses of the continuity marker are described, and then its relationships with tense and lexical semantics of verbs are presented.

The continuity marker with the continuous use indicates the continuity of a situation, as illustrated by (8.32) and (8.33) above. Another example is:

(8.34) *...niuniu o=beta koazat=a...*
fish 3SG.M=CONT get=PRES
'... he has been getting fish...' (24-7-78)

In §8.5.3, it was shown that the situation-change marker *ta* in the absolute present tense selects the in-situation. When the continuity marker has the continuous use, it also selects the in-situation. The difference between them is the 'continuity' reading of the continuity marker.

(8.35-a) *A=beta ev=a koi.*
1SG=SIT stay=PRES here
'I've been living here (and will continue to live here).'

(8.35-b) *A=ta ev=a koi.*
1SG=SIT stay=PRES here
'I live here.

(8.36-a) *O=beta vuat=a.*
3SG.M=CONT eat=PRES
'He's been eating (and will continue to eat).'

(8.36-b)

O=ta	*vuat=a.*
3SG.M=SIT	eat=PRES

'He is eating.'

The continuous use can be interpreted as conveying a sense of continuative. Continuative 'specifies that the agent of the action is deliberately keeping the action going. Continuative is the meaning of "keep on doing" or "continue doing"' (Bybee 1994:127).

(8.37)

O=kail=a	*ti*	*o=kail=a*	*ti*	
3SG.M=go.up=PRES	INT	3SG.M=go.up=PRES	INT	
o=kail=a	*ti*	*o=kail=a*	*ti*	*raura*
3SG.M=go.up=PRES	INT	3SG.M=go.up=PRES	and.then	high

o	*ol=a.*	*Melai*	*pui*	*o=v=e=a.*	*Sole*
3SG.M	go=PRES	but	NEG	3SG.M=3SG.M.O=see=PRES	that's.why

o=beta	*ol=a.*
3SG.M=CONT	go=PRES

'He went up and went up and went up and went up and went high up. But he didn't see him. So he kept going.' (24-5-58~60)

In (8.37), he (the son), is going up, and this event would have stopped if he had seen him (his father), but since the son didn't see him, the son kept going up. Thus, with the continuative use there could be a point where the situation is temporarily stopped and again the same situation continues.

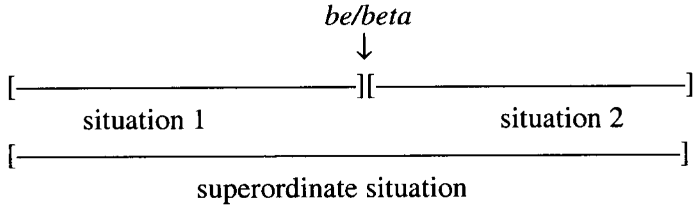
The sequential use of the continuity marker occurs only in coordinated clauses. The sequential use indicates that one situation follows another. For example,

(8.38)

Ke=pa	*k=o=a*	*ke=maja*	*ti*
3PL=PROS	3SG.F.O=get=PRES	3PL=axe	and.then
ke=be	*vouvae=v=a...*		
3PL=CONT	kill=3SG.M.O=PRES		

'They went and took their axes and then went on to kill him...' (59-14-125)

In this example, the situation of getting an axe is followed by another situation, their killing him. The second situation is continuous to another situation. Two situations form one superordinate situation. This is schematised as:



As illustrated above, *be/beta* marks the beginning point of situation 2 but this also indicates the continuity of the superordinate situation. Thus, with the sequential use as well, the continuity marker indicates the continuity of a situation. The clause that contains a continuity marker with the sequential use is usually connected to the preceding clause by a causal coordinator *ti* (see §13.2.6) as in (8.38).

When the first situation is one without an inherent end point, the two situations may overlap. In the following example, both *teku* 'to lie down' and *imado* 'to shut eyes' are terminative-inchoative verbs, and the situation of his lying overlaps with the situation of his closing his eyes.

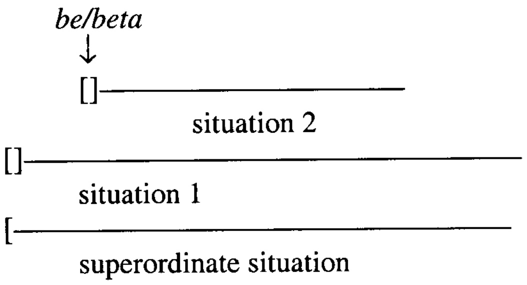
(8.39)

...o=teku=a	*ti*	*o=beta*	*imad=a*
3SG.M=lie.down=PRES	and.then	3SG.M=CONT	close.eyes=PRES

inio.
FOC.NONF

'...he lay down and he closed his eyes.' (27-8-45)

The above example is schematised as:



Two uses of the continuity marker are distributed to different tenses and semantic classes of verbs. In the future tense, both absolute and relative, the continuity marker has the sequential use only. This, however, does not occur with stative verbs since this use of the continuity marker selects the beginning point of a situation, whereas stative verbs do not have a beginning point. The following is an example with a durative verb.

(8.40)

"Anga	*ta*	*a=lupao=va"*	*k=i=ko=vou*	*ti*
1SG	TOP	1SG=dislike=PRES	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FUT	and.then

ko=beta	*zial=ou*	*inio.*
3SG.F=CONT	cry=FUT	FOC.NONF

'She will say "I dislike (you)," and she will go on to cry.' (21-7-39~40)

In the absolute present tense, the continuity marker has the continuous use only. This, however, does not occur with totally terminative verbs since the continuity marker selects the in-situation, but this class of verbs does not involve an in-situation. Interestingly, this also does not occur with gradually terminative verbs even though they involve the in-situation. Instead, the in-situation can be indicated by the situation-change marker *ta*.

(8.41) Gradually terminative verb

A=da	*ol=a*	*Maravari.*
1SG=SIT	go=PRES	Maravari

'I am going to *Maravari* (I am on the way to *Maravari*).'

(8.42) **A=beta ol=a Maravari.*
1SG=CONT go=PRES Maravari
'I am going to *Maravari* (I am on the way to *Maravari*).'

In contrast to this, in the past and historical present tenses, the continuity marker has the continuous use with gradually terminative verbs. In the example below, the tense is the historical tense.

(8.43) *Lai nio se ta ke=beta kail=ake.*
where FOC.NONF 3PL TOP 3PL=CONT go.up=HIST
'Where are they going up to?' (26-23-122)

In absolute and relative past, and historical present tenses, the continuity marker may have both uses. However, since the sequential use indicates the beginning of a situation, this does not occur with stative verbs, which do not have a beginning point. In the following example with a stative verb, the continuity marker *beta* can only be considered to have the continuous use.

(8.44) *Omadeu taku kake zouke saidi ke=beta ev=a.*
one time INDEF.PL three family 3PL=CONT stay=PRES
'Once upon a time, there was a family of three living.' (43-1-1)

Moreover, with totally terminative verbs, the continuity marker has only the sequential use because these verbs do not involve the in-situation.

(8.45) *...ne=a seqara ta o=musuk=a ti*
PROX.SG.M=LIG betelnut TOP 3SG.M=ripen=PRES and.then

o=beta pi=a...
3SG.M=CONT fall=PRES
'...this betelnut ripened and fell...' (59-1-10)

With other classes of verbs, the continuity marker has both uses, continuous and sequential. The following are examples with gradually terminative verbs.

(8.46) "*...k=e=a komi, ko=beta saqor=a*
3SG.F.O=see=IMP.SG PROX.SG.F 3SG.F=CONT go.down=PRES

ziolo ikio ko."
devil FOC.F 3SG.F
'"...look at her, she is coming down,[41] she is a devil."' (43-4-43)

(8.47) *...sailao ko=k=o=a ti qo=beta*
food 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=get=PRES TOP 3DU=CONT

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[41] To be precise, the verb *saqolo* 'to go down' indicates a downward movement. This is usually interpreted as 'to go down' but in this example, the subject is moving towards the speaker and thus it is interpreted as 'to come down'.

saqor=a *inio...*
go.down=PRES FOC.NONF
'...she got food and they went down...' (27-3-14)

Example (8.46) is uttered when the speaker finds that something, a devil, is coming down, and so the continuity marker has the continuous use. In (8.47), the event of getting food is followed by going down and thus it has the sequential use.

The choice between two uses of the continuity marker here depends on the discourse. The continuous use of the continuity marker can also be predicted from a subordinator *keru* 'when'. When *beta* occurs with this, it has the continuous use only.

(8.48) *O=beta* *pekao=va* *keru* *inio* *lekasa* *ta*
3SG.M=CONT dance=PRES TEMP FOC.NONF chief TOP

eri *k=i=o=la.*
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'When he was dancing, the chief said something like this.' (26-19-106)

The following table summarises the relationship between different tenses, verb classes, and the two uses of the continuity marker. N/A indicates that use of the continuity marker here is not possible as described above.

Table 8.8: Meanings of *be/beta* in different tenses and with different classes of verbs

Classes of verbs	Absolute future Relative future	Absolute present	Absolute past Relative past Historical present
stative	N/A	continuous	continuous
durative	sequential	continuous	continuous sequential
gradually terminative	sequential	N/A	continuous sequential
totally terminative	sequential	N/A	sequential
terminative-inchoative	sequential	continuous	continuous sequential

The continuity marker *be/beta* does not occur in negative clauses. This is because when the situation is not realised, one cannot talk about its continuity.

8.5.5 Implicative marker be

The implicative marker *be* indicates an expectation that there is a successive situation to follow. It has an implication 'what happens next/what situation this will bring out'.

(8.49)

Ke=baro=a	*sai*	*ko=niania*	*kasi*	*inio*	*"Koe*
3PL=arrive=PRES	there	3SG.F=mother	at	SEQ	INTJ

me=be	*baro=a"*	*k=i=ko=la.*	*"Loma*
2PL=IMPL	arrive=PRES	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	what

quli	*ikio*	*o=k=a*	*zari=a."*
thing	FOC.F	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES

'They arrived there at her mother's place and she said, "You have arrived". "What does he want?"' (67-3-25~26)

In the discourse where the above example appears, she, the mother, did not know that these people who arrived were going to come, and she wonders what happens next or why they came, and this leads her to utter the question 'What does he want?' (she is talking to her daughter whose husband is the leader of this group of people).

Note that the situation expressed by a VP containing the implicative marker is a completed one. Completion of this situation brings out the feeling that something happens next. The function of the implicative marker, however, is a modal one and not an aspectual one, since it does not select boundaries.

Since stative verbs do not have an end point, the implicative marker does not occur with them. In the data, the implicative marker occurs only in the absolute present tense or the historical present tense. The above is an example in the historical present tense. An example in the absolute present tense is:

(8.50)

O=be	*baro=a.*
3SG.M=IMPL	arrive=PRES

'He's arrived (what did he come for?).'

The implicative marker occurs with both intransitive and transitive verbs. An example with a transitive verb is:

(8.51)

Nio	*ke=kuimae=v=a*	*"Lai*	*ta*	*juke*	*ngo=be*
and.then	3PL=ask=3SG.M.O=PRES	where	TOP	light	2SG=IMPL

k=e=a"?
3SG.F.O=see=PRES

'And then they asked him "Where did you see the light?"' (16-4-51)

The above example occurs in the discourse where they, some children, were left in the bush by their father and they didn't know how to get home or which way to go. One of them climbed a tree and saw a light. In asking this question, they were expecting that some situation, probably a good situation, would rise.

The implicative marker *be* does not occur in negative clauses. This is because if a situation does not eventuate, there would not be an expected situation to follow.

8.5.6 Prospective marker **pa**

The prospective marker *pa*, generally speaking, indicates a movement towards the realisation of a prospect, a prospective situation. It may also imply a purpose. *Pa* is a modal marker and so there is no correlation between *pa* and verb classes.

(8.52) *"A=ba vae=m=a", k=i=o=la.*
1SG=PROS leave=3PL.O=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"I went and left [children]," he said.' (16-2-24)

In example (8.52), the prospective marker *pa* indicates that the subject went somewhere for the realisation of a prospective situation, viz. 'to leave them'; the subject planned to abandon the children and so he took them somewhere and left them. Without *pa*, the sentence simply means 'I left them' and it does not imply that the speaker planned to leave them or he went somewhere in order to do that.

The use and meaning of the prospective marker *pa* differs depending on tenses and affirmation. In the historical present and past tenses, the prospective marker *pa* indicates movement towards a realisation of a prospective situation. The above is an example in the historical present tense. Below is an example in the past tense.

(8.53) *...ke=pa vouvae=m=e ne=a*
3PL=PROS kill=3PL.O=RMP PROX.SG.M=LIG

vakamaba=ko meqorasaidi.
white.person=3SG.F family
'...they went and killed the family of this white man.' (12-3-19)

With the future tense, the prospective marker *pa* has a different interpretation depending on the person of the subject: intention for first person, request for second person, and supposition for third person. With all persons, *pa* also indicates a movement.

(8.54) Intention (first person)
...me=ba[42] *vairi=k=o.*
1PL.INC=PROS look.for=3SG.F.O=NRFUT
'...we are going and looking for her.' (48-3-24)

(8.55) Request (second person)
Ngo=ba nokae=k=ou ko bolo.
2SG=PROS call=3SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F pig
'You go and call out for pigs.' (67-3-40)

(8.56) Supposition (third person)
...o=kil=ou ti o=pa bori=ng=ou inio.
3SG.M=come=FUT and.then 3SG.M=PROS carry=2SG.O=FUT FOC.F
'...he will come, and he will come and carry you.' (48-1-6)

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[42] The bilabial stop /p/ of *pa* is realised as [*b*] when it follows certain pronominal proclitics, as in this example (see §2.7).

As in (8.56), the movement can be one towards the point where the speaker is, and this is interpreted as 'to come'. The movement can be one from this point to somewhere else as in other examples, and this is interpreted as 'to go'.

The prospective marker *pa* does not occur in the absolute present tense where the situation is still ongoing. To express that the subject is on the move to achieve something, the verb *zio* 'to go' and a purposive dependent clause marked with *le* are used.[43]

(8.57) *A=da* *ol=a* *Sabora* *k=el=o=le*
1SG=SIT go=PRES Sabora 3SG.F.O=see=NOM=PURP

ko *Hilda.*
3SG.F Hilda
'I am going to Sabora in order to see Hilda.'

In positive clauses, *pa* is not obligatory. The lack of *pa* simply results in the lack of movement towards a realisation of a prospective situation.

In negative clauses, the prospective marker does not indicate a movement. This is because there is no movement to be considered when the situation itself is not expected to happen. In the future tense, the interpretation of *pa* differs depending on the person of the subject: negative intention for first person, negative request for second person, and negative supposition for third person.

(8.58) Negative intention (first person)
...pui *a=ba* *lulue=ng=ou* *saka.*
NEG 1SG=PROS follow=2SG.O=FUT seaside
'...I am not going to follow you to the seaside.' (39-6-40)

(8.59) Negative request (second person)
...pui *qe=pa* *raneo=vou...*
NEG 2DU=PROS sleep.overnight=FUT
'...you are not going to sleep overnight...' (27-10-109)

(8.60) Negative supposition (third person)
...pui *ko=pa* *k=a* *zario=vou.*
NEG 3SG.F=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL want=FUT
'...she will not like it.' (27-4-22)

Pa is not obligatory in negative future clauses. VPs without the prospective marker simply express that situations will not be realised. Or, they imply the speaker's strong feeling that this situation should not be realised. Consequently, this can be interpreted as a strong negative request to the second person as in (8.61).

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[43] The prospective marker can be regarded as a purposive marker in affirmative clauses in the future or past tense. It could be said that it indicates a movement for the purpose of realisation of the situation. However, as shown below, in negative clauses, when *pa* makes a contribution to the meaning of the clause, it indicates a non-prospect rather than a purpose. Therefore, *pa* is categorised as the prospective marker rather than the purposive marker.

(8.61) *Pui qe=raneo=vou sai.*
NEG 2DU=sleep.overnight=FUT there
'You must not sleep overnight there.' (27-18-110)

(8.62) *...enge ta pui nge alili=k=ou matu kubo*
1PL.EXC TOP NEG 1PL.EXC give.birth=3SG.F.O=FUT very many

meqora...
child
'...we will not give birth to many children...' (64-2-15)

(8.63) *...so keru ke=rapuk=ou keru ta pui ke utu*
that TEMP 3PL=grow.up=FUT TEMP TOP NEG 3PL idle

el=ou.
stay=FUT
'...that time when they grow up, they will not live idly.' (70-3-24)

In the past tense, the prospective marker is obligatory when a clause is a negative one. The prospective marker here does not make any contribution to the meaning of the clause. There seems to be no explanation for why the prospective marker is obligatory in a negative past clause.

(8.64) *Pui o=pa vait=e vo Sito.*
NEG 3SG.M=PROS return=RMP 3SG.M Sito
'*Sito* didn't return.' (12-8-81)

(8.65) *Pui a=ba ol=ala.*
NEG 1SG=PROS go=RCP
'I didn't go.'

In absolute present and historical present tenses, the prospective marker never occurs when a clause is a negative one.

(8.66) *...pui o=lulue=k=a kiaro kasi.*
NEG 3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES garden at
'...he didn't follow her to the garden.' (27-9-55)

There is a restriction on the co-occurrence of the prospective marker with verbs which indicate a situation involving motion. Verbs *zio* 'to go', *kilo* 'to come', and *saqoro* 'to go down' are such verbs. The prospective marker cannot occur with these verbs when the tense is past or historical present and when the clause is an affirmative one. This restriction is due to the fact that verbs themselves indicate movement. In the future tense, the prospective marker may occur with these verbs only when the subject is the third person.

(8.67) *Ko=pa kil=ou.*
3SG.F=PROS come=FUT
'She will come (I think she will come).'

This expresses the speaker's supposition. In §8.5.3, it was shown that the speaker's intention can be expressed by using the situation-change marker *ta*. With verbs of motion, the speaker's intention can be expressed by using this situation-change marker *ta* as in (8.68). The speaker's request to the second person with verbs of motion can be expressed by only a simple VP without an aspectual/modal marker as in (8.69).

(8.68) ...*o=bazue=k=a* *vo=ko* *niania* *o=bazue,*
3SG.M=tell=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F mother 3SG.M=tell

"Eqe *ta* *qe=ta* *zio=vou* *komi=ko*
1DU.EXC TOP 1DU.EXC=SIT go=FUT PROX.SG.F=3SG.F

niania=ko *mabasisu* *qe=pa* *tauve=k=o*
mother=3SG.F yam 1DU.EXC=PROS help=3SG.F.O=NRFUT

papat=o...
plant=NOM
'... he told his mother, he told her, "We, we will go, we will go and help to plant her mother's yams, so, we will go to the big village...' (27-20-127)

(8.69) ...*kama* *taku* *qe=kil=ou* *nio* *qe=tauve=l=ou*
INDEF.SG.F time 2DU=come=FUT SEQ 2DU=help=1SG.O=FUT

papat=o *ko* *mabasisu".*
plant=NOM 3SG.F yam
'...sometime, you will come and help me to do yam-planting"'. (27-19-120)

The restriction presented above does not, however, apply when the clause is a negative one because in negative clauses *pa* does not indicate a movement.

(8.70) *Pui* *a=ba* *zio=vou.*
NEG 1SG=PROS go=FUT
'I am not going.'

Aspectual/modal markers do not co-occur except for the situation-change marker *ta* and the prospective marker *pa*, which can occur together. They can co-occur when the subject is first person and the tense is future. Both aspectual/modal markers here indicate a prospect, and their co-occurrence indicates a strong intention but no movement.

(8.71) ...*a=ba* *ta* *kurol=o,*
1SG=PROS SIT fish.with.bamboo=NRFUT
'...I am going to fish with a bamboo rod,' (38-1-2)

(8.72) ...*me=ba* *ta* *talio=vou.*
1PL=PROS SIT walk=FUT
'...we are going for a walk.' (22-6-27)

(For the realisation of *pa* as *ba* see §2.7.)

It was described above that verbs that inherently indicate movement do not co-occur with *pa*. When *pa* is combined with *ta*, however, this restriction does not apply, as this combination does not indicate movement. This is illustrated by example (8.72) in which the verb *talio* 'to walk', which indicates movement, occurs with a combination of *pa* with *ta*.

Pa and *ta* can also co-occur when the tense is past. Here, *ta* indicates a current relevance. Example (8.73) occurs in a story in which a man's eating (of a devil) brought about the situation of the devil's coming down.

(8.73) ...*o=pa ta vuat=ala.*
3SG.M=PROS SIT eat=RCP
'...he went and ate.' (43-4-43)

With the verb *roveo* 'can', when the tense is future, *pa* indicates the speaker's prospect no matter whether it occurs in a negative or positive clause, and no matter what the person of the subject is.

(8.74) ...*enge ta pui nge=ba roveo=vou*
1PL.EXC TOP NEG 1PL.EXC=PROS can=FUT

bori=k=o.
carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
'...we will not be able to carry it.' (67-3-32)

(8.75) *A=ba roveo=vou zio.*
1SG=PROS can=FUT goNOM
'I will be able to go.'

(8.76) ...*puli=a=la o=pa roveo=vou sai zio*
NEG=LIG=3SG.M 3SG.M=PROS can=FUT there goNOM

k=ov=o=le.
3SG.F.O=get=NOM=PURP
'Nobody will be able to go there to get it.' (22-10-38)

Functions of the prospective marker *pa* are summarised in the following two tables.

Table 8.9: Functions of *pa* in positive clauses

Tense	first person	second person	third person
future	movement towards a realisation of prospective situation		
	intention	request	supposition
past historical present	movement towards a realisation of prospective situation		
absolute present	—		

Table 8.10: Functions of *pa* in negative clauses

Tense	first person	second person	third person
	negative intention	negative request	negative supposition
past	no function but *pa* is obligatory		
absolute present historical present	—		

8.5.7 Summary and diachronic analysis of aspectual/modal markers

In the sections above, a description of aspectual/modal markers has been presented. Aspectual/modal markers are optional constituents of VPs, but the prospective marker *pa* is obligatory in the negative past tense. *Pa* here however does not have any aspectual/modal implication. It simply expresses that a situation did not occur. The prospective marker *pa* is the only aspectual/modal marker which can occur in negative clauses, negative future or negative past. Aspectual/modal markers generally do not co-occur but the prospective marker *pa* and the situation-change marker *ta* can co-occur in particular circumstances.

One of the aspectual markers, the situation-change marker *ta,* occurs only with intransitive verbs. There are two forms of the continuity marker *be* and *beta*. They are in complementary distribution: *be* occurs with transitive verbs and *beta* with intransitive verbs. These suggest that *beta* can be segmented into two morphemes: the continuity marker *be* and the situation-change marker *ta*. Now, another aspectual/modal marker, the implicative marker, also has the form *be*, and this always occurs in this form no matter whether the verb is a transitive or intransitive one. Thus, the form *be* may occur with an intransitive verb, but there are two pieces of evidence which illustrate that *be*, when it occurs with an intransitive verb, can only be treated as an implicative marker but not a continuative marker. First, in all examples where *be* occurs with an intransitive verb, it is not pragmatically possible to interpret it as a continuative marker. Second, *beta* can never be replaced with *be*.

There appears to be a diachronic relationship among three aspectual markers—the continuity marker, the situation-change marker, and the implicative marker. The rest of this section presents a hypothesis about this relationship—the continuity marker *be* (*beta*) developed from the implicative marker *be*.

First, the sequential use of the continuity marker probably developed from the implicative marker. This is plausible because with both implicative and sequential, two situations occur one after another (with the implicative marker the second situation is only implied but is not overtly expressed; see §8.5.5). In the course of this development, *ta*, the situation-change marker, was added when the verb was an intransitive one. This would be plausible because the sequential use of the continuity marker introduces a new situation;

that is, it indicates a change of situation, while the situation-change marker introduces a change of situation.[44]

As mentioned in §8.5.4, the sequential use indicates continuity of a superordinate situation consisting of two situations. This meaning 'continuity' was applied to a single situation, and thus the continuous use of the continuity marker evolved.

Thus, the two morphemes *be* and *ta* became one morpheme *beta* in the course of the above development, and because of the origin of *ta* as the situation-change marker, *beta* only occurs with intransitive verbs.

The implicative marker is not realised as *beta* even with intransitive verbs, and this leads to a contention that the implicative marker and the continuous marker became independent of each other: they are different morphemes. That is, *be* and *beta* are lexicalised as continuity markers and are distinguished from the implicative marker *be*. The above hypothesis is summarised in the following figure.

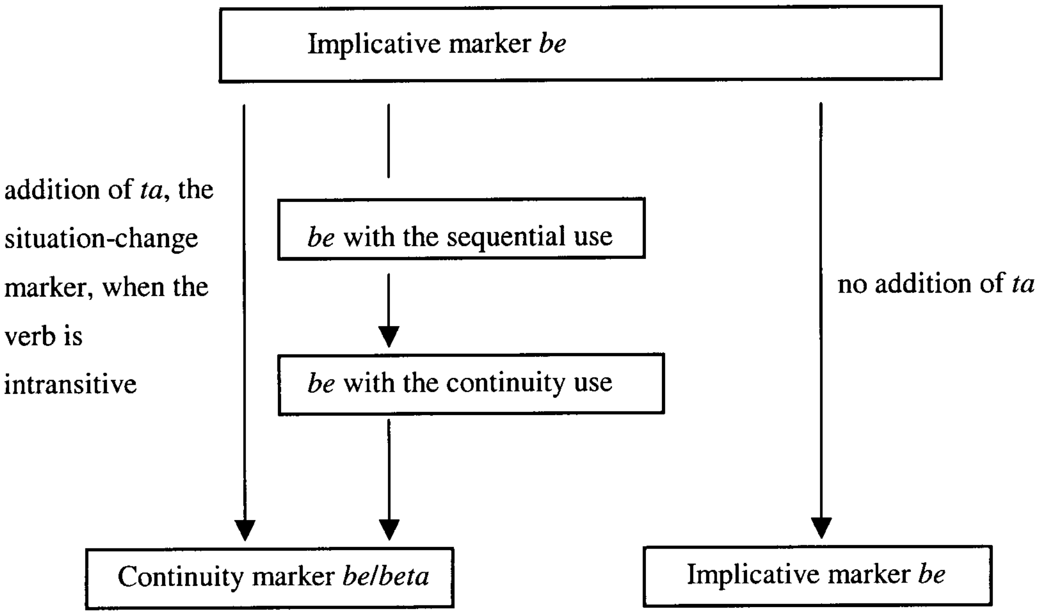
Implicative marker *be*
addition of *ta*, the situation-change marker, when the verb is intransitive
be with the sequential use
be with the continuity use
no addition of *ta*
Continuity marker *be*/*beta*
Implicative marker *be*

Figure 8.3: Development of continuity marker *be*/*beta* from implicative marker *be*

8.6 Modifiers

There are a small number of words that can function as modifiers in VPs. Each of these words also belongs to a different word class, adjective, adverb, general modifier, or noun class:

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[44] This does not mean that *beta* covers all meanings expressed by *ta*.

uri 'good', *ruqe* 'bad', *ukaka* 'careless', and *utu* 'idle' (adjectives);
maba 'truly' (an adverb);
matu 'very' and *sasa* 'a bit' (general modifiers);
tova 'behind' (a relational noun).

Some examples follow. Modifiers are underlined.

(8.77) *Uri* 'good'

...ko	*uri=a*[45]	*v=e=a,*
3SG.F	good=LIG	3SG.M.O=see=PRES

'...she saw him well,' (39-5-34)

(8.78) *Maba* 'truly'

...o=be	*maba*	*vouvae=v=a*	*inio.*
3SG.M=CONT	truly	kill=3SG.M.O=PRES	FOC.NONF

'...he truly killed him.' (43-5-53)

(8.79) *Matu* 'very'

...o=ta	*matu*	*kora-korai=va.*
3SG.M=SIT	very	REDUP-be.angry=PRES

'...he became very angry.' (15-5-40)

(8.80) *Tova* 'behind'

...pui	*a=ba*	*tova*	*kail=ou.*
NEG	1SG=PROS	behind	go.up=FUT

'...I am not going to go up behind [you].' (26-9-54)

Adjectives, as modifiers in VPs, are semantically regarded as manner adverbs. There are some manner adverbs which appear to have originated as adjectives, but these occur outside of VPs and function as adjuncts (see §5.2 and §10.6).

8.7 Complement phrases

8.7.1 Introduction

Two verbs in Bilua, *elo* 'to become' and *iko* 'to put/cause', require a complement. A complement phrase (CompP) always precedes the VP.

(8.81)

...[vo=a	*maba]*	*ta*	*[dole]*	*inio*	*[o=beta*
3SG.M=LIG	person	TOP	snake	FOC.NONF	3SG.M=CONT
Subject NP			CompP		VP

ev=a].
become=PRES
'...the man, he became a snake...' (24-11-97)

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[45] An adjective preceding a verb takes a ligature (see §5.17).

(8.82) ...[*tuto* *ale*] [*ko* *i=k=a*]...
coconut.container in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES
CompP VP
'...she put [her food] in a coconut container...' (27-12-75)

A complement phrase cannot be marked with a topic marker, but it can be marked with a focus marker.[46] This indicates that the complement is not a part of the VP.

A complement phrase cannot trigger cross-referencing on the VP as this is not a core argument (see §3.2.1 for core arguments). This is illustrated by (8.81)—'snake' is not cross-referenced on the VP.

Like any other VPs, VPs headed with *elo* 'to become' and *iko* 'to put/cause' can have aspectual/modal markers, the possessor-raising marker, and valency-increasing markers, but they cannot have a modifier. The VP in (8.81) has an aspectual/modal marker, the continuity marker *beta* with the sequential use. The following example has a valency-increasing marker *ai*.

(8.83) *Kasa* *ko=m=ai* *i=k=a.*
sight 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
'[The devil] showed it to them.' (12-6-59)
(more literally '[The devil] caused it to become a sight.')

Complement phrases of verbs *elo* 'to become' and *iko* 'to put/cause' are described in §8.7.2 and §8.7.3 respectively.

8.7.2 With **elo** *'to become'*

The verb *elo* 'become' expresses a change of state.[47] The complement phrase with this verb can only be an NP, and this expresses the thing the subject becomes. Example (8.84) expresses a change of state from being a blood stain into being a shark—the subject became a shark.

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[46] There are two realisation of focus markers, *inio* (FOC.NONF) and *ikio* (FOC.F) and it is *inio* (FOC.NONF) that is the default form of focus markers, and thus in this example when the NP *dole* 'snake' has a generic reading, the focus marker is realised in its default form *inio* (FOC.NONF). See §14.3.2 for focus markers.

[47] The verb *elo* 'to become' also forms a complex predicate with an adjective of emotion. The adjective immediately precedes the VP. In the following example, a combination of *elo* 'to become' and *aqasiele* 'surprising' means 'to become surprised'

Aqasiele *a=da* *ev=a.*
surprising 1SG=SIT become=PRES
'I became surprised.'

Aqasiele 'surprising' is not a complement as it cannot be marked with a focus marker. The verb *elo* also has a homonym 'to stay' and this does not require a complement.

(8.84)	...[*rosi=a=ma*	*vaiza*]	[*ko=ta*	*ev=a*]...
	long=LIG=3SG.F	shark	3SG.F=SIT	become=PRES
	Complement NP		VP	

'...[the blood stain] became a long shark...' (34-2-17)

A complement NP can be a headless NP when it contains a modifier phrase. In such a case, the head of a modifier phrase, a pronominal enclitic, is always realised in the second person singular form, *nga* (2SG). It is not understood why this form is chosen. According to informants, however, this can be replaced with one whose person/number/gender agrees with the subject NP. For example, in (8.85), *nga* (2SG) can be replaced with *ma* (3SG.F) which agrees with the person/number/gender of the subject NP, *ko=a muni* (3SG.F=LIG blood.stain) 'the blood stain'.

(8.85)	...[*ko=a*	*muni*]	*ta*	[*tou*	*sa=nga*]	[*ko=ta*
	3SG.F=LIG	blood.stain	TOP	hair	COM=2SG	3SG.F=SIT
	Subject NP			Complement NP		VP

ev=a]...
become=PRES

'...the blood stain became one which has hair (the blood stain got hair)...' (34-1-12)

VPs with *elo* 'to become' as their head cannot include a modifier. However, such a modifier can occur in a complement phrase instead. In (8.86) below, the complement is an NP with a nominalised verb as its head, and this has a modifier *uri* (good).

(8.86)	...[*uri=a*	*maqin=o*]	[*o=ta*	*ev=a*]...
	good=LIG	be.full=NOM	3SG.M=SIT	become=PRES
	Complement NP		VP	

'...he became nicely full...' (43-3-27)

A complement NP may consist of a nominalised verb with a pronoun *eri* (s.th.like.this) preceding it. This kind of complement NP and the VP form an idiom meaning 'as soon as someone does something'. In the following example, *eri* is glossed as 'as soon as'.

(8.87)	...[*eri=a*	*rauve=k=o*]	*inio*
	as.soon.as=LIG	put.hand.in=3SG.F.O=NOM	FOC.NONF
	Complement NP		

[*o=be*	*ev=a*]	*o=vesa,*	*o=k=e=a*
3SG.M=CONT	become=PRES	3SG.M=basket	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES
VP			

ko	*kobaka...*
3SG.F	snail

'...as soon as he put his hands in the basket, he saw a snail...' (38-3-17)

A clause which contains this idiom cannot be regarded as a dependent clause although its meaning suggests that it can. This is because a dependent clause cannot have a constituent marked with a focus marker, and also because there is a restriction on occurrences of aspectual/modal markers in dependent clauses (see Chapter 12). In (8.87), the complement phrase is marked with a focus marker and the VP has an aspectual marker *beta*, the continuity marker.

In (8.87), *o=vesa* 'his basket' is not an argument of the verb *elo* 'to become', but the argument of the nominalised verb *rauveko* 'to put hand in something', which is the head of a complement NP.

There are a few examples where the complement is onomatopoeic. *Po* in (8.88) is a sound created when someone hits water.

(8.88)	*O=joupar=a*	*ti*	*ivere*	*kolo*	*tiania*
	3SG.M=jump.off=PRES	and.then	sea	ocean	middle

[*po*]	[*o*	*ev=a*],
po	3SG.M	become=PRES
Complement NP	VP	

'He jumped off, and he hit the sea, ocean, marking the sound po!' (27-17-95)

Note that a complement NP cannot be one that refers to a profession, for example *titisa* 'teacher'. In fact, there is no way to express 'someone becomes [profession]' in Bilua.[48]

8.7.3 With **iko** *'to put/cause'*

A transitive verb *iko* has two meanings 'to put' and 'to cause (cause someone/something to become)'. Regardless of its meanings, it requires a complement.

When *iko* has the meaning 'to put', it requires a locational phrase as its complement, and this presents a goal (see §10.3 for locational phrases). A PP *bita kale* 'in a string bag' in (8.89) and an NP headed with a relational noun *votonioama vele topi* 'on the front edge of the canoe' in (8.90) are both complements. They are not adjuncts, since without these, the clauses become ungrammatical.

(8.89)	*Ti*	*ko*	*ina-inae=k=a*	*ko*	*mau,*
	and.then	3SG.F	REDUP-get.ready=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	taro

[*bita=le*]	[*ko*	*i=k=a*],
string.bag=in	3SG.F	put=3SG.F.O=PRES
Complement PP	VP	

'And then she got taros ready, she put them in a string bag,' (27-13-081)

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[48] There is a verb *lekasapuo,* which originates in a noun *lekasa* 'chief'. This verb can be glossed as 'to become a chief' but rather means 'to be proclaimed as a chief'. Few speakers accept *dokitapuo* 'to become a doctor', which originates in *dokita* 'doctor', but most find it strange since this would mean 'to be proclaimed as a doctor'.

(8.90)	*...ko=vo*	*mama=ko*	*lezu*	*ta*	[*votonio=a=ma*
	3SG.F=3SG.M	father=3SG.F	head	TOP	front.of.canoe=LIG=3SG.F
					Complement NP

vele	*topi*]	[*ke*	*i=k=a*]...
edge.of.canoe	on	3PL	put=3SG.F.O=PRES
			VP

'...as for the head of her father, they put it on the front edge of the canoe...' (25-4-32)

When *iko* has the meaning 'to cause (cause someone/something to become)', it takes an NP, an AdjP, or a PP headed with the similative *jari* as its complement. *Iko* 'to cause' and its complement form a syntactic causative structure, and this is the only syntactic causative structure in Bilua.

(8.91)	...[*kasa*]	[*ko=m=ai*	*i=k=a*]...
	sight	3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL	cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
	Complement NP	VP	

'...they showed it to them...' (12-6-59)
(more literally '...they caused it to become a sight to them...'

(8.92)	[*Ngo*]	*ta*	[*kako*]	*inio*	[*ngo=da*	*l=a*
	2SG	TOP	strange	FOC.NONF	2SG=POSS	1SG.O=VAL
	Subject NP		Complement AdjP		VP	

i=v=ala].[49]
cause=3SG.M.O=RCP
'You caused [my brother] to become strange.' (39-4-28)

(8.93)	...[*mola*	*jari*]	[*ke*	*i=k=a*]...
	canoe	SIM	3PL	put=3SG.F.O=PRES
	Complement PP		VP	

'...they made a canoe-like thing...' (34-1-14)
(more literally '...they made it to become canoe-like...')

In all the examples above, the subject is a causer for the object to change its state: in (8.91) to be seen, in (8.92) to become strange, and in (8.93) 'to become a canoe-like thing'. In (8.91), the VP has a valency-increasing marker, which promotes an allative argument to a core argument. This is the goal of the object *kasa* 'sight'. Example (8.92) illustrates that a complement can take a focus marker.

Notice that *iko* 'to cause (to cause someone/something to become)' is semantically a transitive counterpart of *elo* 'to become', both sharing the meaning 'to become'. The subject of *elo* 'to become' corresponds with the object of *iko* 'to cause'. Similar to the verb *elo* 'to become', with the verb *iko* 'to put/cause', a complement NP cannot be one which presents a profession.[50]

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[49] The clause here is in the possessor-raising construction (see §9.5), and the referent of the object clitic *l* (1SG) 'I' has possessor relation to the referent of the object clitic *v* (3SG.M), 'him', who is in fact the brother of the referent of 'I'. Thus it is translated as 'my brother'.

The head of a complement NP of the verb *iko* 'to put/cause' cannot normally be a concrete common noun. In (8.91) above, it is an abstract noun. In (8.94) and (8.95) below, the head of a complement NP is an abstract noun derived from an adjective *kiada* 'all' and a pronoun *eri* 'something like this' respectively.

(8.94)	...[*kiada=vo*]	[*o*	*i=k=a*]	[*ko=a*
	all=NOM	3SG.M	cause=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F=LIG
	Complement NP	VP		Object NP

seqara=ko	*ore*]...
betelnut=3SG.F	tree

'...he did everything to the betelnut tree...' (5-14-120)
(more literally, 'he caused the betelnut tree to become everything...')

(8.95)	[*Eri*]	*nio*	[*ke*	*i=k=a*]
	s.th.like.this	FOC.NONF	3PL	cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
	Complement NP			VP

[*ko*	*mola*].
3SG.F	canoe
Object NP	

'They cause a canoe to become something like this (They cause a canoe to go through a process like this, in making a canoe).'

Example (8.94) occurs in a text where his wife climbed a betelnut tree and as soon as she touched the leaf of the betelnut tree she became a betelnut, and he did everything to the betelnut tree so that she would become a human being again. Example (8.95) was uttered when the author saw a half-made canoe. The speaker was showing the author what state a log undergoes before a canoe is made out of it.

Like the verb *elo* 'to become', there are a few examples where the complement is an onomatopoeic expression. *Viu* in (8.96) is the sound a fishing rod makes when it is thrown. *Po* 'in (8.97) is the sound the house makes when it is hit.

(8.96)	...*viu*	*o*	*i=k=a*...
	viu	3SG.M	cause=3SG.F.O=PRES

'...he threw the fishing rod making the sound *viu*...' (28-5-38)
(more literally '...he caused the fishing rod to make the sound *viu*...'

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[50] It might be the case that *iko* has only one meaning, with 'to put' paraphrased as 'to cause to be in location X'. However, as the subject of *elo* 'to become' cannot correspond with the object of *iko* as 'to put', two different meanings are recognised.

(8.97) *Po* *ko=v=ati* *i=k=a* *ko=a* *pade,*
po! 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL cause=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG house
'She hit the house [where he was lying inside], making the sound *po*,' (43-5-53)
(more literally 'She caused the house with him to make the sound *po*,')

The following is an idiom with *pato* 'nail'. A combination of *pato* 'nail' with *iko* 'to cause' means 'to snatch'.

(8.98) *Pato* *o* *i=k=a.*
nail 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He snatched it.'

As noted above, an AdjP can become a complement. For some adjectives both the adjectives themselves and abstract nouns derived from these adjectives can be heads of complement phrases.

(8.99) *Puju* *o* *i=k=a.*
short 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He caused it (a rope) to become short. (He made it short).'

(8.100) *Puju=avo* *o* *i=k=a.*
short=NOM 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He made it (a speech) short (he made a short speech).'

(8.101) *Olu* *o* *i=k=a.*
cheap 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He caused it (a canoe) to become cheap. (He made it cheap).'

(8.102) *Olu=avo* *o* *i=k=a.*
easy=NOM 3SG.M cause=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He made it (exam) easy.'

These examples show that when the head of a complement phrase is an adjective, the object is a concrete noun. On the other hand, when it is an abstract noun derived from an adjective, the object is also an abstract noun.

This chapter presented a description of verb phrases and complement phrases. Two kinds of VP constituents, valency-increasing markers and the possessor-raising marker, were not described here. Their descriptions are included in the next chapter, which deals with valency and transitivity in Bilua.

9 *Valency and transitivity*

9.1 Introduction

A Bilua verb may have a valency of one, two, or three, and the valency of each verb is lexically determined. The valency of a verb, however, may be changed morphologically or syntactically. It may be decreased by a valency-decreasing suffix on the verb, or it may be increased by the valency-increasing construction. The valency-decreasing suffix *-kini* is described in §6.2.1. In this chapter, valency of verbs is described in §9.2. Then §9.3 discusses occurrences of objects with intransitive verbs in Bilua. This section includes a discussion of transitivity. Following this, §9.4 presents a description of the valency-increasing construction. Then, §9.5 presents a description of the possessor-raising construction, which also involves valency increase. Section 9.6 presents a summary.

9.2 Valency of verbs

Bilua verbs can be divided morphologically into two types: intransitive verbs, which can never be bound by an object clitic, and transitive verbs, which are obligatorily bound by an object clitic. They are also semantically distinguished (see §4.4 and §9.3 below). Transitive verbs have two core arguments, while intransitive verbs have one core argument. These are the number of valencies each of these types of verbs have. That is, valency here refers to the number of core arguments a verb may have.

Bilua core arguments are defined as those which are cross-referenced on the VP by bound pronouns (see §3.2.1). With an intransitive verb, only one core argument, subject, is cross-referenced on the VP, while with a transitive verb, two core arguments, subject and object, are cross-referenced on the VP. Subject and object are cross-referenced by a pronominal proclitic and an object clitic respectively. This is illustrated by examples (9.1) and (9.2) below respectively. The VP in (9.1) contains an intransitive verb and only one argument is cross-referenced on the VP, while the VP in (9.2) contains a transitive verb and two core arguments are cross-referenced on the VP.

(9.1) [*O=ta* *zi=ala*]$_{\text{VP.}}$
3SG.M=SIT cry=RCP
'He cried.'

(9.2) [*Ko=pazo=v=ala*]$_{\text{VP.}}$
3SG.F=hit=3SG.M.O=RCP
'She hit him.'

There is a small group of ditransitive verbs in Bilua. Morphologically, this is a subclass of transitive verbs—they are obligatorily bound by an object clitic. Each ditransitive verb has three core arguments of subject, direct object, and second object, and thus they have a valency of three. However, only two of these three core arguments are cross-referenced on the VP—second object is not cross-referenced on the VP and it can only be expressed by an optional NP. Thus, the definition of core arguments given above does not apply to second object. Still, however, the third argument, second object, is treated as a core argument (see §3.2). In example (9.3), the second object is expressed by an NP, *ko lebu* 'mangos', and this is not cross-referenced on the VP.

(9.3) *Anga* *inio* *[a=qati=v=ala]*$_{\text{VP}}$ *ko lebu* *a=meqora.*
1SG FOC.NONF 1SG=give=3SG.M.O=RCP 3SG.F mango 1SG=child
subject second object direct object
'I gave mangos to my son.'

Bilua ditransitive verbs are *katiko* 'to give', *tabariko* 'to pay', *niaeko* 'to feed', and *tauveko* 'to help'. With verbs *katiko* 'to give', *tabariko* 'to pay', and *niaeko* 'to feed', the second object has the semantic role of gift, as illustrated by (9.3). With the verb *tauveko* 'to help' the second object has the semantic role of concern.[51] In the following example, *papat=o=ko mabasisu* (plant=NOM=3SG.F yam), which is in a possessive NP structure, forms one lexeme meaning 'yam tubers'. It literally means 'yam for planting'. This is the second object and has the semantic role of concern.

(9.4) ...*[qe=pa* *tauve=l=ou]*$_{\text{VP}}$ *papat=o=ko* *mabasisu...*
2DU=PROS help=1SG.O=FUT plant=NOM=3SG.F yam
'...you will come and help me with yam tubers...' (27-19-120)

In Bilua there are two environments where a transitive verb does not occur. First, a transitive verb does not co-occur with the situation-change marker *ta* (§8.5.3). Second, a transitive verb does not occur in the VP of a temporal clause marked with *keru* when this VP includes the continuity marker (§12.4.1). In these two environments, an intransitive verb may replace a transitive verb, and this can occur with an NP that expresses an object, as illustrated by examples (9.5) and (9.6). In both of these examples, the VP head is an intransitive verb, *koito* 'to climb' in (9.5) and *kozato* 'to get' in (9.6), and this is accompanied by an object NP.

(9.5) ...*[rupe]*$_{\text{O NP}}$ *ikio* *o=ta* *koit=ala.* *Rupe*
cutnut FOC.F 3SG.M=SIT climb=RCP cutnut

o=koi=k=a.
3SG.M=climb=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...a cutnut tree, he climbed. He climbed a cutnut tree.' (39-8-49~50)

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[51] As stated by Andrews, '[n]o presently known system of semantic role comprehensively applied in a convincing manner' (Andrews 1985:70), and so the author introduced her own term, such as the semantic role of concern, in this work.

(9.6)

Se	*sai*	*ke=beta*	*koazat=a*	*keru*	*[komi=a*	*bube]*$_{\text{O NP}}$
3PL	there	3PL=CONT	get=PRES	TEMP	PROX.SG.F=LIG	pollen

kake	*reko-reko*	*uki*	*Kutakabai=mu*	*ta*
INDEF.PL	REDUP-women	somewhere.there	Kutakabai=3PL	TOP

lula	*kiaro*	*kale.*
already	garden	in

'When they were getting this pollen, some women were there, Kutakabai people, were already in the garden.' (22-2-11)

In (9.5), the speaker first tells what tree he climbed, and thus the sentence contains an object NP *rupe* 'cutnut'. Then, the situation-change marker *ta* is employed in order to indicate a change of situation. Because of this, the verb cannot be a transitive one and so an intransitive one, *koito* 'to climb', is employed, resulting in a co-occurrence of an object NP and an intransitive verb. The second clause in (9.5) presents the same information as in the first clause. Since the change of the situation has already been indicated by the first clause, in the second clause the situation-change marker is not employed. Consequently, the verb can now be a transitive one, *koiko* 'to climb'.

In (9.6), the first clause is a temporal clause marked with *keru* and it contains the continuity marker *beta*. Consequently, the verb in this clause can only be an intransitive verb and this is accompanied by an object NP *komia bube* 'this pollen'.

Examples (9.5) and (9.6) are different from a combination of an intransitive verb with an object described in the next section. In (9.5) and (9.6), clearly the object NP is not combined with the verb, as it is separated from the verb by a focus marker in (9.5) and it is a full NP in (9.6).

9.3 Intransitive verbs with objects

In Bilua, an intransitive verb may occur with an object. For example,

(9.7)

...ko	*ta*	*ko=nabul=a*	*ko*	*risu...*
3SG.F	TOP	3SG.F=bake=PRES	3SG.F	coconut.crab

'...as for her, she coconut crab-baked...' (48-1-8)

The combination of the verb with the object is treated as one unit here, expressing a unitary concept 'coconut crab-bake', and this functions as an intransitive predicate.

In the discourse in which example (9.7) occurs, what is the issue is whether she performs an activity of coconut crab-baking or not, as her brothers have told her not to do this. Her brothers were afraid that if she bakes, the smell of baking might attract a giant. Thus, what is salient in example (9.7) is the activity of baking, of which the object 'coconut crab' is simply an incidental part.

Since an object which occurs with an intransitive verb is an incidental part, this is non-referential, non-individuated, and so the object is expressed by a generic NP. Such an NP usually consists of the head on its own as in example (9.8) below. In example (9.7) the object NP, which is a generic NP, contains a distal demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F) because of its position—a postverbal NP cannot be the head on its own in Bilua (see §7.4). The lack of the ligature on the demonstrative here indicates that *ko* is not a determiner.

The object normally occurs in postverbal position, but it can also be pre-posed, as in example (9.8) below. The object and the intransitive verb still however form a unit. Example (9.8) occurs in the discourse where the father had not come back from fishing, and so the mother asked her son to go and look for him. The son found him fishing and came home by himself. When the son came home, he told the mother that he saw the father and the mother asked what the father was undertaking. Then, the son utters example (9.8). The son describes the activity the father was engaged in, that is, fish-getting (fishing). When the son utters (9.8), however, his mind is occupied with fish, as the discourse following this indicates: the son tells the mother that the fish which the father gets are caught by the wound on his father's leg, not with a fishing rod, and these are the fish the father gives to the son and the mother. It is because of this that the object is stated first, that is, it is pre-posed.

(9.8) ...*niuniu* *o=beta* *koazat=a,*
fish 3SG.M=CONT get=PRES
object
'...he has been fish-getting (fishing),' (24-7-78)

A similar phenomenon where an intransitive verb occurs with an object has been recorded in a number of languages including some languages in Oceania, and often this is treated as an example of object incorporation (Sugita 1973, Lichtenberk 1982, Mithun 1984, Dixon 1988, and Hill 1992, among others).

> The term 'incorporation' is generally used to refer to a particular type of compounding in which a V and N combine to form a new V—as patients, location, or instrument [...]. The activity or quality designated by the NV compound is viewed as a recognisable, unitary concept. (Mithun 1984:848)

This description of object incorporation accords with the combining of intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua. Mithun (1984:850) further says 'since incorporated objects are non-referential, and thus non-individuated, [constructions which involve an incorporated object] generally describe activities or events whose patients are neither specific nor countable—e.g. habitual, ongoing, or projected activities'. This is also the case in Bilua. An object combined to an intransitive verb is non-referential, as illustrated by examples (9.7) and (9.8). A combination of an intransitive verb with an object may express an on-going situation as in (9.8), or a habitual activity as in (9.9). In this example, an intransitive verb *papato* 'to plant' is accompanied by object NPs.

(9.9) *Niania=ka=ma* *ta* *ko* *iruruput=a* *ko=papat=a*
mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F work=PRES 3SG.F=plant=PRES

ko *sisu,* *ko=papat=a* *ko* *mau...*
3SG.F sweet.potato 3SG.F=plant=PRES 3SG.F taro
object object
'The mother used to work, she used to do sweet potato planting, she used to do taro planting...' (27-3-14)

According to Mithun, it is an N that is combined with a V. This may go against examples in Bilua, as in Bilua this can be an NP. This is always true when the object occurs postverbally as explained above with example (9.7). In preverbal position, however, it can be expressed by a noun on its own, and there is no criterion to determine whether this is treated as just a noun or an NP. Whichever the case, however, it is not only in Bilua that an NP can be combined with a verb. Dixon (1988:226–229) demonstrates that an incorporated object in Boumaa Fijian can be expressed by either a noun or an NP.

There is however one problem in treating combinations of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua as object incorporation—the object can occur either preverbally or postverbally in Bilua, whereas object incorporation is a type of compound, and in compounds, the order of combined words is fixed.[52] In conclusion, a combination of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua can be semantically treated as a case of object incorporation, but syntactically it is questionable. The treatment of combinations of an intransitive verb with an object in Bilua requires further research.[53]

It was demonstrated above that an intransitive verb may occur with an object. A transitive verb can naturally occur with an object, and this highlights the affectedness of the object. The intransitive verb *nabulo* 'to bake' seen above has a transitive counterpart, *nabuliko* 'to bake', and *nabulo* and *nabuliko* are in an S=A relationship since the S argument of *nabulo* and the A argument of *nabuliko* coincide. In example (9.10) where the transitive verb *nabuliko* 'to bake' occurs, the affectedness of the object is salient since food needs to be baked before it can be served to people.

(9.10)	*...uri=avo*	*tu*	*o=m=a*	*nabuli=k=o*
	good=NOM	IRR	3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL	bake=3SG.F.O=NRFUT

ko	*sailao...*
3SG.F	food

'...it will be good that he will bake food for them...' (67-3-28)

On the other hand, as demonstrated above, when an object occurs with an intransitive verb, the affectedness of the object is out of scope. This is also the case when there is no object combined with an intransitive verb. In example (9.11) below, what is salient is the activity of baking. The sentence implies that there is an object, the thing she baked, but the affectedness of the object is out of scope. Thus, when the affectedness of the object is within the scope of the speaker's interest, the VP has a transitive verb, while when it is not within the scope, it has an intransitive verb, as in the following example, *nabulo* 'to bake' is an intransitive counterpart of *nabuliko* 'to bake'.

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[52] Sugita (1973) refers to intransitive verbs which occur with an object as 'semi-transitive verbs', verbs which are morphologically intransitive but which can be followed by an object. This term can be applied to intransitive verbs which can occur with an object in Bilua. However, since the occurrence of an object with an intransitive verb could be explained in terms of object incorporation/compound, it is not necessary to adopt this term in describing intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua.

[53] In her description of valency and transitivity in Saliba, an Oceanic language spoken in Papua New Guinea, Margetts (1999) explains occurrences of intransitive verbs with an object in terms of a difference between transitivity at word level and at clause level. This may be applied to the case of Bilua. An intransitive verb itself has a valency of one but a clause (a VP) which has an intransitive verb may have a valency of two.

(9.11) *Ko=ta* *nabul=a.*
3SG.F=SIT bake=PRES
'She baked.'

Furthermore, when the verb is an intransitive verb, the identity of the object is not important. Consequently, in a question asked in order to identify an object, an intransitive verb cannot be used. Only a transitive verb can be used as in example (9.12), while example (9.13) is ungrammatical.[54] On the other hand, in a question asked to identify an agent, the object is not important and so an intransitive verb is used. Example (9.14) is a question to identify an agent.

(9.12) *"Koe loma quli ikio ngo=nabuli=k=a?"*
INTJ what thing FOC.NONF 2SG=bake=3SG.F.O=PRES

k=i=o=la...
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Oh, what are you baking?" said he...' (48-1-11)

(9.13) **Loma quli ikio ngo=nabul=a?*
what thing FOC.F 2SG=bake=PRES
'What are you baking?'

(9.14) *Lama ikio ko ko=pazot=ala=ma?*
who.3SG.F FOC.F 3SG.F 3SG.F=hit=RCP=REL.F
'Who hit?'

In example (9.14), if an intransitive verb *pazoto* 'to hit' is replaced with a transitive verb *pazoko* 'to hit', it would mean 'who did she hit?' because the object, the one who is affected, becomes salient.

Until now, the term transitivity has been used to refer to the number of core arguments a verb has. Hopper and Thompson (1980) describe transitivity as a scalar phenomenon. According to their scale, intransitive verbs with accompanying objects in Bilua are less transitive than transitive verbs. This is not only because of the transitivity of verbs themselves, but also because of the status of non-individuated object, and also the types of on-going situations and habitual activities they express. When a situation is presented as an on-going one, it does not make any reference to the end point. Hopper and Thompson (1980:252) categorise a sentence that presents such a situation as an atelic one. A habitual activity is not a specific event and thus it can be treated as an irrealis event. Non-individuated objects, atelic situations, and irrealis are all indications of low transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980). These are all features of intransitive verbs with objects in Bilua and thus they are lower in transitivity.

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[54] An interjection *koe* or the verb *kio* 'to say' in (9.12) do not have anything to do with the contrast between grammatical example (9.12) and ungrammatical example (9.13). An elicited version without these two words can be presented in (9.12) instead so that the two examples would differ only in verbs. However, the author prefers to present an example from the data rather than the elicitation, and that is why an elicited version is not given in (9.12).

9.4 Valency-increasing construction

As described in §9.2, Bilua intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs have a valency of one, two, and three respectively. These numbers can be increased by the valency-increasing construction. This section presents a description of the valency-increasing construction in Bilua.

The valency-increasing construction consists of a valency-increasing marker, *a*, *ai*, or *ati*, and an object clitic attached to it. This construction introduces a new core argument, which is coded as an object: it is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker or by the object clitic attached to the verb.

The verb *barolo* 'to arrive' is an intransitive verb and this usually has only one core argument, the subject, which has the semantic role of experiencer as in the following example.

(9.15) *Qo=baro=a.*
3DU=arrive=PRES
'The two arrived.' (15-3-30)

In example (9.16-a) below, which contains the same verb, however, the valency of the verb is increased by the valency-increasing construction; the VP contains a valency-increasing marker *ai* bound by an object clitic *m* (3PL). Consequently, there are two core arguments: the original argument, the subject 'the head hunters', and the introduced argument, the object 'the father and his daughters'. The introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic *m* (3PL). This object clitic is attached to the valency-increasing marker, unlike the object clitic that cross-references with the original object of a transitive verb, which attaches to the verb.

(9.16-a) *...so* *keru* *inio* *ke=m=ai* *baro=a,*
that TEMP FOC.NONF 3PL=3PL.O=VAL arrive=PRES

ke=noqoe=m=a.
3PL=hold=3PL.O=PRES
'...that time, [head-hunters] reached [the father and his daughters], and held them.' (25-3-25)

The introduced argument here has the semantic role of goal, which is indicated by the valency-increasing marker *ai*. Semantic roles indicated by each of three valency-increasing markers, *a*, *ai*, and *ati*, are described in §9.4.1 to §9.4.4.

Valency increase in Bilua can be divided into two types: argument promotion and argument addition. They are similar in the sense that they both introduce a new core argument, but they are different from each other. Argument promotion promotes an argument: it promotes a non-core argument to a core argument, while argument addition simply adds an argument which otherwise cannot be included. Both operations, however, are performed by one and the same valency-increasing construction. Indeed, the term valency-increasing construction covers the two different uses of the term 'applicative', which are described as argument promotion and argument addition above: for some linguists, applicative is an operation that promotes a non-core argument (oblique argument) to a core argument, while for others it is an operation that adds an argument. Argument promotion and argument addition are also pragmatically distinguished. This is described later in this section.

Example (9.16-a) above is an example of argument promotion. Without the valency-increasing construction, (9.16-a) would be like (9.16-b), in which 'the father and his daughters' is not a core argument but an adjunct expressed by a postpositional phrase, and therefore it is not cross-referenced on the VP by any bound pronoun.[55]

(9.16-b) *Ke=baro=a* *se kasi.*
3PL=arrive=PRES 3PL at
'[The head-hunters] arrived at [the father and his daughters].'

The following is an example of argument addition.

(9.17-a) *...ke=k=ai* *bazu-bazue-kini=a* *komi,*
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES PROX.SG.F
'...they were telling this to each other,' (26-3-20)

(9.17-b) *Ke=bazu-bazue-kini=a.*
3PL=REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES
'They were telling each other.'

Example (9.17-a) contains the valency-increasing marker *ai*, which introduces an argument with the semantic role of 'topic of speech', *komi* (PROX.SG.F) 'this'. This argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic, *k* (3SG.F), attached to the valency-increasing marker. This argument can by no means be included in a clause like (9.17-b) without the valency-increasing construction; there is no way to express it in a clause without the valency-increasing construction.

Argument promotion and argument addition are illustrated by the following.

argument promotion
non-core argument → core argument

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[55] As discussed in §3.2.1, although the verb *barolo* 'to arrive' is subcategorised for a participant with the semantic role of goal, this is not treated as a core argument but as a non-core argument.

argument addition
Ø → core argument

In both (9.16-a) and (9.17-a), the verb is an intransitive one, and the introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker, and thus the introduced argument is an object. The other argument, the original core argument, is a subject. This is the same without the valency-increasing construction; in both (9.16-b) and (9.17-b), the original core argument is the subject.

When the verb is a transitive verb as well, the argument introduced by the valency-increasing marker is cross-referenced by an object clitic. This object clitic which cross-references with the introduced argument is sometimes attached to the valency-increasing marker and other times attached to the verb. In (9.18-a), the introduced argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic, *v* (3SG.M), attached to the valency-increasing marker.

(9.18-a) *"Kama quli puli=a=ma" k=i=o=la*
INDEF.SG.F thing NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

mati o=v=ai podaki=k=a.
again 3SG.M=3SG.M.O=VAL make.s.th.appear.to=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He$_1$ said "something is missing", and again, he$_2$ presented it to him$_1$.' (39-11-67)
(more literally 'He$_1$ said "something is missing", and again, he$_2$ made it appear to him$_1$'.)

(9.18-b) *O=podaki=k=a vo kasi.*
3SG.M=make.s.th.appear to=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M at
'He presented it to him.'
(more literally 'He made it appear to him'.)

Here, there are two objects, one which is an original core argument and the other which is introduced by the valency increase, and both objects are cross-referenced on the VP by object clitics. Thus, the two objects are not syntactically distinguished in the valency-increasing construction. However, since the introduced argument cannot be an argument without the valency-increasing construction, the original object is treated as 'normal', that is, 'direct object', and the introduced object is treated as 'added object'.[56]

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[56] Examples given above may suggest that two objects, an original object and introduced object, are syntactically distinguished: the former is the object of the verb, while the latter is the object of the verbal complex in the valency-increasing construction, and accordingly they are cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the verb and an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker respectively. This is however not always the case. As described below, what motivates for an argument being cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker is affectedness, not the fact of being the introduced argument. This contention is supported by example (9.27-a) below in which the affected argument is the original object and is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. In this example, the introduced argument, which is not the affected argument, is cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic attached to the verb.

The object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker cross-references the argument affected by the event described (see below), and this can be the original object or the introduced object, and the object clitic attached to the verb cross-references whichever is left between the original object and the introduced object.[57]

The promoted or added argument can be either definite or indefinite. When it is definite, it does not need to be expressed by an NP. In (9.19) below, the promoted argument is definite, and so it is not expressed by an NP in the second clause.

(9.19)	*Ni*	*ke=noqoe=v=a*	*vo*	*Sito.*	*Maravari*
	and	3PL=capture=3SG.M.O=PRES	3SG.M	Sito	Maravari

ke=v=ati	*saqor=a.*
3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL	go.down=PRES

'And then, they captured Sito. They took him down to Maravari.' (12-8-72~73)

When the argument is indefinite, it has to be expressed by an NP. In (9.20), the added argument 'a story' is indefinite and so it is expressed by an NP *kala bazubazulao.*

(9.20)	*Vairutu*	*ta*	*anga*	*ta*	*a=v=ai*	*bazu-bazut=o*
	now	TOP	1SG	TOP	1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL	REDUP-tell=NRFUT

kala	*bazu-bazulao.*
INDEF.SG.M	REDUP-story

'Now, I am going to tell a story.' (24-1-1)

Argument addition does not have any pragmatic effect. Its function is solely to add an argument which cannot be expressed otherwise. Argument promotion, on the other hand, carries a pragmatic effect—the valency-increasing construction focuses upon the affectedness of the introduced argument. Argument promotion however may also be employed without this pragmatic function, as described later in this section.

The affected argument is most often the introduced argument and the affected argument is always cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. Example (9.16-a) above highlights the affectedness of the introduced argument, 'the father and his daughters', whom the head hunters reached and captured, as expressed by the clause which follows: '[they] held them'. Example (9.16-a) has an intransitive verb, while example (9.18-a) has a transitive verb. In (9.18-a), the valency-increasing construction is employed in order to highlight that the affectedness of the introduced argument 'him$_1$': he was presented with what he wanted and thus benefited from the described event.

In contrast to the valency-increasing construction which highlights the affectedness of the introduced argument, transitive verbs without the valency-increasing construction highlight the affectedness of (direct) object (see §9.3 above). Compare (9.21-a) to

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[57] This is similar to Mandarin examples discussed in Andrews (1985), with 'the Patient in whose fate one is more interested occupying the *ba*-marked preverbal position, the less interesting "accessory" Patient the post verbal position' (1985:121). Andrews then tentatively suggests that Mandarin may be a language with two 'direct object' relations.

(9.21-b). Example (9.21-a) with the valency-increasing construction highlights the affectedness of the introduced argument, 'their son'. This example occurs in a discourse in which the son finds a girl he wants to marry, and so his parents make plans to ask the parents of this girl on his behalf. The son is thus the affected argument. In (9.21-b) without the valency-increasing construction, the affected argument is 'the parents of the girl'.

(9.21-a) *Nio qo=vato-vatol=ou tu qo=v=a*
SEQ 3DU=REDUP-plan=FUT IRR 3DU=3SG.M.O=VAL

pase=k=o nioqa=vo meqora...
ask=3DU.O=NRFUT 3DU=3SG.M child
'And then, they will plan to ask [the parents of the girl] on behalf of their son...' (21-1-4)

(9.21-b) *Qo=vato-vatol=ou tu qo=pase=k=o nioqa=vo*
3DU=REUP-plan=FUT IRR 3DU=ask=3DU.O=NRFUT 3DU=3SG.M

meqora kaqe.
child BEN
'They will plan to ask [the parents of the girl] for him.'

The object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker normally has a human referent, as the affected argument is expected to be a human referent. This can also be a non-human referent, but in such a case it is implied that there is a human referent associated with this non-human referent, and indeed the affected argument is this human referent. In example (9.22) the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker *k* (3SG.F) is co-referential with *koa kolu* 'the smoke', and thus it is non-human, but 'smoke' implies that there is someone who is making this smoke, and the affected argument is this person, not the smoke.

(9.22) *...ko=a kolu o=lulue=k=a ti*
3SG.F=LIG smoke 3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then

o=k=ai saqor=a ti o=k=ai
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL go.down=PRES and.then 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

baro=a.
arrive=PRES
'...he followed the smoke, and he went down to the smoke, and he arrived where the smoke (the girl) is.' (59-10-91)

An argument can be affected favourably or adversely depending on the event or discourse. In (9.18-a) and (9.21-a) above, an argument is affected favourably. In example (9.23) below, an argument is affected adversely.

(9.23) *...ko=be v=ai sipe-sipeit=a...*
3SG.F=CONT 3SG.M.O=VAL REDUP-pass.faeces=PRES
'...he passed faeces on him...' (43-5-53)

As discussed above, the valency-increasing construction generally introduces a new core argument, and when the valency-increasing construction promotes a non-argument to a core argument, it usually does this in order to highlight the affectedness of an argument. However, the valency-increasing construction may also be employed so that a non-human referent can be expressed by a pronoun. In such a case, the valency-increasing construction does not carry a function of highlighting affectedness.

In Bilua, when a referent is an active, definite one, it can be expressed by a pronoun. An active human referent can be expressed by a free or bound pronoun. In example (9.24), the pronominal enclitic *o* (3SG.M) and the demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F), which is marked with a comitative postposition *sate*, have definite referents.

(9.24) *...sainio o=beta ev=a ko sate.*
therefore 3SG.M=CONT stay=PRES 3SG.F COM
'...therefore he stayed with her there.' (59-11-94)

There are examples in the data in which a non-human referent is expressed by a free pronoun, but not a free pronoun marked with a postposition. A postpositional phrase functions as an adjunct, and thus a non-human referent cannot be expressed by a free pronoun as an adjunct. Such a referent however can be promoted to a core argument by valency increase, and then it can be expressed by a bound pronoun. In the discourse where example (9.25) occurs, 'the magic stick', is an active referent. This has a semantic role of accompaniment in the second clause and is expressed by a bound pronoun, an object clitic *k* (3SG.F.O), attached to the valency-increasing marker. This cannot be expressed by a free pronoun marked with a postposition as it is non-human. If a postpositional phrase is employed to express this, 'the magic stick' has to be expressed by a full NP, *koa sikiti* 'the magic stick' not by a pronoun, which results in a repetition of the same NP. To avoid this, the valency-increasing construction is employed and this allows 'the magic stick', which is an adjunct, to be expressed by a pronoun. In example (9.26), *ko* (3SG.F) is marked with a comitative postposition *sate* 'with' and this can only be human.

(9.25) *...ko=pa teli=k=a ko=a sikiti, ti*
3SG.F=PROS dig=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG magic.stick and.then

ko=k=ati o=la...
3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL go=PRES
'...she went and dug the magic stick, and then she went with it...' (22-9-37)

(9.26) *Ko ol=a ko sate.*
3SG.F go=PRES 3SG.F COM
'She went with her.'

In (9.25), although a non-argument is promoted to an argument by the valency-increasing construction, it does not highlight the affectedness of any argument. As discussed above, it occurs only for the non-human referent to be expressed by a pronoun. Example (9.25) contains an intransitive verb. Below is such an example with a transitive verb. 'This story' in (9.27-a) is an active referent and is expressed by the object clitic attached to the verb *k* (3SG.F).

(9.27-a) ...*komi=a* *bazu-bazulao* *ta* *pui* *matu*
PROX.SG.F=LIG REDUP-folktale TOP NEG very

tuvevo=a=ma *melai* *silo-silo=a=mu* *ke=m=ai*
true=LIG=3SG.F but REDUP-small=LIG=3PL 3PL=3PL.O=VAL

ibue=k=a,
make.quiet=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...this folktale, it is not very true, but [people] make children quiet with [this story],' (27-1-1)

Compare now (9.27-b) to (9.27-a).

(9.27-b) *Ke* *ibue=m=o* *silo-silo=a=mu* *ko=a*
3PL make.quiet=3PL=NRFUT REDUP-small=LIG=3PL 3SG.F=LIG

bazu-bazulao *kale.*
REDUP-folktale with
'They will make the children quiet with this story.'

In both (9.27-a) and (9.27-b), 'children' is a core argument. In (9.27-b) this is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the verb. In (9.27-a) it is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. This is because 'children' is the affected argument in both examples—in (9.27-a) it is not 'the story' that is the affected argument. Both examples highlight the affectedness of the object, 'children', and there is no pragmatic difference between (9.27-a) and (9.27-b). Thus, in (9.27-a) the valency-increasing construction is not employed for the purpose of highlighting the affectedness on the 'children', as this is already done by the verb, a transitive verb, itself. Similarly to (9.25), the valency-increasing construction here is employed only in order that 'this story' can be expressed by a pronoun.

As illustrated above the introduced argument by the valency-increasing marker is always coded as an object, and the increase of the number of core arguments is indicated by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker.[58] This object clitic takes the preverbal position. Object clitics attached to verbs, on the other hand, usually take a postverbal position—they immediately follow the verb, but there are exceptions to this. Four verbs, *kelo* 'to see', *kovo* 'to get', *kuo* 'to eat', and *kio* 'to say', take an object clitic preverbally, but in this case, they are attached to the verb, not to the valency-increasing marker. Thus there are two different preverbal slots for object clitics and these are clearly distinguished from each other. Object clitics attached to the verb are obligatory for the occurrence of the verb, while object clitics attached to the valency-increasing marker are not. These aforementioned four verbs may occur with the valency-increasing construction (see §9.4.1 and §9.4.3).

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[58] As noted above, the introduced argument is not always cross-referenced with the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker, and so one can say only that this slot for an object clitic indicates an increase of the valency, and not that this slot is the slot for the added object (introduced argument).

Each of three valency-increasing markers, *a*, *ai*, and *ati* indicates different semantic roles of an introduced argument as shown in the following table. In other words, the speaker selects one of three valency-increasing markers, *a*, *ai*, and *ati*, depending on what semantic role he/she wants to assign to the introduced argument. The table below also shows whether the introduced argument is a promoted or added one.

Table 9.1: Semantic roles of introduced arguments by valency-increasing markers

Markers	Semantic roles	Promotion or addition
a	beneficiary (benefactive)	promotion
	source (ablative)	promotion
	topic of quotation	addition
ai[59]	instrument (comitative)	promotion
	goal (allative)	promotion
	gift	addition
	topic of speech	addition
	name	addition
	cause/reason	addition
	experiencer	addition
ati	accompaniment (comitative)	promotion

'Topic' of speech means what the subject of the sentence is talking about, while 'topic' of quotation means what the subject of the sentence is quoting about.

In the subsequent sections, the semantic roles which each valency-increasing marker indicates are examined: *a* in §9.4.1, *ai* in §9.4.2, and *ati* as in §9.4.3. The valency-increasing marker *a* can also add an argument with the semantic role of cause/reason or a source, but this requires the co-occurrence of the possessor-raising marker. This is described in §9.4.4. Furthermore, the valency-increasing marker *a* may also promote an argument with the semantic role of possessor in the possessor-raising construction. This is described in §9.5.

9.4.1 Valency-increasing marker a

The valency-increasing marker *a* refers to semantic roles of beneficiary, source, and topic of quotation. The first two are examples of argument promotion while the last one is an example of argument addition. The valency-increasing marker *a* promotes an ablative argument in combination with a transitive motion verb[60] and it can add an argument with the semantic role of topic of quotation in combination with the verb *kio* 'to say'. In combination with other verbs than these, *a* promotes a benefactive argument.

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[59] In (9.18-a), the introduced argument is a goal, in other words a recipient. This argument can be interpreted as a beneficiary as he benefits from receiving something.

Table 9.2: Semantic roles of arguments introduced by a valency-increasing marker *a* and verbs

Semantic roles	Kinds of verbs	Examples
beneficiary (benefactive)	verbs other than below	*ereko* 'to make' *paseko* 'to ask' *rabuto* 'to weed'
source (ablative)	transitive motion verbs	*votutiko* 'to move' *soqoeko* 'to chase'
topic of quotation	only one verb	*kio* 'to say'

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *a* promotes a benefactive and an ablative argument.

(9.28-a) Benefactive
A=v=a *rabut=ala.*
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL weed=RCP
'I weeded for him.'

(9.28-b) *A=rabut=ala* *Joni kaqe.*
1SG=weed=RCP John BEN
'I weeded for John.'

(9.29-a) Ablative
Ko=m=a *vatuti=k=ala.*
3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL move=3SG.F.O=RCP
'She moved it from them (she moved it away from them).'

(9.29-b) *Ko=vatuti=k=ala* *se kasi azo.*
3SG.F.move=3SG.F.O=RCP 3PL at ABL
'She moved it from them (she moved it away from them).'

The verb *kio* 'to say' is a direct speech verb, and the actual words of an utterance are expressed by a juxtaposed independent clause. For example,

(9.30) *"Uri" k=i=ko=la.*
good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Good," said she.' (16-1-3)

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[60] See §9.4.4 for intransitive motion verbs.

With this verb *kio* 'to say', the valency-increasing marker *a* introduces an argument which presents the topic of a quotation. When *a* occurs with *kio* 'to say', the verb is always marked with a relative clause marker, and this forms a headless relative clause. Both the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker and the relative clause marker agree with the topic argument. The quotation is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the verb.

(9.31) *Nio "Nei ta ngo=da v=a*
SEQ PROX.SG.M TOP 2SG=SIT 3SG.M.O=VAL

lupao=vi=ni, "a=da v=a
refuse=RMP=REL.NONF 1SG=POSS 3SG.M=VAL

lupao=va vo siele"
refuse=PRES 3SG.M dog
v=a k=i=ngo=ve=ni nio"
3SG.M=VAL 3SG.F.O=say=2SG=RMP=REL.NONF FOC.NONF

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'She said, "this is the one you refused, you said, "I refuse a dog" talking about him."' (27-18-114)
(more literally, 'She said, "this is the one you refused, him about whom you said, "I refuse a dog.""')

As described in §8.2.2, the verb *kio* 'to say' morphologically behaves in a different way from other verbs—a pronominal enclitic which cross-references with the subject follows the verb instead of taking a VP-initial position. Thus, in this example, *ngo* (2SG) cross-references with the subject.

The valency-increasing marker *a* can also occur with a few transitive verbs, *kelo* 'to see', *kovo* 'to get', and *kuo* 'to eat', which take object clitics as proclitics. Bilua object clitics have either a C or CVC structure, and when the object clitic which cross-references the direct object has a CVC structure, VPs headed with the aforementioned verbs obligatorily employ the valency-increasing construction, but the valency-increasing construction here neither promotes nor adds an argument. That is, the number of core arguments does not increase and stays two. The slot for an object clitic preceding the valency-increasing marker is filled by the object clitic in a CVC structure, which cross-references with the direct object. The slot for an object clitic on the verb is always filled with the first person singular object clitic *l*, but this does not have any referent. In the following example, there are three bound pronouns, a pronominal enclitic *a* (1SG), an object clitic *qel* (2DU.O) attached to the valency-increasing marker *a*, and another object clitic *l* (1SG.O) attached to the verb, as underlined. However, there are only two arguments involved: 'I', the subject, and 'you', the direct object, which are cross-referenced on the VP by *a* (1SG) and *qel* (2DU.O) respectively, and there is no referent of the object clitic *l* (1SG.O). Note that *l* (1SG.O) here has nothing to do with the subject 'I'—this stays as *l* even when the subject is non-first person singular.

(9.32-a) *...a=ba* *qel=a* *l=el=o...*
1SG=PROS 2DU.O=VAL 1SG.O=see=NRFUT
'...I am going to see you...' (21-2-9)

Example (9.32-a) cannot be paraphrased as example (9.32-b), which does not employ the valency-increasing construction. Example (9.32-b) is not grammatical.

(9.32-b) **A=ba* *qel=el=o.*
1SG=PROS 2DU.O=see=NRFUT
'I am going to see you.'

When the object clitic that cross-references with the direct object has a C structure, the valency-increasing construction is never employed.

(9.33) *A=ba* *k=el=o.*
1SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=see=NRFUT
'I am going to see her.'

It is not well understood why the valency-increasing construction has to be employed under the above environment. It may be hypothesised that the valency-increasing construction is employed so that the stress falls on the verb. In Bilua, stress falls on the first syllable of phonological words. Thus, in (9.32-a) in which an object clitic in a CVC structure is attached to a valency-increasing marker, the stress falls on the verb, but in (9.32-b), in which the same object clitic is attached to the verb and which is ungrammatical, it would fall on the object clitic.[61]

(9.32'-a) *...'a=ba* *'qel=a* *'l=el=o...*
1SG=PROS 2DU.O=VAL 1SG.O=see=NRFUT
'...I am going to see you...' (21-2-9)

(b) **A=ba* *'qel=el=o.*
1SG=PROS 2DU.O=see=NRFUT
'I am going to see you.'

9.4.2 Valency-increasing marker ai

The valency-increasing marker *ai* refers to the semantic roles of instrument, goal, topic of speech, cause/reason, gift, name, and stimulus. The first two are examples of argument promotion while the rest are argument addition. In combination with a verb which describes an action, *ai* promotes an instrumental argument, while in combination with a motion verb, it promotes an allative argument. *Ai* adds arguments with semantic roles of topic of speech and cause/reason, combined with verbs of speech and emotion verbs respectively. *Ai* adds arguments with semantic roles of gift, name, and stimulus combined with verbs listed in the following table. *Ai* is often elided to *a*, especially when it occurs with verbs *zario* 'to want/need' and *nianiio* 'to know'. Whether *a* is in fact *a* or an elided form of *ai* can be decided from the kind of the verb or from the context.

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[61] This hypothesis itself is based on the assumption that object clitics affect the stress on their host, unlike pronominal proclitics, which do not. Pronominal proclitics, which have either a CV or V structure, do not affect the stress on their host verbs (see §2.6). There is no evidence however that proves this assumption is true, but one may further postulate that a proclitic in a CVC structure, but not a CV or a V structure, may affect stress on the host.

Table 9.3: Semantic roles of arguments introduced by a valency-increasing marker *ai* and verbs

Semantic roles	Kinds of verbs	Examples
instrument (instrumental)	verbs which express an action	*erekato/ereko* 'to make' *pazoto/pazoko* 'to hit' *roeto/roeko* 'to cut' *tauvezio* 'to help oneself' *tauvezato/tauveko* 'to help'
goal (allative)	motion verbs	*zio* 'to go' *kilo* 'to come' *vatuto/vatutiko* 'to move'
topic of speech	verbs of speech	*pesio* 'to speak' *bazuto* 'to tell' *bazubazekinio* 'to tell each other'
cause/reason	emotion verbs	*zialo* 'to cry' *aqasiele* + *elo* 'to become surprised' *duki* + *elo* 'to become sad'
gift	two verbs	*besiekinio* 'replace each other' *tatabarao* 'to trade'
name	two verbs	*nokaeko* 'to call' *katiko* 'to give'
stimulus	two verbs	*zario* 'to want' *nianiio* 'to know'

The valency-increasing marker *ai* is also employed to mark a strong negation with the verb *roveo* 'can'. In the following example, there are two bound pronouns, *a* (1SG) and *k* (3SG.F.O), but there is only one argument, 'I', involved, and thus there is no referent of the object clitic *k* (3SG.F.O) attached to the valency-increasing marker. It is not transparent what syntactic/semantic motivation lies behind this use of the valency-increasing marker *ai*.

(9.34) *Pui* *a=ba* *k=ai* *rove=a* *zio.*
NEG 1SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL can=PRES goNOM
'I (definitely) cannot go.'

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *ai* promotes arguments with the semantic roles of instrument and goal.

(9.35-a) Instrumental
Ko=v=ai saqae=k=ala ko suma.
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL brush=3SG.F.O=RCP 3SG.F cloth
'She brushed (cleaned) him with a cloth.'

(9.35-b) *Ko=saqae=v=ala suma kale.*
3SG.F=brush=3SG.M.O=RCP cloth with
'She brushed (cleaned) him with a cloth.'

(9.36-a) Allative
Ke=ngel=ai kue=vi enge.
3PL=1PL.EXC.O=VAL come=RMP 1PL.EXC
'They came to us.'

(9.36-b) *...eqe ta qe=kue=va koi ngo kasi.*
1DU.EXC TOP 1DU.EXC=come=PRES here 2SG at
'...we came here to you.' (26-8-44)

Ai may add an argument with a semantic role of gift, something which is transferred from one person to another. In the data, there are two verbs which occur with this semantic role as listed above. In fact, combinations of *ai* with these two verbs are considered to form one lexical entry.

(9.37-a) Gift
Nge=q=ai tatabaraov=ou maketi kale.
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=VAL pay=FUT market in
'We will sell it in a market.'

(9.37-b) *Nge=databaraov=ou.*
1PL.EXC=pay=FUT
'We will pay.'

(9.38-a) Gift
Melai ko=a sailao ikio ke=k=ai
but 3SG.F=LIG food FOC.F 3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL

besi-besie-kini=ou.
REDUP-replace-RECP=FUT
'But they will exchange the food between them.' (21-4-23)

(9.38-b) *...kubo missionary poso ta ke=basi-besie-kini=a*
many missionary PL.M TOP 3PL=REDUP-replace-RECP=PRES

Sabora.
Sabora
'...many missionaries replaced each other in Sabora.' (10-14-117)

In the above two pairs of examples, the meaning of the verb used with the valency-increasing marker is not so transparent. Unlike other examples given above, there is a modification of the meaning of the verb. In (9.37-b), the verb *tatabarao* means 'to pay' but when this occurs with *ai* as in (9.37-a), this means 'to sell.[62] In (9.38-b), *besiekinio* means 'to replace each other' and when this verb occurs with *ai* as in (9.38-a), it means 'to exchange between them'. Thus, it could be said that *ai tatabarao* and *ai besiekinio* form one lexical entry.

With two verbs listed above, *ai* adds an argument with the semantic role of name.

(9.39-a) Name

A=v=ai	*kati=k=ala*	[*ko*	*ngi*]$_{\text{NP}}$	[*vo*	*John*]$_{\text{NP}}$.
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL	give=3SG.F.O=RCP	3SG.F	name	3SG.M	John
		second object		added object	

'I gave him the name "John".'

(9.39-b)

A=qati=v=ala	*ko*	*ngi.*
1SG=give=3SG.M.O=RCP	3SG.F	name

'I gave him a name (I named him).'

The verb *katiko* 'to give' is a ditransitive verb and so example (9.39-a) has a valency of four. The subject, direct object, and the added object are cross-referenced by the pronominal clitic *a* (1SG), the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker *v* (3SG.M.O), and the object clitic *k* (3SG.F.O) attached to the verb respectively. The argument 'the name' is the second object and is not cross-referenced on the VP. In this example, both second and added objects are further expressed by NPs. Among three ditransitive verbs in Bilua, only *katiko* 'to give' can occur with the valency-increasing construction.

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *ai* adds arguments with semantic roles of topic of speech and a cause/reason.

(9.40-a) Topic of speech

Komi=a	*taku*	*kale*	*anga*	*ta*	*a=q=a*
PROX.SG.F=LIG	time	in	1SG	TOP	1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL

zari=a	*k=ai*	*pesi=o*	*ko=paloas=a=ko*	*taku*
want=PRES	3SG.F.O=VAL	speak=NOM	3SG.F=pass=PRES=3SG.F	time

keru=a=ma	*saev=o.*
TEMP=LIG=3SG.F	survive=NOM

'I want to speak about the life in the past.' (64-1-1)

(9.40-b)

Vo=a	*beku*	*inio*	*o=ta*	*pesi=a...*
3SG.M=LIG	idol	FOC.NONF	3SG.M=SIT	speak=PRES

'It was the idol that spoke...' (39-8-52)

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[62] They do however share some meaning—'to sell' and 'to pay' share the meaning 'trading'.

(9.41-a) Cause/reason
A=v=ai *zia=la.*
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL cry=RCP
'I cried because of him (for example, because my father went away and I am sad).'

(9.41-b) *O=ta* *zi=a.*
3SG.M=SIT cry=PRES
'He is crying.'

Note that with a few emotion verbs, a cause or a reason is introduced by a combination of a valency-increasing marker *a* and the possessor-raising marker *ta*. See §9.4.4 below.

Two intransitive verbs *zario* 'to want/need' and *nianiio* 'to know' never occur without *ai*, and thus *ai* plus *zario* 'to want/need' or *nianiio* 'to know' each form one lexical entry. With these verbs, *ai* signals the presence of an argument with the semantic role of stimulus.

(9.42) *...ke=v=ai* *matu* *zari=a* *rorot=o* *vo*
3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL very want=PRES marry=NOM 3SG.M

Koro-koroqanisi.
REDUP-Korokoroqanisi
'...they wanted to marry Korokoroqanisi very much.' (39-12-82)

(9.43) *A=v=ai* *nianii=a.*
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL know=PRES
'I know him.'

9.4.3 Valency-increasing marker **ati**

The valency-increasing marker *ati* indicates the semantic role of accompaniment or addressee, the person someone is speaking with.[63] It always promotes a comitative argument.

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[63] An observant reader may wonder whether the valency-increasing marker *ati* is related to a verb *katiko* 'to give'. There is no evidence however to support this contention. The verb initial *k* of *katiko* is a part of the verb and not the default form of an object clitic *k* (3SG.F.O)—*katiko* is segmented as *kati=k=o* (give=3SG.F.O=NOM) not **k=ati=k=o* (3SG.F.O=give=3SG.F.O=NOM).

Table 9.4: Semantic role of arguments introduced by the valency-increasing marker *ati* and verbs

Semantic roles	Kinds of verbs	Examples of verbs
accompaniment addressee (comitative)	any kinds	*vinaeko* 'to tie' *rokasiko* 'to tear' *kailo* 'to go up' *zulao* 'to play' *kio* 'to say'

The following two pairs of examples illustrate that *ati* promotes a comitative argument.

(9.44-a) Comitative (accompaniment)
...o=k=ati *saqor=a.*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL go.down=PRES
'...he went down with her (he took her down).' (48-4-37)

(9.44-b) *Ke=saqor=a* *vo* *sate.*
3PL=go.down=PRES 3SG.M COM
'They went down with him.'

(9.45-a) Comitative (accompaniment)
...ko=v=ati *roka-rokasi=k=a...*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL REDUP-tear=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...[the devil] tore [the house] with him in it...' (43-5-53)

(9.45-b) *Ko=roka-rokasi=k=a* *vo* *sate.*
3SG.F=REDUP-tear=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M COM
'[The devil] torn [the house] with him.'

In (9.45-b), in which the comitative argument is expressed by a postpositional phrase, it would be unclear, without a context, whether 'he' accompanies 'the devil' or 'the house'.

Two motion verbs *zio* 'to go' and *kilo* 'to come', in combination with *ati*, can be translated as 'to take' and 'to bring' respectively.

(9.46) *...se* *ta* *ke=v=ati* *ol=a* *Fiji.*
3PL TOP 3PL=3SG.M.O=VAL go=PRES Fiji
'...they took him to Fiji.' (12-8-78)

(9.47) *Kama* *rekorusu* *ta* *ke=k=ati* *kue=la.*
INDEF.SG.F girl TOP 3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL come=RCP
'They brought a girl.' (25-7-51)

With the verb *kio* to 'say', the promoted argument can be treated as having the semantic role of addressee—the person who the subject is speaking with can be treated as an addressee.

(9.48-a) Comitative (addressee)

...nio *se* *ta* *eri* *v=ati*
and.then 3PL TOP s.th.like.this 3SG.M.O=VAL

k=i=ke=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3PL=PRES
'...and then they say to him something like this.' (25-7-50)

(9.48-b) *Ni* *omadeu* *taku* *kurou* *ta* *eri*
and one time pigeon TOP s.th.like.this

k=i=o=la *kobaka* *kasi.*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES snail at
'And, once (one day), the pigeon told the snail something like this.'
(15-1-3)

A combination of the verb *jouro* 'to jump' and *ati* has an unpredictable meaning, 'to follow'.

9.4.4 Valency-increasing marker **a** *with* **ta**

The valency-increasing marker *a* can promote an argument with the semantic role of source in combination with an intransitive motion verb, while it adds an argument with a semantic role of cause/reason with some verbs of cognition. However this requires a co-occurrence of the possessor-raising marker *ta.*

Table 9.5: Semantic roles of arguments introduced by the valency-increasing marker *a* in combination with *ta* and verbs

Semantic roles	Kinds of verbs	Examples of verbs
source	intransitive motion verbs	*soqoilo* 'to run away' *zio* 'to go' *kilo* 'to come'
cause/reason	some verbs of cognition including emotion verbs	*ngalo* 'to be frightened' *lupao* 'to refuse' *ukaka* + *elo* 'to be careless'

For example,

(9.49-a) *Source*

Me=da *v=a* *soqoil=ou.*
1PL.INC=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL run.away=FUT
'We will run away from him.'

(9.49-b) *Me=soqoil=ou vo kasi azo.*
1PL.INC=run.away=FUT 3SG.M at ABL
'We will run away from him.'

(9.50-a) *Cause/reason*
...o=ta v=a nga=va vo qili...
3SG.M=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL be.frightened=PRES 3SG.M giant
'...he is frightened of the giant...' (48-3-28)

(9.50-b) *O=ta nga=va.*
3SG.M=SIT be.frightened=PRES
'He is frightened.'

Note that *ta* here cannot be treated as the situation-change marker. This is because the situation-change marker *ta* cannot occur with a valency-increasing marker (see §9.6). This is further demonstrated by the fact that such a sentence can have the negation marker. The situation-change marker never occurs with the negation marker (see §8.5.3), but the possessor-raising marker can.

(9.51) *Pui o=ta k=a soqoi=va.*
NEG 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL run.away=PRES
'He didn't run away from her.'

(9.52) *Pui a=da k=a nga=va.*
NEG 1SG=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL be.frightened=PRES
'I am not frightened by her.'

Thus *ta* here is the possessor-raising marker. The possessor-raising marker usually indicates that one of the arguments has a possessor relation to another argument (see §9.5). The possessor-raising marker here however does not have such a function. For example, (9.49-a) does not mean that 'we' and 'him' are in a possessor–possessee relationship. An occurrence of the possessor-raising marker here is simply due to the fact that the valency-increasing marker *a* requires the slot for the possessor-raising marker to be filled. As discussed in §8.2.1, both the possessor-raising and valency-increasing markers are constituents of a preverbal complex. This complex contains five slots which can be filled with certain kinds of morphemes. Valency-increasing markers always require the slot for object clitics to be filled, and when the valency-increasing marker *a* occurs with the function described in this section, it also requires another slot, one which precedes the slot for object clitics, to be filled. This is the slot for the possessor-raising marker. It is because of this that *ta*, the possessor-raising marker, occurs here.

9.5 Possessor-raising construction

A possessor-raising construction is defined as:

> [a] construction in which a semantic Possessor-possessed relation is expressed via coding the Possessor as a core grammatical relation of the verb, regardless of whether it is expressed as subject, direct object, or indirect object. (Payne 1997:395)

A Bilua possessor-raising construction consists of the possessor-raising marker *ta* and one of the valency-increasing markers attached with an object clitic. The valency-increasing marker here always promotes an argument. This argument is viewed as being in a possessor–possessee relationship, and the person/number/gender of the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker agrees with the person/number/gender of the possessor. Pragmatically, the possessor-raising construction indicates that the possessor is affected by an event involved with the possessee. Accordingly, the possessee can only be in an inalienable relationship with the possessor (see §4.3 for nouns which can be inalienably possessed).

Example (9.53-b) has two core arguments, 'they' and 'trees', which are cross-referenced on the VP by *ke* (3PL) and *k* (3SG.F.O) respectively. In this example, 'his chainsaw' is not an argument, as clearly indicated by a comitative postposition marking the NP *vo=ko chainsaw* (3SG.M=3sg chainsaw), and it is not cross-referenced on the VP. In (9.53-a) 'his chainsaw' is promoted to a core argument by the valency-increasing marker *ai*. The object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker agrees with the possessor 'his', rather than with the promoted argument itself 'his chainsaw', and is thus realised as *v* (3SG.M). The possessee alone is expressed by the NP *ko=a chainsaw* (3SG.F=LIG chainsaw). Thus, in (9.53-a) the argument 'his chainsaw' is expressed by a combination of the object clitic and the NP. This example expresses that the possessor 'his' is affected by an event of their cutting trees with the chainsaw, which belongs to him. Note that a chainsaw has a special significance for Vella La Vella island people and thus can be an inalienably possessed noun.

(9.53-a) *Ke=ta* *v=ai* *kobue=k=ala* *ko=a*
3PL=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL cut=3SG.F.O=RCP 3SG.F=LIG

chainsaw.
chainsaw
'They cut [trees] with his chainsaw.'

(9.53-b) *Ke=kobue=k=ala* *vo=ko* *chainsaw* *kale.*
3PL=cut=3SG.F.O=RCP 3SG.M=3SG.F chainsaw with
'They cut [trees] with his chainsaw.'

In (9.53-a), the possessor 'his' and the possessee 'chainsaw' cannot be treated as separate arguments. If that were the case, it would mean that there are four arguments in this example, 'they', 'trees', 'his', and 'chainsaw' and accordingly there should be four bound pronouns, agreeing with each of these four arguments. However, there are only three bound pronouns indicating there are only three arguments, which are 'they', 'tree', and 'his chainsaw'.

In (9.53-a), the valency-increasing marker *ai* introduces an argument with the semantic role of instrument. In combination with the possessor-raising marker, the valency-increasing marker *a* always introduces an argument with the semantic role of possessor.

The comparison between (9.54-a) and (9.54-b) illustrates that in (9.54-a) the 'his' alone is the introduced argument, and 'all rubbish' is the original object. These two arguments are in a possessor–possessee relationship. Notice that unlike in (9.53-a), in (9.54-a) the possessor and the possessee do not form a single argument. Thus, there are three core arguments in (9.54-a): the subject, 'she', the object, 'all rubbish', and the added object 'he/his'. In this example, the possessee 'all rubbish' is treated as a body part of the possessor, as the rubbish is in the mouth of the possessor—the brother-in law of the possessor put the rubbish in his mouth and sealed the mouth.

(9.54-a) *...ko=ta v̲=a ngamu=k=a kiada=ma*
3SG.F=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES all=3SG.F

voti-voti...
REDUP-rubbish
'...she threw away all his rubbish...' (39-5-36)

(9.54-b) *Ko=ngamu=k=a kiada=ma voti-voti.*
3SG.F=throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES all=3SG.F REDUP-rubbish
'She threw away all rubbish.'

The following is another example in which the introduced argument has the semantic role of possessor and the possessor and the possessee do not constitute one argument. In this example, the verb is intransitive, but there are two core arguments—'my' and 'the son'—because of the valency increase. Example (9.55-a) expresses that the possessor, the mother, will be distressed if the possessee, the son, dies.

(9.55-a) *"Koe o=ta l̲=a vouv=ou vo=a meqora",*
INTJ 3SG.M=POSS 1SG.O=VAL die=FUT 3SG.M=LIG child
'"Oh, my son will die on me,"' (27-9-56)

(9.55-b) *"O=vouv=ou vo=a meqora".*
3SG.M=die=FUT 3SG.M=LIG child
'"The son will die."'

The possessor-raising marker *ta* can occur with any valency-increasing markers. The following is an example with *ati*. In example (9.56), there are two core arguments, the original argument, the subject, 'they', and the introduced argument, the object, 'his boot', with the semantic role of accompaniment. The object clitic agrees with the possessor 'his'.

(9.56) *...ke=ta v̲=ati soqoi=va.*
3PL=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL run.away=PRES
'...they ran away with his [boots].' (16-6-77)

With a possessor-raising construction, 'the Possessor may or may not be simultaneously expressed by a pronoun, clitic, or affix internal to the NP which contains the possessed item' (Payne 1997:395). In example (9.57), the possessor is expressed by a bound pronoun, a possessor marker, in the NP *o=loilo* (3SG.M=face) 'his face', in which 'face' is the possessee. This NP is a direct type of a possessive NP (see §7.3 for structures of possessive NPs).

(9.57)	*...ko=ta*	*v=ai*	*sivoez=a*	*o=loilo...*
	3SG.F=POSS	3SG.M.O=VAL	urinate=PRES	3SG.M=face

'...she urinated on his face...' (43-5-53)

9.6 Summary

In the sections above, the valency of verbs and valency-changing mechanisms in Bilua were described. The valency-increasing construction functions to introduce a new core argument. With argument promotion, affectedness of one of the arguments, often the introduced argument, is highlighted, and the affected argument is cross-referenced on the VP by the object clitic attached to the valency-increasing marker. The valency-increasing construction may also be employed so that a non-human referent can be expressed by a pronoun. Here, it promotes a non-argument to a core argument but it does not function to highlight the affectedness of an argument.

Valency-increasing markers do not occur with the situation-change marker *ta* (see §8.5.3. This is because *ta* highlights the change of situation instead of the affectedness of an argument. One clause cannot highlight both. That is, there is complementary distribution here; the situation-change marker *ta* highlights the change of situation, while valency-increasing markers highlight the affectedness of an argument. Example (9.58) below highlights the new situation that the war is here, and thus it has the situation-change marker.

(9.58)	*...ko=a*	*kana*	*ta*	*lula*	*ko=ta*	*amaqe=la*	*anime*
	3SG.F=LIG	war	TOP	already	3SG.F=SIT	enter=RCP	1PL.INC
	kasi...						
	at						

'...the war has already entered into our area...' (22-7-30)

When the sentence is one that highlights the affectedness of an argument, it will be one in the valency-increasing construction.

(9.59)	*Ko=a*	*kana*	*ta*	*lula*	*ko=m=ai*	*amaqe=a.*
	3SG.F=LIG	war	TOP	already	3SG.F=1PL.O=VAL	enter=PRES

'The war has already entered into our area (the war has already come to us).'

Transitive verbs on their own highlight the affectedness of an argument with the semantic role of patient, while intransitive/transitive verbs accompanied by a valency-increasing marker can highlight the affectedness of an argument with various other kinds of semantic role. A valency-increasing marker may co-occur with the possessor-raising marker, and this highlights the affectedness of a participant with the semantic role of possessor.

This concludes the description of valency and transitivity in Bilua. The next chapter deals with adjuncts.

10 *Adjuncts*

10.1 Postpositional phrases

This chapter presents a description of adjuncts, but first a brief description of postpositional phrases (PPs) is presented, as PPs typically function as adjuncts and there is no chapter/section which deals with a description of PPs elsewhere in this work.

The head of a postpositional phrase is a postposition, and this governs an NP or a locational/temporal phrase (see below). Postpositions in Bilua are as follows, repeated from §5.7. There is also a complex postposition of reason *kale avo* 'because of'.

locative	*kasi* and *kale*
vicinity	*vasi*
ablative	*azo*
temporal	*keru*
comitative	*sate*
benefactive	*kaqe*
privative	*pide*
similative	*jari*

Two locative postpositions, *kasi* and *kale,* are also realised as *asi* and *ale*. In the data *asi* occurs only when it follows a noun *pade* 'house' or a pronominal enclitic *mu*, but *kasi* can also follow these. Therefore, *kasi* is considered to be the basic form. Both *kale* and *ale*, on the other hand, occur with any nouns. Furthermore, *kale/ale* may also be realised as a clitic *le* when the preceding word ends with *a* or when it follows a nominalised verb.

(10.1) *...a=qaka=ko* *lezu* *melai* *ikoana* *ko=a*
1SG=elder.sibling=3SG.F head too EXT.SG.F 3SG.F=LIG

mola=le.
canoe=in
'...my older sister's head too was on the canoe.' (25-5-36)

It is not the case, however, that *le* is always chosen after a word ending with *a* or a nominalised verb. Sometimes when the preceding word ends with *a*, *kale* is used, but never *ale*, or when the preceding word is a nominalised verb, both *kale* and *ale* can be used. There appears to be no criterion which determines which of *kale* and *ale* is the basic form. However, since *kasi* is considered to be the basic form between *kasi* and *asi*, one might say that between *kale* and *ale*, *kale* is the basic form.

The ablative postposition *azo* and the postposition of vicinity *vasi* are distinguished from all other postposition, which can only govern NPs. *Azo* can govern any temporal and locational phrase, while *vasi* can govern any locational phrase. Temporal and locational phrases can be a PP headed with a locative postposition, a temporal/locational adverb, or a temporal/locational NP (see §10.3 and §10.4). A PP headed with *vasi* itself is also a locational phrase.

PPs headed with all postpositions except similative *jari* 'like' can function as adjuncts, as described below. PPs headed with *jari* can function as complements of the verb *iko* 'to cause' (see §8.7.3) or a non-verbal predicate (see §11.2). The word *jari* can also function as a general modifier (see §10.10 below).[64] A PP may also function as an NP modifier (see §7.2.1.3.1).

10.2 Introduction

As defined in §3.2.2, adjuncts are peripheral components of clauses, and they take the form of an NP, a PP, an adverb, the negation marker, a general modifier, or an adverbial clause. This chapter presents a description of NPs, PPs, adverbs, and general modifiers as adjuncts. The negation marker is described in §3.2.2 and §11.5. Adverbial clauses are described in §12.4.

Bilua adjuncts can be divided into different semantic types. The following table sets out different semantic types of adjuncts in Bilua and constituents which can function as each semantic type.

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[64] It may be postulated that the morpheme *jari* is categorised as just a general modifier, and not as a postposition as well. The following example, however, illustrates that *jari* can govern an NP and can also be a postposition. In this example, *jari* governs an NP *ngo=ko zaloni* 'your ornament', and the postpositional phrase *ngo=ko zaloni jari* 'your ornament-like' functions as a modifier in a modifier phrase. This modifier phrase modifies the head of the NP *zaloni* 'decoration'.

[[*ngo=ko*	*zaloni*]$_{\text{NP}}$	*jari*]$_{\text{PP}}$=*a=ma*	*zaloni*
2SG=3SG.F	ornament	SIM=LIG=3SG.F	ornament

'ornaments like your ornaments'

Table 10.1: Semantic types of adjuncts and constituents

Semantic types of adjuncts	Constituents
locational	• locational adverbs • NPs headed with a locational noun • PPs headed with *kasi*, *kale*, or *vasi*
temporal	• NPs headed with a temporal noun • PPs headed with *kale*, *keru* • temporal adverbs
ablative	• PPs headed with *azo*
manner	• manner adverbs
linking	• linking adverbials
circumstantial	• circumstantial adverbs
restrictive	• general modifier *pala* 'only'
similative	• general modifier *jari* 'something like'
simultaneous	• PPs headed with *kale*
instrumental	• PPs headed with *kale*
comitative	• PPs headed with *sate*
privative	• PPs headed with *pide*
benefactive	• PPs headed with *kaqe*
reason	• PPs headed with *kale avo*

Each semantic type of adjuncts is described below. One clause may have more than two adjuncts, and these occur in a certain order. The order of adjuncts is also described below.

10.3 Locational

Locational adjuncts can be a locational adverb, an NP headed with a locational noun, or a PP headed with a postposition *kasi* 'at', *kale* 'in', or *vasi* 'adjacent to'. These constituents are referred to as locational phrases, and they can all be the predicate of a locational clause as well (see §11.3).

As set out in §4.3, open subclasses of nouns are divided into two types: locational nouns and non-locational nouns. An NP headed with a locational noun can function as a locational adjunct by itself, while an NP headed with a non-locational noun requires a postposition in order to function as a locational adjunct.

10.3.1 Locational adverbs

Locational adverbs, two deictic adverbs *koi* 'here' and *sai* 'there', and an indefinite locational adverb *uki* 'somewhere there', and a distance adverb *vanga* 'far', function as locational adjuncts.

(10.2) *Se ta ke=pazo-kini=e sai.*
3PL TOP 3PL=hit-RECP=RMP there
'They fought there.' (12-9-85)

(10.3) *"Uki nio ngo=ba tare=k=ou...*
somewhere.there FOC.NONF 2SG=PROS wait=3SG.F.O=FUT
'"Somewhere there you will go and wait...' (2-5-31)

(10.4) *Qo=ta ol=a vanga...*
3DU=SIT go=PRES far
'The two went far...' (59-6-47)

The word *koi* also functions as a locational noun meaning 'place' (see next section). Unlike *koi* 'place' as a noun, *koi* 'here' as a deictic adverb cannot be the head of an NP and forms a phrase on its own. Thus, unlike a noun *koi* 'place' it cannot co-occur with an optional constituent of NPs. In example (10.5) *koi* can only be treated as a noun, 'place', as it is modified by a modifier phrase. *Koi* in example (10.6) on the other hand can only be treated as an adverb 'here' — treating it as a noun results in a semantic idiosyncrasy.

(10.5) *...sai ta ile-ile=a koi...*
there TOP REDUP-beautiful=LIG place
'...that was a beautiful place...'(26-12-68)
'*...that was a beautiful here...'

(10.6) *Anga ta koi.*
1SG TOP here
'I am here.'
'*I am place.'

10.3.2 Locational NPs

An NP headed with a locational noun, that is a placename, a relational noun, or the noun *koi* 'place', can function as a locational adjunct.

(10.7) NP headed with a placename
...vo ta o=vou=vi sai Fiji.
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=die=RMP there Fiji
'...he, he died there in Fiji.' (12-8-80)

(10.8) NP headed with a relational noun

...o=koit=a *ko=a* *okate.*
3SG.M=climb=PRES 3SG.F=LIG high
'...he climbed that high (high up on the tree).' (48-3-26)

(10.9) NP headed with *koi* 'place'

...se *ta* *ke=vae=k=ake* *kiada=ma* *piza* *omadeu*
3PL TOP 3PL=leave=3SG.M.O=HIST all=3SG.F bone one

koi.
place
'...they left all bones at one place.' (26-24-131)

10.3.3 Locational PPs

A PP headed with a postposition, *kasi*, *kale,* or *vasi* functions as a locational adjunct. *Kasi* and *kale* are locative postpositions, and *vasi* is a postposition of vicinity. *Kale* can mark not only a spatial location but also a temporal location. Thus, a PP headed with *kale* can also function as a temporal adjunct (see §10.4.3). It can also function as an adjunct which presents a simultaneous situation, or as an instrumental adjunct (see §10.11 and §10.12).[65]

Kasi and *kale* only govern an NP headed with a non-locational noun. *Vasi* 'adjacent to', on the other hand, governs any locational phrase—a PP headed with *kasi* or *kale*, a locational NP, or a locational adverb.

10.3.3.1 Kasi *'at' and* kale *'in'*

Each of *kasi* 'at' and *kale* 'in' governs NPs headed with certain kinds of non-locational nouns. *Kasi* can govern an NP headed with a personal name, a kinship term, an independent pronoun, a demonstrative, or a human common noun. That is, it governs an NP which has a human referent. *Kasi* can also govern an NP headed with a concrete common noun such as *kiti* 'leg' and *ore* 'tree'.

(10.10) Personal name

Hilda *kasi* *a* *ev=e.*
Hilda at 1SG stay=RMP
'I stayed at Hilda's.'

(10.11) Kinship term

Aniqe *ta* *lea* *ta* *qe=pa* *barol=o*
1DU.INC TOP tomorrow TOP 1DU.INC=PROS arrive=NRFUT

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[65] Manner adverbs appear to have originated in postpositional phrases headed with *le*, a contracted form of *kale*. This is discussed in §5.2.

anga=ko mama ni niania kasi saita.
1SG=3SG.F father and mother at first
'We, tomorrow, we will reach my father and mother, first.' (27-17-104)

(10.12) Independent pronoun
...koi ngo kasi a=da raneo=vou.
here 2SG at 1SG=SIT sleep.overnight=FUT
'...here at your place I will sleep overnight.' (59-11-90)

(10.13) Demonstrative
A=da rane=la vo kasi.
1SG=SIT sleep.overnight=RCP 3SG.M at
'I slept overnight at his place.'

(10.14) Human common noun
...pui qe=rurukao=vou maba madu kasi...
NEG 3DU=relax=FUT person COLL.PL at
'...you will not relax at/with people...' (27-21-131)

(10.15) Non-spatial common noun
...ko=kue=va ko niuniu vo=ko potu=a=ma
3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F fish 3SG.M=3SG.F wound=LIG=3SG.F

kiti kasi.
leg at
'...fish came to his wounded leg.' (24-6-69)

Kale can govern an NP which has a large area as a referent; that is, an NP whose head is *peuru* 'village/home town', *udu* 'island', *toupa* 'lake', or *siqo* 'bush'. It can also be an NP whose head is an abstract noun such as *kerukeru* 'thought'. An abstract noun can be a de-adjectival noun such as *tapata* 'hardship' and *duki* 'sad', or a nominalised verb such as *pazokinio* 'fight' and *saevo* 'life'.

(10.16) Common noun of large area
Vo ta o=beta papu=a toupa kale...
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES lake in
'He was sitting in a lake...' (24-5-62)

(10.17) Abstract common noun
Ango=ko keru-keru kale anga ta
1SG=3SG.F REDUP-thought in 1SG TOP

a=qeru-kerue=k=a.
1SG=REDUP-think=3SG.F.O=PRES
'In my thinking, I thought about it.' (12-9-86)

(10.18) Abstract common noun (de-adjectival noun)
Vo ta o=vae=m=ake duki kale
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=leave=3PL.O=HIST sadness in

o=tou-tou *ni* *o=meqorasaidi.*
3SG.M=REDUP-tribe and 3SG.M=family
'He left his tribe and his family in sadness.' (23-3-35)

(10.19) Abstract common noun (nominalised verb)
Nge *elo=u* *enge=ko* *saev=o* *kale.*
1PL.EXC stay=FUT 1PL.EXC=3SG.F survive=NOM in
'We will stay in our life.' (64-4-24)

In examples (10.11) and (10.15) above and also (10.22) and (10.23) below, the entity marked with a locative postposition is a goal. This interpretation is due to the semantics of their respective verbs; goals are part of the semantic representation of verbs.

NPs headed with a noun which refers to a small area, such as *kiaro* 'garden' or a three dimensional space (a building or a container), such as *pade* 'house' and *sope* 'shrine', can be the object of both *kasi* and *kale.*

(10.20) Common noun of three dimensional place (building) with *kasi* 'at'
...qo=baro=a *ke=pade* *kasi...*
3DU=arrive=PRES 3PL=house at
'...they arrived at their house...' (24-4-35)

(10.21) Common noun of three dimensional place (building) with *kale* 'in'
...o=beta *butai=va* *inio* *pade* *kale...*
3SG.M=CONT hide=PRES FOC.NONF house in
'...he kept hiding in the house...' (59-6-45)

(10.22) Common noun of small area with *kasi* 'at'
...niania=ka=ma *ko* *ol=a* *kiaro* *kasi...*
mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F go=PRES garden at
'...the mother went to the garden...' (27-2-13)

(10.23) Common noun of small area with *kale* 'in'
...aniqe *ta* *qe* *ol=a* *kiaro* *ale,*
1DU.INC TOP 1DU.INC go=PRES garden in
'...we went to the garden,' (39-1-4)

Notice that in (10.22) and (10.23), an NP headed with *kiaro* 'garden' is marked with *kasi* 'at' and *kale* 'in' respectively, and it expresses a goal of the same verb *zio* 'to go' in both examples. Example (10.23) does not mean that the subject went 'into' the garden. The postpositional phrase simply indicates a goal.[66]

The distributions of *kasi* and *kale* are summarised in the following table.

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[66] There may be a subtle semantic difference here, but the author has not been able to find it from the data or elicitation.

Table 10.2: Distribution of *kasi* and *kale*

Type of head of NP		Postposition
Type I	• person names • kinship terms • demonstratives • human common nouns • non-spatial concrete common nouns	*kasi*
Type II	• common nouns of large area • abstract common nouns (including de-adjectival nouns and nominalised verbs)	*kale*
Type III	• common nouns of small area • common nouns of three dimensional place (buildings and containers)	*kasi* and *kale*

With speech verbs, a locative PP headed with *kasi* 'at' presents an addressee. Thus, *kasi* can also mark an entity with the semantic role of addressee.

(10.24) *"Qe=kil=ou nio qe=tauve=l=ou"*
2DU=come=FUT SEQ 2DU=help=1SG=FUT

k=i=ko=ve ko=ko meqora kasi.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP 3SG.F=3SG.F child at
'"You will come and help me", she said to her daughter.' (27-20-122)

When the predicate implies an entry, *kale* can be interpreted as 'into', as in the following example.

(10.25) *...o=pa raibi=k=a ko=a duruo kale.*
3SG.M=PROS pour=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG string.bag in
'...he went and poured them into a string bag.' (2-4-22)

Kale can also mean 'on (top of)' or indicate physical contact, and *kale* can then co-occur with nouns of Type I as well as of Type II.

(10.26) *Kale* 'on' with a non-spatial common noun (Type I)
...o=turoe=k=a o=lezu kale...
3SG.M=strike=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=head on
'...he struck it against his head...' (59-2-20)
(more literally '...he struck it on his head...')

(10.27) *Kale* 'on' with a common noun of large area (Type II)
Miduku kale ko=papu=vou...
ground on 3SG.F=sit=FUT
'It will sit on the ground...' (2-6-33)

With common nouns of three dimensional place (Type III), *kale* can only mean 'in', and a relational noun *topi* 'on' is used instead of *kale* for 'on' or a physical engagement.[67] Note that relational nouns are becoming postpositions and may follow an NP in present Bilua (see §4.3.5). This is the case in the following example.

(10.28) *Ke=papue=v=e* *komi=a* *jari* *topi.*
3PL=sit=3SG.M.O=RMP PROX.SG.F=LIG copra.house on
'They sat him on this copra house.' (43-2-19)

As mentioned above, *toupa* 'lake' belongs to Type II and can occur only with *kale* 'in'. There is no expression for 'to be at the lake', but instead one can say 'to be at water', using an NP headed with *ju* 'water'. *Ju* means 'water' in general, and it can refer to a river, a stream, a lake etc. *Ju* 'water' belongs to Type III, and an NP headed with *ju* 'water' can be marked by both *kasi* 'at' and *kale* 'in'.

(10.29) *...ko=baro=a* *sai* *ju* *kasi...*
3SG.F=arrive=PRES there water at
'...she arrived there at the water...' (27-22-142)

(10.30) *Vo* *ta* *ju* *kale* *o=vae=k=a.*
3SG.M TOP water in 3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He left it in the water.' (2-1-4)

An NP headed with a non-locational noun is obligatorily marked with a locative postposition when it is used with a locational sense. This applies even when an NP is marked with another postposition, such as the postposition of vicinity *vasi* 'adjacent to' or the ablative postposition *azo* 'from'. Thus, *vasi* and *azo* can govern a locative PP (see §10.3.3.2 and §10.5).

10.3.3.2 Vasi *'adjacent to'*

As noted above, *vasi* 'adjacent to' can govern any kind of locational phrase. A PP headed with *vasi* 'adjacent to' refers to the vicinity of the area described by the governed phrase. The following is an example of *vasi* governing an NP headed with a locational noun.

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[67] When *topi* 'on' indicates physical contact, it can also follow an NP headed with a non-spatial common noun. That is, with an NP headed with a non-spatial common noun, physical contact can be indicated by either the postposition *kale* or the relational noun *topi*. In the following example, *topi* 'on' indicates physical contact between an axe and a hand.

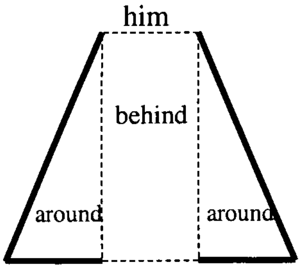
...puli=a=ma *maja* *enge=ko* *ngase* *topi...*
NEG=LIG=3SG.F axe 1PL.EXC=3SG.F hand on
'...there is no axe on our hand...'

Topi is a relational noun, not a postposition. Like other relational nouns, it occurs as the possessee of an indirect type of possessive NP (see §4.3.5 for relational nouns).

(10.31)	*...vo*	*ta*	*tova*	*vasi*	*inio*
	3SG.M	TOP	behind	adjacent.to	FOC.NONF

o=lilit=a...
3SG.M=look.back=PRES
'...he looked back at the area adjacent to behind [him]...' (28-4-33)

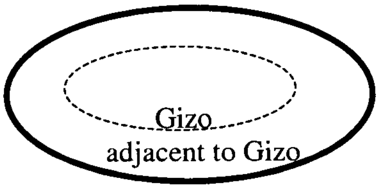
In the example above, the area referred to is not right behind him but the area surrounding it. The following diagram illustrates the area *tova vasi* 'the area adjacent to behind him' refers to. In diagrams given in this section, the dotted line indicates the area covered by a governed constituent and between the dotted line and the bold line is the area covered by a PP headed with *vasi* 'adjacent to'. For example in the following diagram, the dotted line indicates the area covered by *tova* 'behind', while the area between the dotted line and the bold line marks the area covered by a PP *tova vasi* 'the area adjacent to behind him'.



The following is an example of *vasi* governing a PP headed with a locative postposition.

(10.32)	*Ke=ta*	*ol=ala*	*Gizo*	*udu*	*kale*	*vasi.*
	3PL=SIT	go=RCP	Gizo	island	in	adjacent.to

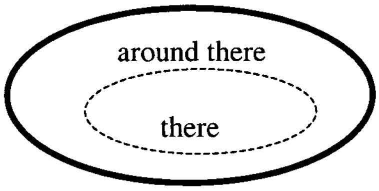
'They went to the area adjacent to Gizo island.'



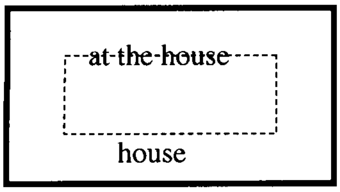
In (10.33), *vasi* governs a deictic adverb *sai* 'there'. *Sai* 'there' and *vasi* 'adjacent to' are contracted into *savasi.*

(10.33)	*...vo*	*ta*	*sa-vasi*	*kuleto.*
	3SG.M	TOP	there-adjacent.to	first

'...he was around there (that place) first.' (15-4-37)



Vasi 'adjacent to' does not govern an NP which can be marked with a locative postposition *kasi* 'at', as *kasi* refers to immediate vicinity itself as well as the area expressed by the governed NP. For example, *pade kasi* 'at the house' indicates the area within the bold line in the following diagram. The dotted line indicates the area of the house.[68]



10.4 Temporal

A temporal adverb, an NP headed with a temporal noun or a relational noun *tova* 'behind', or a PP headed with a postposition *kale* or *keru* can function as a temporal adjunct. These are categorised as temporal phrases.

NPs headed with all temporal nouns except for *taku* 'time' function as a temporal adjunct without postpositionally marked. An NP headed with a temporal noun *taku* 'time' may optionally be marked with a postposition.

10.4.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs function as temporal adjuncts. The list of temporal adverbs is given in §5.2. All temporal adverbs except for *lula* 'already', *mainio* 'later', and *sipole* 'soon' can occur either before or after the predicate. The aforementioned temporal adverbs always occur before the predicate.

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[68] *Vasi* and *kasi* are similar in their forms and they both mean something like 'the vicinity'. It may be postulated then that they are different realisations of a postposition of vicinity. Incidentally, the first consonants of each of *vasi* and *kasi*, *v* and *k*, are identical with third person singular masculine and feminine object clitics respectively, and this might suggest that *vasi* and *kasi* are masculine and feminine forms respectively. However, there appears to be no syntactic motivation why there should be different forms for only this type of postposition. Furthermore, if *vasi* and *kasi* were masculine and feminine forms, it is expected that they would agree in gender with the governed NP, but this proves to be not true. *Kasi* is always the form that marks a personal name regardless of whether it is a male or female name.

(10.34) *...vairutu ngo=didie=k=a anga=ko pesi-pesi...*
now 2SG=listen=3SG.F.O=PRES 1SG=3SG.F REDUP-story
'...now you are listening to my story...' (10-18-151)

(10.35) *...qo=pa v=el=ou lea...*
3DU=PROS 3SG.M.O=see=PRES tomorrow
'...the two will go and see him tomorrow...' (26-6-34)

(10.36) *lula o=ta vou=la...*
already 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES
'He has already died...' (16-6-83)

10.4.2 Temporal NPs

NPs headed with a temporal noun or a relational noun *tova* 'behind' can function as temporal adjuncts. The following are examples of an NP headed with a temporal noun.

(10.37) *...so inio nioqa=ko saev=o kiada=ma taku.*
that FOC.NONF 3DU=3SG.F survive=NOM all=3SG.F time
'...that was the life of the two all the time.' (27-3-18)

(10.38) *...o=ta marong=a kubo nganiu...*
3SG.M=SIT sleep=PRES many day
'...he slept for many days...' (27-4-24)

It is mentioned in the next section that the NPs *koa taku* 'that time' and *komia taku* 'this time' may be marked with a postposition *kale* or *keru*. Other NPs headed with *taku*, for example *kiadama taku* 'all the time' as in (10.37), cannot be marked with any postposition.

In (10.39) below, the head of the underlined temporal NP is *taku* 'time'. This is modified by a modifier phrase, *kevadomukoama* 'one (the time) which they planned' (see §7.2.1.3.1 for modifier phrases), in which the modifying constituent is a future clause and the future tense marker *ou* is realised as *o*. Note that here the future tense marker, not a past tense marker, is employed even though the situation of planning occurred in the past. This is because the time set up by the plan itself is situated in the future.

(10.39) *Ko=barol=ou ko=a taku*
3SG.F=arrive=FUT 3SG.F=LIG time

ke=vadomu=k=o=a=ma inio ke=k=ati
3PL=plan=3SG.F.O=FUT=LIG=3SG.F FOC.NONF 3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL

padoil=ou ko sailao.
gather=FUT 3SG.F food
'It is when the time they have planned (to have a wedding) arrives that they will gather with food.' (21-4-24)

When a temporal NP is headed with *tova* 'behind', it is always a possessive NP. A possessive NP headed with *tova* 'behind' means 'after such and such time', where 'such and such time' is expressed by a possessor NP (see §7.3.2). It may be said that a relational noun *tova* 'behind' is becoming a postposition meaning 'after'.

(10.40) *Se=ko tova inio ko ta ko=ta*
3PL=3SG.F behind FOC.NONF 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=SIT

nabul=a ko risu.
bake=PRES 3SG.F crab
'It was after them (after they went), she baked a crab.' (48-1-8)

10.4.3 Temporal PPs

A PP headed with *keru* or *kale* can function as a temporal adjunct. *Keru* can govern an NP headed with a numeral referring to a year and the pronoun *so* 'that', or an NP *koa taku* 'that time' or *lulama taku* 'past'. *Keru* is optional when its governed NP is headed with *taku* 'time', and the NP by itself can function as a temporal adjunct. *Keru* can also mark a clause, functioning as a subordinator (§12.4.1).

(10.41) *...kiada=ma quli ti ikoana ko=a taku keru.*
all=3SG.F thing TOP EXT.SG.F 3SG.F=LIG time TEMP
'...there was everything at that time.' (64-1-5)

(10.42) *Omadeu vuro siotolu paizana keru ta*
one thousand eight hundred TEMP TOP

komi=a udu kale ta puli=a=ma
PROX.SG.F=LIG island in TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F

pazo-kini=o.
hit-RECP=NOM
'In 1800, there was no fighting in this island.' (12-9-88)

Kale can govern only NPs *koa taku* 'that time' and *komia taku* 'this time', but like *keru* described above this *kale* is optional, and these NPs by themselves can function as temporal adjuncts (see §10.4.2 above).

(10.43) *Komi=a taku kale ta kubo quli ta ikoana*
PROX.SG.F=LIG time in TOP many thing TOP EXT.SG.F

komi=a Solomoni ailadi.
PROX.SG.F=LIG Solomon island
'In this time, there are many things in the Solomon Islands.' (64-2-8)

According to informants, when the governed NP is *koa taku* 'that time', the two postpositions *keru* and *kale* are interchangeable, and it appears that there is no semantic difference between *koa taku keru* and *koa taku kale.*

The distribution of *keru* and *kale* is summarised in the following table.

Table 10.3: Distribution of *kale* and *keru*

Type of NP	Postposition
Numerals referring to a year	*keru*
koa taku 'that time'	
the pronoun *so* 'that' which refers to a clause	
lula=ma taku (already=3SG.F time) 'past'	
koa taku 'that time'	*kale*
komia taku 'this time'	

Kale can also mark a possessive NP *ko=ko rane=o* (3SG.F=3SG.F sleep.overnight=NOM), forming an idiom *koko raneo kale.* This means 'the next day'.

(10.44) ...*ko=ko rane=o kale ti nioqa ta*
3SG.F=3SG.F sleep.overnight=NOM in TOP 3DU TOP

qo=koi=va.
3DU=go.up=PRES
'...the next day, they went up.' (59-4-32)

Keru forms an idiom with an adjective *kiada* 'all'; for example, *kiada keru* 'always/all the time'.

(10.45) ...*kiada keru aniqe ta qe ol=a kiaro ale...*
all TEMP 1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC go=PRES garden in
'...always, we, we go to the garden...' (24-8-83)

10.5 Ablative

The ablative postposition *azo* 'from' governs a locational phrase, a temporal phrase, or an NP headed with a demonstrative. In addition to these, *azo* can also govern an interrogative *lai* 'where'.

Azo marks a source/origin when it governs a locational phrase or an interrogative *lai* 'where'.

(10.46) *Pujuavole anga ta a=q=ai bazut=a*
making.it short 1SG TOP 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL tell=PRES

ko=kue=vi=ma *vakapeuru* *ale* *azo...*
3SG.F=come=RMP=REL.F western.country in ABL
'Making it short, I am going to tell a story which came from a western country...' (10-14-121)

(10.47) *Koi* *kazo* *ke=rorao=va.*
here ABL 3PL=travel.through.bush=PRES
'From here they travelled through a bush.' (10-10-85)

(10.48) *Lai* *kazo* *inio* *ko=kue=va.*
where ABL FOC.NONF 3SG.F=come=PRES
'Where did she come from?' (59-3-25)

Azo marks a starting point of extension of time, when it governs a temporal phrase.

(10.49) *So* *keru* *azo* *inio* *kiada=mu* *ta* *ke=kue=vi*
That TEMP ABL FOC.NONF all=3PL TOP 3PL=come=RMP

Vonunu.
Vonunu
'From that time, everyone came to Vonunu.' (12-5-49)

Note that in (10.46) and (10.49), *azo* follows other postpositions. These postpositions cannot be omitted. *Azo* is the only postposition which can co-occur with another postposition.

The postposition *azo* is interpreted as 'of' when the demonstrative it governs refers to a group of people and when this ablative PP is followed by an indefinite pronoun.

(10.50) *Eqe* *azo* *kala* *inio* *koi* *o* *el=ou.*
1DU.EXC ABL INDEF.SG.M FOC.NONF here 3SG.M stay=FUT
'One from/of us will stay here.' (59-4-30)

10.6 Manner

There are several manner adverbs in Bilua as listed in §5.2. A manner adverb can be modified by an intensifier *matu* 'very'. A manner adverb can occur either before or after the predicate.

(10.51) *...taukavole* *ko=ta* *aer=a.*
quickly 3SG.F=SIT separate=PRES
'...it would separate quickly.' (34-1-9)

(10.52) *O=nokae=v=a* *matuvole.*
3SG.M=call=3SG.M.O=PRES loudly
'He called him loudly.' (12-7-71)

10.7 Linking

As noted in §5.2, linking adverbials indicate the successional relationship between one situation presented by the clause in which a linking adverbial occurs and another situation presented by the clause which precedes or follows this. They link two clauses semantically but not syntactically because they do not necessarily occur in a sentence consisting of two or more clauses. Thus, they are treated as a constituent of the clause and not as coordinators. The following is a list of linking adverbials repeated from §5.2.

sainio	'therefore/then'
soinio	'accordingly'
saitainio	'afterwards
saikazo	'following that'
sole	'that's why'

Except for *sole* 'that's why', linking adverbials all occur only before the predicate.

(10.53) *"Ki esa inio ko=beta siusiut=a inio,*
INTJ maybe FOC.NONF 3SG.F=CONT swim=PRES FOC.NONF

soinio pui ko=kue=va" k=i=ko=la.
accordingly NEG 3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Maybe, she is still swimming, accordingly, she hasn't come," said she.'
(27-23-151)

Sole 'that's why' can occur either before and or the predicate.

(10.54) *Sito ta matu piza=ka=la maba. Sole pui*
Sito TOP very strong=LIG=3SG.M person that's.why NEG

ke=rove=a noqoe=v=o.
3PL=can=PRES capture=3SG.M.O=NOM
'Sito was a very strong person. Because of that, they could not capture him.'
(12-7-64/65)

(10.55) *...se ta ke=ziaroli=oke, ako se=ko*
3PL TOP 3PL=mourn=HIS INTJ 3PL=3SG.F

maba=mu=ko piza se ta ke=k=e=ake
person=COLL.PL=3SG.F bone 3PL TOP 3PL=3SG.F.O=see=HIST

sole.
that's why
'They, they mourned, because they saw their people's bones.' (26-24-129)

Two linking adverbials *sainio* 'therefore' and *soinio* 'accordingly' may be used to mark significant points in the speaker's argumentation. In such a case, they take strong intonational stress. The speaker gives strong stress to a linking adverbial in order to warn the hearer that he/she is going to present a significant point of argumentation.

(10.56) *Komi=a* *Vella La Vella* *udu* *kale* *ta* *puli=a=ma*
3SG.F=LIG Vella La Vella island in TOP NEG=LIG=3SG.F

sailao *komi=a* *taku* *enge* *ta*
food 3SG.F=LIG time 1PL.EXC TOP

nge=madoe=k=a *melai* *pui* *nge=rove=a* *sole.*
1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=PRES but NEG 1PL.EXC=can=PRES that's.why

Soinio *ko=kue=va=ko* *taku* *kaitu=a=ma*
accordingly 3SG.F=come=PRES=REL.F time future=LIG=3SG.F

enge=ko *saev=o* *ta* *esa* *olaqua=vo*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F survive=NOM TOP maybe suffering=NOM

enge *ta* *nge=rove=a* *tu* *el=o.*
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=can=PRES IRR stay=NOM
'In this Vella La Vella island, we tried [to get food], but because we cannot [get it] there is no food this time. Accordingly, in the time which is coming, in the future, maybe our life will be a suffering one, we are likely to stay [in suffering].' (64-3-20~21)

10.8 Circumstantial

As set out in §5.2, circumstantial adverbs are a group of adverbs, which give surrounding information about the situation presented by the predicate and which are neither temporal nor locational. The following is a list of circumstantial adverbs repeated from §5.2:

muli	'altogether'
saita	'first' (this is done first)
maba	'truly'
esa	'maybe'
lula	'already'
mainio	'later'
kuleto	'first'
sipole	'soon'
mata/mati	'again'

Among circumstantial adverbs, some occur only before the predicate and others occur only after the predicate. An exception to this is *mata/mati* 'again', which can occur before or after the predicate.

(10.57)

Kiada	*keru*	*ti*	*ko*	*ikio*	*se=a*	*saidi=ko*	*saev=o.*
all	TEMP	TOP	3SG.F	FOC.F	3PL=LIG	family=3SG.F	survive=NOM

Nioqa	*ti*	*qo*	*ol=a*	*kiaro*	*kale...*
3DU	TOP	3DU	go=PRES	garden	in

Nioqa=vo	*mama*	*mati*	*o*	*ol=a*	*ju*	*kale*	*niuniu*
3DU=3SG.M	father	again	3SG.M	go=PRES	water	in	fish

vaili=k=o=le.
look.for=3SG.F.O=NOM=PURP
'All the time, that was their life. The two went to the garden... As for the father of the two, he went to the water (lake) again in order to look for fish.' (24-3-27~30)

(10.58)

Ni	*vo*	*ta*	*o=ta*	*ke=ve*	*mata*	*abu=le.*
and	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=SIT	go=RMP	again	fishNOM=PURP

'And, he went fishing as usual.' (24-3-34)

Esa 'maybe', *lula* 'already', *mainio* 'later', *kuleto* 'first', and *maba* 'truly' occur only before the predicate.

(10.59)

...maba	*uri=a*	*maqin=o*	*o=ta*	*ev=a...*
truly	good=LIG	be.full=NOM	3SG.M=SIT	become=PRES

'...truly he became nicely full...' (43-3-27)

Muli 'altogether' and *saita* 'first' occur only after the predicate.

(10.60)

Erisanga	*ta*	*kiada=mu*	*ta*	*ke*	*ev=a*
today	TOP	all=3PL	TOP	3PL	stay=PRES

keta=le	*muli*	*kiada=mu*	*Vella La Vella*	*maba*	*poso.*
edge=in	altogether	all=3PL	Vella La Vella	person	PL

'Today, everyone stays together at the coast, every one, Vella La Vella people.' (9-6-42)

Mata/*mati* means 'again' as in (10.61) below but this can be interpreted as 'as expected/as usual'. This is the case in example (10.58) above, in which it is suggested that this kind of situation customarily/repeatedly occurs. In (10.61), the context tells that the same situation occurred before, and thus *mata/mati* is simply interpreted as 'again'.

(10.61)

...o=pekao=va,	*o=dokol=a*	*mati*
3SG.M=dance=PRES	3SG.M=stop=PRES	again

o=pekao=va...
3SG.M=dance=PRES
'...he danced, he stopped, and then again he danced...' (26-12-67)

10.9 Restrictive

The general modifier *pala* 'only' has scope over the clause and thus functions as a restrictive adjunct. *Pala* 'only' can occur only after the predicate.

(10.62) *...me=q=ati vail=ou pala.*
1PL.INC=3SG.F.O=VAL look=FUT only
'...we will only look after her.' (59-9-74)

10.10 Similative

The general modifier *jari* 'like' has scope over the verbal predicate and thus functions as a similative adjunct. *Jari* 'like' can occur only after the predicate.

(10.63) *...ke=ta kule=a jari se=ko zaloni kale.*
3PL=SIT be.first=PRES SIML 3PL=3SG.F ornament in
'It was like they won with their ornaments.' (67-5-50)
(more literally '...It was like they were the first in their ornaments.')

The above example occurs in a discourse where different groups of people decorated with ornaments got together for a feast, and one group of people was wearing such beautiful ornaments that other people felt as if there was an ornament competition, and the beautifully ornamented group of people won the competition.

10.11 Simultaneous

A PP headed with locative *kale* can present a simultaneous situation. When a PP presents a simultaneous situation, the governed NP can have only a nominalised verb as its head, and *kale* is often contracted to *le* and cliticised to the preceding nominalised verb.

(10.64) *...o=pekao=va vo=ko tali=o kale...*
3SG.M=dance=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F walk=NOM in
'...he danced in his walk (he danced walking)...' (26-12-65)

(10.65) *Ko ta siu=le ju kale.*
3SG.F TOP swimNOM=in water in
'She was in water, in swimming (she was swimming).' (59-7-57)

Siule 'in swimming' and *ju kale* 'in water' in example (10.65) may be analysed as one postpositional phrase filled by two postpositional phrases in apposition. If so, both postpositional phrases refer to one and the same situation, not two different situations occurring simultaneously. There is no evidence which determines whether this is the case or not, and here it is treated as separate PPs.

10.12 Instrumental

The locative postposition *kale* can govern an NP which has a semantic role of instrument. This use is an extension of its locative marking function.

(10.66) *Ko=a* *niuniu* *ta* *pui* *tali* *kale* *inio*
3SG.F=LIG fish TOP NEG fishing.rod with FOC.NONF

o=k=o=a...
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
'As for the fish, it wasn't with a fishing rod he got them...' (24-6-65)

(10.67) *...ke=vinae=k=a* *qusini* *kale...*
3PL=tighten=3SG.F.O=PRES rope with
'...they tightened it with a rope...' (28-2-16)

10.13 Comitative

A PP headed with the comitative postposition *sate* 'with' presents a referent, either animate or inanimate, which accompanies some other referent.

(10.68) *Melai* *koi=za=mu* *ta* *ke* *ev=a* *Barakoma* *se=vo*
but here=LIG=3PL TOP 3PL stay=PRES Barakoma 3PL=3SG.M

lekasa *sate.*
chief COM
'But, people from here, they stayed in Barakoma with their chief.' (23-1-2)

(10.69) *...ko=a* *niania=ka=ma* *ta* *kora-korail=o* *sate*
3SG.F=LIG mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP REDUP-angry=NOM COM

inio *eri* *k=i=ko=la.*
FOC.NONF s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'...the mother said something like this in anger.' (24-9-88)

10.14 Privative

The privative postposition *pide* is the opposite of *sate* presented in the last section: a PP headed with *pide* presents a referent which does not accompany another referent.

(10.70) *Ko* *ol=ala* *zari-zari* *pide.*
3SG.F go=RCP REDUP-baggage PRIV
'She went without baggage.'

(10.71) *Ko=vait=ala* *meqora* *pide.*
3SG.F=return=RCP child PRIV
'She returned without [her] child.'

10.15 Benefactive

A PP headed with the benefactive postposition *kaqe* presents a beneficiary.[69]

(10.72) *A ere=k=ala ko mola vo kaqe.*
1SG make=3SG.F.O=RCP 3SG.F canoe 3SG.M BEN
'I made a canoe for him.'

(10.73) *A=m=ati vail=ala meqora poso titisa kaqe.*
1SG=3PL.O=VAL look=RCP child PL teacher BEN
'I looked after the children for the teacher.'

10.16 Reason

A PP headed with a complex postposition *kale avo* presents a reason. *Kale avo* governs an NP headed with *kio* 'saying/words' or a pronoun *so* 'that'.

(10.74) *Ngo ta gospel=ko k=i=o kale avo inio*
2SG TOP Gospel=3SG.F 3SG.F.O=say=NOM because.of FOC.NONF

koi vairutu...
here now
'You are here now because of the word of the Gospel...' (10-18-151)

(10.75) *Alil=o melai matu kubo se ta ke alil=a*
be.born=NOM also very many 3PL TOP 3PL be.born=PRES

ni enge=ko atatai melai matu kubo komi=a
and 1PL.EXC=3SG.F count also very many PROX.SG.F=LIG

taku so kale avo inio anga ta eri
time that because.of FOC.NONF 1SG TOP s.th.like.this

k=i=a=la...
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'The birth rate is also very high, [babies] are born, and our population is also very high this time; because of that I say something like this...' (64-3-22)

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[69] An expression like 'this is for you' is expressed by a (headless) possessive NP.

Komi ta ngo=ko.
PROX.SG.F TOP 2SG=3SG.F
'This is yours. (This is for you).'

In the above example, there is ellipsis of the possessee noun.

10.17 Order of adjuncts

A clause may have two unmarked adjuncts, unmarked by a topic or a focus marker, on the same side of the predicate. When this happens, they occur in a certain order according to their types. Different semantic types of adjuncts are divided into four groups according to the positions they take: manner/similative adjuncts, locational/temporal/ablative adjuncts, linking adjuncts, and other adjuncts.

When two adjuncts occur after the predicate, they occur in the order of: a manner/similative, locational/temporal/ablative, other, and linking adjuncts. When they both occur before the predicate, the order is reversed. That is, the distance between the predicate and each group of adjuncts is the same regardless of whether they occur before or after the predicate. This order reflects the semantic function of each type of adjunct. Adjuncts which present information more concerned about the situation presented by the predicate occur closer to the predicate. Manner/similative adjuncts present information about the predicate head and so they occur closest to the predicate, while linking adjuncts do not give any information about the predicate and so they occur furthest from the predicate. In (10.76), a locational adjunct precedes a circumstantial adjunct.

(10.76)	*...kiada=ma*	*maba*	*madu*	*se*	*ta*	*ke=soqoi=va.*
	all=3SG.F	person	COLL.PL	3PL	TOP	3PL=run.away=PRES

Ni	*ke=kue=va*	*Vonunu*	*muli.*
and	3PL=come=PRES	Vonunu	altogether
		locational adjunct	circumstantial adjunct

'...everyone, they ran away. And came to Vonunu altogether.' (12-5-42~43)

One circumstantial adverb, *mata/mati* 'again', is an exception. It occurs in any position. In (10.77), *mata* 'again' precedes a locational adjunct and takes a closer position than the locational adjunct.

(10.77)	*...ko=ta*	*koiv=a*	*mata*	*seqara*	*topi...*
	3SG.F=SIT	climb=PRES	again	betelnut	on
			circumstantial adjunct	locational adjunct	

'...she climbed to a top of the betelnut tree again...' (59-2-17)

In (10.78) *mata* 'again' occurs further from the predicate than the locational adjunct.

(10.78)	*...se*	*ta*	*mata*	*sai*	*ke=ta*	*ev=e...*
	3PL	TOP	again	there	3PL=SIT	stay=RMP
			circumstantial adjunct	locational adjunct		

'...they stayed there as usual...' (27-24-154)

This concludes the description of adjuncts. In the next chapter, different types of non-verbal clauses are described.

11 *Equational, locational, and existential clauses*

11.1 Introduction

As introduced in §3.3, the minimum constituents of non-verbal clauses are a subject NP marked with a topic marker and a predicate. The following is an example of a non-verbal clause.

(11.1)

Anga	*ta*	*titisa=lala.*
1SG	TOP	teacher=1SG
subject NP		predicate NP

'I am a teacher.'

This shows that a non-verbal clause typically has a topic-comment structure (see §14.2.2). A topic is what the sentence is about. The predicate of a non-verbal clause gives some information about the subject. Therefore, it is plausible that the subject is marked with a topic marker.

The subject NP or the predicate of a non-verbal clause can be a focus, marked by a focus marker. In such a case, the subject NP is not marked with a topic marker (see example (11.9) below). Furthermore, the predicate may be fronted and may precede the subject NP. In this case too, the subject NP is not marked with a topic marker (see example (11.12) below).

A non-verbal clause can have an optional constituent which functions as an adjunct, and this occurs clause-initially or -finally. Non-verbal clauses cannot have a grammatical specification of tense, but time can be specified by a temporal adjunct. A temporal adjunct is often marked with a topic or focus marker, as illustrated by the following example.

(11.2)

Puliako	*omadeu*	*vuro*	*siotolu*	*paizana*	*keru*
before	one	thousand	eight	hundred	TEMP
		temporal adjunct			

ta	*komi=a*	*udu*	*kale*	*ta*	*puli=a=ma*
TOP	PROX.SG.F=LIG	island	in	TOP	NEG=LIG=3SG.F
	subject NP				predicate NP

pazok-ini=o.
hit-RECP=NOM
'Before 1800, in this island, there was no fighting.' (12-9-88)

Non-verbal clauses can be divided into three types on syntactic and semantic grounds: equational (§11.2), locational (§11.3), and existential (§11.4). Each type of non-verbal clause has a different type of phrase as its predicate. The syntactic distinction between the three types of non-verbal clauses is neutralised in negative clauses. This is described in §11.5.

11.2 Equational clauses

The predicate of an equational clause can be an NP. The head of an NP can be any non-locational noun as in (11.3). Equational clauses express what the subject is.

(11.3) ...*vo* *ta* *siele*...
3SG.M TOP dog
subject NP predicate NP
'...he is a dog...' (27-7-48)

The predicate of an equational clause can also be a PP headed with the similative *jari* 'like'.

(11.4) *Komi* *ta* *pui* *muni* *jari*...
PROX.SG.F TOP NEG blood.stain SIM
subject NP predicate NP
'This is not like a blood stain...' (34-1-10)

The predicate NP always agrees with the subject NP in person. Thus, in example (11.5), in which the subject NP is first person, the predicate NP is marked as first person, and also singular, by a pronominal enclitic *lala* (1SG). In example (11.6), the subject NP is third person, and there is no occurrence of a pronominal enclitic since a common noun *dokita* 'doctor' is third person by default and does not require a special marking for the third person (see §7.4). Notice that in both examples, the predicate NP is non-referential as it denotes a category. Thus, in (11.5) the predicate NP is syntactically encoded as first person singular but semantically it is neutral to person, number, and gender distinction as it refers to a category.[70]

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[70] Also, as described §7.2.1.6, first/second person marking is obligatory in first/second person NP. In the following example, the predicate NP is co-referential with the subject NP and thus it is second person, and this triggers a second person marking by a pronominal enclitic on the predicate NP.

Ngo *ta* *matu=la* *lasiverusu=nga.*
2SG TOP big=3SG.M boy=2SG
subject NP predicate NP
'You are a big boy.'

(11.5) *Anga ta dokita=lala.*
1SG TOP doctor=1SG
'I am a doctor.'

(11.6) *Vo ta dokita.*
3SG.M TOP doctor
'He is a doctor.'

This pronominal enclitic is omitted when the predicate NP is a headless possessive NP, as illustrated by (11.7).

(11.7) ...*ngo ta enge=ko...*
2SG TOP 1PL.EXC=3SG.F
subject NP predicate NP
'...you are ours (our person)...' (59-9-64)

As illustrated by examples given above, the predicate of an equational clause is always an NP. In §7.2.1.3.1, an example was presented in which the predicate is just an adjective, but this is a result of ellipsis of the head of an NP as well as the head of an MP. The following example is repeated from §7.2.1.3.1.

(11.8) *Komi=a siele ta silo.*
PROX.SG.F=LIG dog TOP small
'This dog is a small one.'

In this example, the predicate is realised as *silo* 'small' as a result of ellipsis of the head of an NP, *siele* 'dog', and ellipsis of the head of an MP, a pronominal enclitic *ma* (3SG.F), which modifies the head of an NP. Thus the full realisation of this predicate is *silo=a=ma siele* (small=LIG=3SG.F dog) 'a small dog'. In this example, the head of an NP *siele* 'dog' is ellipsed first, as the head is recoverable from the subject NP *komi=a siele* 'this dog'. Then, the head of an MP is further ellipsed. In the data, there are not many examples in which the head of an MP is ellipsed and the predicate of an equational clause is realised as an adjective only.

11.3 Locational clauses

The predicate of locational clauses can be any locational phrase (see §10.3 for locational phrases). Locational non-verbal clauses describe the location of the subject NP.

(11.9) ...*ko=ko kolu ikio sai...*
3SG.F=3SG.F smoke FOC.F there
subject NP predicate AdvP
'...it was her smoke that was there.' (59-10-81)

(11.10) *Qe ta koi komi=a pade kasi.*
2DU TOP here PROX.SG.F=LIG house at
subject NP predicate AdvP predicate PP
'You are [staying] here at this house.' (43-1-3)

11.4 Existential clauses

Existential clauses describe an existence of an entity described by the subject NP. The predicate of an existential clause is always an existential marker. There are two types of existential markers: non-specific location existential markers which indicate the existence of an entity in a non-specific location, and distal existential markers which indicate the existence of an entity at some distance. Both types of existential marker inflect for number and gender. The following are the forms of each type of existential markers repeated from §5.10.

Table 5.8: Existential markers

Number/gender	Non-specific	Distal
singular masculine	*inevoana*	*une*
singular feminine	*ikoana*	*uko*
dual	*inioqiana*	*unioqa*
plural	*inisiana*	*uni*

Example (11.11) and (11.12) have a non-specific location existential marker and distal existential marker respectively.

(11.11) *So=a=ma bazu-bazu ta ikoana.*
that=LIG=3SG.F REDUP-story TOP EXT.SG.F
subject NP predicate
'There was that kind of story.' (10-8-67)

(11.12) *...o=koi=k=a, uko bare=ko epa,*
3SG.M=climb=3SG.F.O=PRES D.EXT.SG.F bare=3SG.F fruit
predicate subject NP

o=luap=ake sole.
3SG.M=be.hungry=HIST because
'...he climbed, fruits of bare tree were there, he was hungry, that was why [he climbed].' (47-2-9)

There are two factors which distinguish existential clauses from other types of non-verbal clauses. First, the subject can only be third person. Second, its predicate, the existential marker, shows agreement with the subject NP.

Existential clauses often contain a locational adjunct which presents the location of an existing entity.

(11.13)	*Kala*	*maba*	*ta*	*inevoana*	*anga*	*kasi.*
	INDEF.SG.M	person	TOP	EXT.SG.M	1SG	at
	subject NP			predicate	locative PP	

'There is a man with me.' (59-11-97)

When the existing entity is clear from the discourse, the subject NP, the NP referring to the existing entity, may be omitted.

(11.14)	...*inevoana*	|	*o=beta*	*teku=a.*
	EXT.SG.M		3SG.M=CONT	lie=PRES
	predicate			

'...he is there, he is lying.' (26-21-116)

(11.15)	...*ke=pa*	*lelepi=k=a*	*ta*	|	*ikoana*	*sai.*
	3PL=PROS	shake=3SG.F.O=PRES	and.then		EXT.SG.F	there
					predicate	

'...they shook it and there was food there.' (59-3-27)

Example (11.14) occurs in a discourse where people are talking about him, the existing entity. In the preceding discourse of (11.15) one day they found there was some food in their baskets when they returned from fishing. Next day, when they came back from fishing, they shook the basket to see whether there was some food in the basket again. Example (11.15) appears then. It is understood from the discourse that what exists is food.

The semantic distinction between existential clauses and locational clauses presented in the last section is not clear-cut. A locational clause inherently tells the existence of an entity by telling its location. On the other hand, an existential clause implies that there is a location where an entity exists, and so it often contains a locational adjunct. The fundamental difference between them is that in locational clauses the subject is talked about in terms of its location, while in existential clauses, it is talked about in terms of its existence. This difference is reflected on the type of the predicate in each type of clause.

11.5 Summary

Different types of non-verbal clauses are described above. They all have the same clause structure but their predicates are different, as summarised in the following table.

Table 11.1: Predicates of non-verbal clauses

Types of clause	Predicates
equational	NPs headed with a non-locational noun or a pronominal enclitic PPs headed with the similative *jari* 'like'
locational	locational phrases
existential	existential markers

Negative non-verbal clauses are all treated as equational clauses in terms of their predicate type; they always have an NP or a PP headed with *jari* as their predicates. However, there is a distinction between equational clauses on the one hand and locational and existential clauses on the other. In the first case, an equational clause can be negated by placing the negation marker *pui* between the topic marker and the predicate. The negation marker functions as an adjunct.

(11.16)

...*komi=a*	*bazu-bazulao*	*ta*	*pui*	*matu*
PROX.SG.F=LIG	REDUP-folktale	TOP	NEG	very

tuvevo=a=ma...
true=LIG=3SG.F

'...this folktale is not a very true one...' (27-1-1)

In the second case, in a negative locational or equational clause, the predicate is realised as a headless NP which contains a modifier phrase consisting of the negation marker and a pronominal enclitic. Example (11.17) expresses that the referent of subject NP does not exist in the location presented by a locational adjunct, and thus it is a negative locational clause, while (11.18) expresses non-existence of an entity and thus it is a negative existential clause.

(11.17)

...*kake*	*maba*	*madu*	*ta*	*puli=a=ma*	*ko=a*
INDEF.PL	person	COLL.PL	TOP	NEG=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.F=LIG

peuru	*kale,*
village	in,

'...some people were missing in the village,' (26-2-13)

(11.18)

Vo=ko	*taka*	*ta*	*lula*	*puli=a=ma...*
3SG.M=3SG.F	claw	TOP	already	NEG=LIG =3SG.F

'His claws were already gone...' (26-23-125)

This concludes the description of different types of non-verbal clauses. The next chapter describes different types of dependent clauses.

12 *Dependent clauses*

12.1 Introduction

Dependent clauses are clauses which cannot stand on their own. Their occurrence is dependent on a main clause, an independent clause. Following Thompson and Longacre (1985:172), Bilua dependent clauses can be divided into three types: relative clauses which function as an NP modifier, complement clauses which function as an argument, and adverbial clauses which function as a modifier of a VP or an entire proposition.

In Bilua dependent clauses, no constituent can be marked with a topic or a focus maker. Occurrences of aspectual/modal markers are very restricted in the VPs of dependent clauses.[71] These two factors distinguish dependent clauses from independent clauses. Furthermore, an independent clause is always finite, while a dependent clause can be either finite or non-finite. In a non-finite dependent clause, the verb is bound by a nominal derivational enclitic *o*, which marks non-finiteness.

Each type of Bilua dependent clause is described below: relative clauses (§12.2), complement clauses (§12.3), and adverbial clauses (§12.4). §12.5 presents a summary.

12.2 Relative clauses

12.2.1 Introduction

A relative clause in Bilua is marked with a relative clause marker on the VP. This relative clause may be embedded into an NP, modifying the head of that NP (headed relative clause; see §12.2.3). In example (12.1) below, two relative clauses modify the head *maba* 'person'. In this section relative clauses (RCs) and NPs which contain a relative clause are both marked by square brackets. The underline indicates the constituent which is modified by a relative clause. This constituent is referred to as 'object of relativisation'.

(12.1)	[*Kala*	*maba*	[*o=lilijio=vi=ni*$]_{\mathrm{RC}}]_{\mathrm{NP}}$	[*vo*
	INDEF.SG.M	person	3SG.M=convert=RMP=REL.NONF	3SG.M

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[71] This excludes *pa* which obligatorily occurs in a negated past clause (see §8.5.6). There is no restriction on this *pa* in dependent clauses.

sate *o* *ev=e=ni*]] *ta* *Daniela* *Bula.*
COM 3SG.M stay=RMP=REL.NONF TOP Daniel Bula
'One man who converted, the one who was staying with him, was Daniela Bula.' (10-9-79)

Example (12.1) is analysed as one relative clause filled by two relative clauses in apposition since both relative clauses have *maba* 'person' as their head.

The relative clause may also form an NP on its own (headless relative clause, see §12.2.4) as in example (12.2). In a headless relative clause, there is no overt object of relativisation, but a bound pronoun in the relative clause, that is, a pronominal proclitic or an object clitic, indicates the absent but understood referent by agreeing in person, number, and gender with it. In (12.2), this is indicated by the double underlined object clitic *k* (3SG.F).

(12.2) *A=q=ea=la* [*o=pazo=k=ala=ma*]$_{\text{RC/NP}}$.
1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.M=hit=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F
'I saw [the woman] whom he hit.'

A relative clause can be non-restrictive or restrictive. A non-restrictive relative clause presents additional information about an already identifiable referent. Headless relative clauses in Bilua, except for ones marked with a relative clause marker *vi* (REL), are always non-restrictive. A restrictive relative clause gives information essential to the identification of the referent of an NP. Without this information, the hearer would not be able to identify the referent. The first relative clause in example (12.1) above is a restrictive one. If the speaker just says *kala maba* 'one man', the hearer would not be able to identify which man the speaker is talking about. A headed relative clause can also be non-restrictive. In example (12.4) in the next section, the headed relative clause is non-restrictive, and the demonstrative *vo* (3SG.M) identifies the referent.

The tense of relative clauses in Bilua can only be present or past. A future clause forms a modifier phrase with a pronominal enclitic and this functions as an NP modifier (see §7.2.1.3.1). In the following example the NP is headless, and it contains a modifier phrase which consists of the future clause marked with a dotted underline, the pronominal enclitic *mu* (3PL), and the ligature *a* which links the future clause to the enclitic.

(12.3) [*Sai ke=zio=vo=a=mu*]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ta* *kake* *ta* *reko-reko...*
there 3PL=go=FUT=LIG=3PL TOP INDEF.PL TOP REDUP-woman
'As for people who will go there, some are women...' (21-9-54)

The main clause and the relative clause share a common argument. In (12.1), the common argument is 'man', and this is the subject of both main and relative clauses. In (12.2), the common argument is 'her', and this is the object of both main and relative clauses. Functions of common arguments are discussed in §12.2.5.

12.2.2 Structure of relative clauses

There are four relative clause markers: *ko* (REL.F), *ma* (REL.F), *ni* (REL.NONF), and *vi* (REL), which are enclitics and which attach to the right edge of the VP in relative clauses. *Vi* is used with a limited set of verbs and is described later in this section. *Ko*, *ma*, and *ni* are distributed according to the person/number/gender of an NP containing a relative clause and also according to the tense marker in the VP of a relative clause. *Ni* can be used only when the NP is not third person singular feminine. In a third person singular feminine NP, *ko* is used when the relative clause contains the present tense marker, while *ma* is used when it contains the recent/remote past tense marker. The distribution of *ko*, *ma*, and *ni* is summarised in the following table.

Table 12.1: Distribution of relative clause markers

Person/number/gender of NPs	Tense markers	
	present	recent and remote past
third singular feminine	*ko* (REL.F)	*ma* (REL.F)
non-third singular feminine	*ni* (REL.NONF)	

Above is the distribution for human referents. With non-human referents, either *ko* or *ma* is chosen depending on the tense marker in the relative clause.

It appears that these four relative clause markers historically have the same origin as some of Bilua inflectional pronouns. *Ko*, *ma*, *ni*, and *vo* are the third person singular feminine distal demonstrative, the third person singular feminine pronominal enclitic, the third person plural proximate demonstrative, and the third person singular masculine distal demonstrative respectively. Their distributions, however, show some differences: *ni*, as a pronoun, is third person plural, but as a relative clause marker, it is non-third person singular feminine. In §7.2.1.3.1, we saw that third person singular masculine and feminine forms of pronominal enclitic show a third person singular masculine vs. non-third person singular masculine distribution when they are the head of MPs. This distribution of the two third person singular forms also applies to demonstratives on possessor NPs (§7.3.2). Thus, with pronominal enclitics in MPs and demonstratives in possessor NPs, two third person singular forms are chosen and distributed. On the other hand, with relative clause markers, it is the third person singular feminine and third person plural forms that are in distribution, and they show a third person singular feminine vs. non-third person singular feminine distribution.[72] It is not all that clear why *vo*, which is the third person singular masculine distal demonstrative, is used with a limited set of verbs as a relative clause marker.

In example (12.4) the referent of the NP containing a relative clause is third person singular masculine, as indicated by the demonstrative *vo* (3SG.M), and so the VP of the relative clause is marked with *ni* (REL.NONF), which is the form employed for non-third person singular feminine. Example (12.5) contains two relative clauses. In the first instance, the referent of the NP containing a relative clause is third person singular feminine, as indicated by the demonstrative *ko* (3SG.F), and the verb in the relative clause has the present tense marker, and accordingly the relative clause is marked with *ko* (REL.F). This NP is the subject of a non-verbal clause and its predicate is expressed by the second relative clause, which is a headless relative clause. The subject NP and the predicate NP in this example are co-referential and so the predicate NP, which is realised as a headless relative clause, is also third person singular feminine. This relative clause contains a remote past tense marker, unlike the first relative clause. Accordingly, the relative clause is marked with *ma* (REL.F).

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[72] This distribution is in fact the same distribution as focus markers (§14.3.2), but focus markers are not pronouns.

(12.4) *Pujuo* *inio* [*vo=a* *maba* [*ko=a* *niabara*
Pujuo FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG person 3SG.F=LIG war.canoe

o=k=ati *ke=ve=ni*$]_{\text{RC}}]_{\text{NP}}$.
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL go=RMP=REL.NONF
'It was Pujuo, the man who went with the canoe.' (25-1-8)

(12.5) ...[*komi=a* *maba* [*anga=ko* *pesi-pesi* *ko=ta*
PROX.SG.F person 1SG=3SG.F REDUP-speech 3SG.F=POSS

l=a *k=o=a=ko*$]_{\text{RC}}]_{\text{NP}}$ *ta* [*ko=kue=vi=ma*
1SG.O=VAL 3SG.F=get=PRES=REL.F TOP 3SG.F=come=RMP=REL.F

Japani *azo*$]_{\text{RC/NP}}$.
Japan ABL
'...this person, who is taking my story, is one who came from Japan.'
(10-17-142)

The VP of a relative clause cannot contain aspectual/modal markers, but there is one exception to this. The VP of a headless relative clause may take the situation-change marker *ta* (see §12.2.4). Since the continuous marker cannot occur in a relative clause, a relative clause cannot present an on-going situation.[73]

Similar to an independent clause, a relative clause can be negated by placing a negation marker in front of the predicate, as in example (12.6). An NP modified by a relative clause itself can be negated when this is a non-verbal predicate, as in (12.7).

(12.6) *Komi* *ta* [*ko=a* *suma* [*pui* *a=ba*
PROX.SG.F TOP 3SG.F=LIG cloth NEG 1SG=PROS

tatabarae=k=ala=ma *ravi*$]_{\text{RC}}]_{\text{NP}}$.
buy=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F yesterday
'This is the cloth which I didn't buy yesterday.'

---

[73] To express a situation in which one saw someone doing something, two juxtaposed clauses are used, and the VP of the second clause takes the continuous marker (see §13.3).

(12.7)	*Komi*	*ta*	*pui*	[*ko=a*	*suma*	[*a=ba*
	PROX.SG.F	TOP	NEG	3SG.F=LIG	cloth	1SG=PROS

tatabarae=k=ala=ma	*ravi*]$_{RC}$]$_{NP}$.
buy=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F	yesterday

'This is not the cloth I bought yesterday.'

Notice that the VP of the relative clauses in both (12.6) and (12.7) contains the prospective marker *pa*. The prospective marker *pa* is obligatory in any negated clause in past tense, yet *pa* here does not carry any aspectual/modal function. In (12.7), even though the relative clause itself is not negated, since its head is negated, the VP of the relative clause contains the prospective marker.

Vo (3SG.M) as a relative clause marker can attach to only a few verbs: *viqo* 'to hear', *ereilo* 'to happen', and *kalo* 'to occur'. Relative clauses of this kind are always headless relative clauses and consist of the VP on its own. They always represent a story or an event—they mean 'something one heard', 'something which happened', and 'something which occurred'.

(12.8)	...[*a=q=ai*	*viq=e=vo*]$_{RC/NP}$	*komi=a*	*bazu-bazu*
	1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL	hear=RMP=REL	PROX.SG.F=LIG	REDUP-story

ta	*eri*	*nio.*
TOP	s.th.like.this	FOC.NONF

...something I heard, this story is something like this. (22-1-2)

(12.9)	...*ko*	*pui*	[*ko=pa*	*erei=vo*]$_{RC/NP}$	*ni*	*pui*
	3SG.F	NEG	3SG.F=PROS	happenRMP=REL	and	NEG

[*ko=pa*	*ka=e=vo*]$_{RC/NP}$.
3SG.F=PROS	occur=RMP=REL

'...it is not something which happened or which occurred.' (27-1-1)

12.2.3 Headed relative clauses

A headed relative clause may precede or follow the head it modifies. The position of the headed relative clause depends on whether the NP contains a determiner or not. When it does not contain a determiner, the relative clause precedes the head. In example (12.10), there is no determiner and the relative clause precedes the head.

(12.10)	[[*Ivangana*	*ke=k=ai*	*ere=k=a=ko*]$_{RC}$
	hook	3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL	make=3SG.F.O=PRES=REL.F

quli]]$_{NP}$	*ta*	*kile.*
thing	TOP	shell

'The thing with which they made a hook was a shell.' (28-1-7)

When the NP contains a determiner, the relative clause follows the head. This NP can also have other optional NP constituents, and all optional NP constituents including the determiner occupy the position they normally do. Determiners always take the NP initial position, as in examples (12.1), (12.4), (12.6) and (12.7), while a modifier may precede or follow the head. In example (12.11), a modifier *kiadama* 'all' follows the head and the relative clause follows this.

(12.11) ...*ke=bori=k=a* [*ko=a* *ore* *kiada=ma*
3PL=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG tree all=3SG.F

[*se* *ke=vae=k=e=ma*]$_{\mathrm{RC}}$]$_{\mathrm{NP}}$.
3PL 3PL=leave=3SG.F.O=RMP=REL.F
'...they$_i$ carried all the trees they$_j$ left.' (22-5-19)

When the head of a relative clause is a temporal noun or a locational noun *koi* 'here', the relative clause always precedes the head. When a relative clause modifies the head *koi* 'place' it is never marked with a pronoun, as in example (12.13). This is because a modifier of *koi* 'place' cannot have a morpheme that has a reference to a person/number/gender (see §7.2.2.4). The clause here is regarded as a relative clause because of its modifying function.

(12.12) [[*Ko=kue=va=ko*]$_{\mathrm{RC}}$ *taku*]$_{\mathrm{NP}}$ *ta* *enge* *Vella La Vella*
3SG.F=come=PRES=REL.F time TOP 1PL.EXC Vella La Vella

udu *kale=a=ma* *maba* *poso=ngela* *ta*
island in=LIG=3SG.F person PL.M=1PL.EXC TOP

tapata *nge=da* *el=ou.*
hard 1PL.EXC=SIT become=FUT
'In the time which is [just] coming, [the lives of] we Vella La Vella island people will become hard.' (64-3-16)

(12.13) *Kasa* *ko=m=ai* *i=k=a* [[*se* *ke=mutai=va*]$_{\mathrm{RC}}$
sight 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL cause=3SG.F.O=PRES 3PL 3PL=hide=PRES

koi]$_{\mathrm{NP}}$.
place
'[The spirit] showed the place they$_i$ were hiding to them$_j$.' (12-6-59)

The referent of an NP which contains a headed relative clause can only be third person, and its number/gender can be specified by a determiner. In (12.4), (12.5), (12.6), (12.7), and (12.11) it is specified by a demonstrative. In (12.1) it is specified by an indefinite pronoun.

12.2.4 Headless relative clauses

As noted above, in a headless relative clause, there is no overt object of relativisation. A headless relative clause may form an NP on its own and a bound pronoun in the relative clause indicates the person/number/gender of the NP. This bound pronoun can be an object clitic as in examples (12.2) and (12.8) or a pronominal proclitic as in examples (12.9) and (12.14) below.

The referent of a headless relative clause may be identified only from the discourse. In the discourse where the following example occurs, there is no mention of 'story' at all.

(12.14)	*Anga*	*ta*	*a=q=a*	*bazu-bazut=a*
	1SG	TOP	1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL	REDUP-tell=PRES

[*ko=kue=vi=ma*	*vakapeuru*	*kale*	*azo*]$_{\text{RC/NP}}$.
3SG.F=come=RMP=REL.F	western.country	in	ABL

'I am telling the story which came from a western country.' (10-14-121)
(more literally 'I am telling it which came from white people's village.')

The NP which consists of a headless relative clause (hereafter, headless relative clause) can be any person. In examples (12.2), (12.8), (12.9), and (12.14), it is third person. It is second person in (12.15) and it is first person in (12.16) and (12.17) below.

As described in §7.2.1.6, a Bilua NP which has a first or second person referent obligatorily contains a pronominal enclitic phrase-finally. With a headless relative clause, this pronominal enclitic is attached to the relative clause marker. Thus, in (12.15) the second person singular pronominal enclitic *nga* is attached to the pronoun *ni* (3PL).

(12.15)	*A=ng=e=ala*	[*ngo*	*ol=ala=ni=nga*	*Gizo*]$_{\text{RC/NP}}$.
	1SG=2SG.O=see=RCP	2SG	go=RCP=REL.NONF=2SG	Gizo

'I saw you [the one] who went to Gizo.'

Moreover, the predicate NP of a non-verbal equational clause in Bilua agrees with the subject NP in person (§11.2). Thus, in (12.16) and (12.17), the subject NP is first person, and the predicate NP is expressed by a headless relative clause, and first person is marked by a pronominal enclitic attached to the relative clause marker. Notice that in these examples, the predicate tells what category of people/things the subject belongs to and thus the predicate NP is non-referential,[74] but it is still coded as first person because of the agreement between subject and predicate NPs.

(12.16)	*Enge=a*	*saidi*	*ta*	[[*puli=a=ma*	*niuniu*
	1PL.EXC=LIG	family	TOP	NEG=LIG=3SG.F	fish

nge=q=u=a=ni]$_{\text{RC}}$=*ngela*]$_{\text{NP}}$.
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=eat=PRES=REL.NONF=1PL.EXC
'We, [members of] our family are ones who eat no fish.' (24-2-19)

(12.17)	...*anga*	*ta*	[[*a=zaulao=va=ni*]$_{\text{RC}}$=*lala*]$_{\text{NP}}$...
	1SG	TOP	1SG=hunt=PRES=REL.NONF=1SG

'...I am one who hunts (a hunter)...' (59-10-87)

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[74] Notice however, the relative clause is non-restrictive; although it has no referent, one can identify the category.

A headless relative clause functioning as a non-verbal predicate can also be referential, but this requires the situation-change marker *ta*. As noted in §8.5.3, the situation-change marker *ta* occurs only in a clause which presents a non-habitual/generic situation. This is the only environment where an aspectual/modal marker can occur in a relative clause.

(12.18)	*Vo=a*	*meqora*	*ta*	[*o̲=ta*	*ke=ve=ni*
	3SG.M=LIG	child	TOP	3SG.M=SIT	go=RMP=REL.NONF
	Australia]$_{\text{RC/NP}}$.				
	Australia				
	'That child is the one who went to Australia.'				

12.2.5 Functions of common arguments

A relative clause shares a common argument with the main clause. The common argument can be any of S/A/O arguments of the relative clause. It is more frequently the S/O argument than the A argument. In (12.2), (12.6), (12.7), (12.8), and (12.11) it is the O argument, and in (12.1), (12.9), (12.14), (12.15), (12.17), and (12.18), it is the S argument. In (12.4) and (12.16), it is the A argument. In (12.5), the first one is A argument and the second one is the S argument.

The common argument can also be a second object of the headed relative clause, as in the following example.[75]

(12.19)	*A=q=ea=la*	[*ko=a*	*chainsaw*
	1SG=3SG.F.O=see=RCP	3SG.F=LIG	chainsaw
	[*ke=kati=v=e=ma*]$_{\text{RC}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$.		
	3PL=give=3SG.M.O=RMP=REL.F		
	'I saw the chainsaw which they gave to him.'		

Keenan and Comrie (1977) present a hierarchy for the functions of the common argument in the relative clause as follows: Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison.

In Bilua case, a subject (S/A) or a direct object (O) of the relative clause can be a common argument. An oblique can be realised as an added object (see §9.4 for added objects) in the valency-increasing construction, and this then can be a common argument, as illustrated by example (12.20) below. Note that it was stated in §3.2.1 that there is no category of oblique core arguments in Bilua. Oblique here is interpreted as non-arguments which are realised as core arguments in added object relation in the valency-increasing construction, and this includes arguments with the semantic role of possessor.

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[75] In Bilua, the argument with the semantic role of recipient is in direct object relation, while the argument with the semantic role of gift is in second object relation (see §3.2.1), although the English translation suggests that the relations are the other way around.

Thus, Bilua fits in the hierarchy presented by Keenan and Comrie—any argument on the left side of Genitive can be relativised. Bilua has no specific expression for comparisons.

The common argument *maba* 'person' in example (12.20) below has the semantic role of possessor, and this is realised as an added object by valency increase: *maba* 'person' in (12.20) cross-references on the VP by the object clitic *v* (3SG.M.O) on the valency-increasing marker. The relative clause in (12.4) is another example. In this relative clause, the common argument has the semantic role of accompaniment and this is realised as an added object.

(12.20)	[*Vo=a*	*maba*	[*ko=ta*	*v=a*	*vou=vi=ni*
	3SG.M=LIG	person	3SG.F=POSS	3SG.M.O=VAL	die=RMP=REL.NONF

o=reko$]_{\mathrm{RC}}]_{\mathrm{NP}}$	*ta*	*matu*	*duki*	*o=ta*	*ev=a.*
3SG.M=wife	TOP	very	sad	3SG.M=SIT	become=PRES

'The man whose wife died became very sad.'

12.3 Complementation

12.3.1 Introduction

Complementation is defined as 'the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate' (Noonan 1985:42). In his complement types, Noonan includes nominalised complements (an NP whose head is a nominalised verb) as one type of complement. 'Nominalised complements are predications with the headless structure of noun phrases', and '[t]he argument [in nominalised complements] may assume associative (genitival) relationships with the predicate' (1985:60).

Formally, Bilua complement clauses can be divided into three types:

finite complement clauses
non-finite complement clauses
nominalised complement

The structure of finite and non-finite complement clauses is the same as that of independent clauses, but in finite and non-finite complement clauses, the VP always takes clause-initial position and optional constituents follow this. Furthermore, finite and non-finite complement clauses are distinguished from independent clauses in terms of the VP structure/constituents as described below. Finite and non-finite complement clauses can be the object of a verbal clause or the subject of a non-verbal clause.

Bilua nominalised complements have a basic or a possessive NP structure, and they can take any role. They can be the subject or the object of a verbal clause as well as the subject or the predicate of a non-verbal clause.

In both non-finite complement clauses and nominalised complements, the verb is bound by a nominal derivational enclitic *o* for a non-finite marking, but they are distinguished from each other in terms of the expression of arguments. In a nominalised complement, an argument is expressed by an embedded possessor NP, and this and the nominalised verb form a possessive NP.[76] This fits with the description of nominalised complements by Noonan above. On the other hand, in a non-finite complement clause, an argument is expressed by a non-embedded, independent NP, just as in independent clauses.

When a complement clause is an object, it always follows the main clause. This is the basic position of O NPs. Like O NPs, O complement clauses are cross-referenced on the VP by an object clitic. The object clitic here is realised in the default form, the third person singular feminine form. This is because clauses are not specified for person/number/gender (see Corbett 1991:203–212 for a discussion about the selection of a particular form for agreement with clauses). Only a small group of verbs can take a finite/non-finite complement clause or a nominalised complement as the O argument. This is discussed in §12.3.5, after a description of each of the three types of complement clauses: finite complement clauses in §12.3.2; non-finite complement clauses in §12.3.3; and nominalised complements in §12.3.4.[77]

12.3.2 Finite complement clauses

The VP of a finite complement clause is distinguished from the VP of an independent clause by restrictions for tense markers and the non-occurrence of modifiers. The tense of a Bilua finite complement clause can be future only, and hence its VP contains either the near future tense marker or the future tense marker. The situation described by a finite complement clause is thus always an unrealised one, and because of this, the finite complement clause is always preceded by the irrealis marker *tu*. The complement clause, preceded by *tu*, immediately follows the VP of the main clause. The complement clause has the VP clause initially and other constituents follow this. The subject of the main clause and the subject of the finite complement clause can be co-referential or not co-referential. The following are some examples. In this section, underlines mark complement clauses.

(12.21)	*...o=k=a*	*zari=a*	*tu*	*ko=k=ai*
	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES	IRR	3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL

zoman=o	*se*	*sate...*
join=NRFUT	3PL	COM

'...he wanted her to join it with them...' (67-2-21)

(12.22)	*Enge*	*ta*	*nge=madoe=k=a*	*tu*	*nge=jiisil=ou*
	1PL.EXC	TOP	1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=PRES	IRR	1PL.EXC=dive=FUT

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[76] However, when a nominalised complement has two arguments, one of the arguments is expressed by a non-embedded NP (see §12.3.4).

[77] There is no interrogative complement clause in Bilua. An English sentence like 'I don't know where he went' is expressed by two juxtaposed independent clauses (see §13.3).

ni	*nge=q=o=vou*	*ko*	*niuniu*	*ma*	*bio...*
and	1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT	3SG.F	fish	or	shell

'We try to dive and get fish or shell...' (64-2-12)

Tu is not a complementiser but rather a morpheme which indicates that the clause which follows presents an unrealised situation. This contention is supported by the fact that it can occur between two independent clauses as well (see §13.3).

It was previously stated that the subject of the main clause and the subject of the finite complement clause can be co-referential or not co-referential, and this is illustrated by examples above. A finite complement clause may contain aspectual/modal markers except for the implicative marker *be*, but this is limited to when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are not co-referential.

(12.23)	*A=v=ai*	*zari=a*	*tu*	*o=pa*	*iruruput=ou.*
	1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL	want=PRES	IRR	3SG.M=PROS	work=FUT

'I want him to go and work.'

In the examples above, complement clauses are objects. A finite complement clause can also be the subject of a non-verbal clause. In a non-verbal clause whose subject is a complement clause, the order of subject and predicate is reversed; the predicate precedes the subject, and the subject—which is a complement clause—is preceded by the irrealis marker *tu*. The predicate can only be an adjective. Thus,

Adjective Irrealis marker Complement clause

When a finite complement clause is the subject of a non-verbal clause, it may contain an aspectual marker, the prospective marker *pa*, but not other aspectual markers. For example,

(12.24)	*...uri*	*tu*	*a=ba*	*mumae=m=ou*	*sigo*	*kale.*
	good	IRR	1SG=PROS	have.lost=3PL.O=FUT	bush	in

'...[it will be] good for me to go and get them lost in the bush.' (16-1-12)

12.3.3 Non-finite complement clauses

The VP of non-finite complement clauses shows many differences from the VP of independent clauses. It lacks a phrase-final tense marker and instead it takes a nominal derivational enclitic *o*. It also lacks a pronominal proclitic and it can never contain an aspectual/modal marker or a modifier. An exception to this is when it is the subject of a non-verbal clause and when the predicate of this clause is an NP headed with *male* 'match'; it may contain a pronominal proclitic. Furthermore, in such a case, the complement clause may take an optional NP in preverbal position (see below).

When a non-finite complement clause is an object, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the non-finite complement clause are always co-referential, and so in the non-finite complement clause the subject is never expressed.

(12.25) *...vo* *ta* *o=tanie=k=a* *vairizat=o* *ko*
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=begin=3SG.F.O=PRES look.for=NOM 3SG.F

niuniu.
fish
...he began to look for fish.' (24-2-21)

A non-finite complement clause can present either an unrealised situation or a realised situation. In example (12.25), the main verb is *tanieko* 'to begin', which points at the beginning of an event, and the complement clause presents a realised situation, since as soon as an event starts, this event becomes realis. In the following example, the non-finite complement clause presents an unrealised situation. The verb *zario* 'to want' expresses the subject's wish that a situation will/would be accomplished, and thus it presents an unrealised situation. When a non-finite complement clause presents an unrealised situation, it can optionally be preceded by the irrealis marker *tu*.

(12.26) *...a=q=a* *zari=a* *tu* *k=ai* *bazut=o...*
1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES IRR 3SG.F.O=VAL tell=NOM
'...I want to tell a story...' (12-1-1)

The structure of example (12.26) is very similar to the structure of example (12.21), which is an example of a finite complement clause. The difference here is that there is no occurrence of a pronominal proclitic in (12.26) as this is a non-finite complement clause, while there is an occurrence of a pronominal proclitic in (12.21) as a finite complement clause requires this.

It might be considered that indeed there is only one type of complement clause that covers both finite and non-finite complement clauses. That is, there is only one type of complement clause, either finite or non-finite. It is not possible to treat all complement clauses as non-finite since there are examples in which complement clauses are definitely finite—examples (12.22), (12.23), and (12.24). Now suppose they are all finite and what is treated as a nominal derivational enclitic *o* in a non-finite complement clause is in fact a near future tense marker, this would result in some semantic contradiction. For example, in example (12.41) below, suppose the complement clause is finite, *o* on the verb *nabulo* 'to bake' then should be treated as the near future tense marker. This is semantically problematic as the situation described by the complement clause here is a realised one—she finished baking, which means she already baked. Thus, it is not possible to treat all complement clauses as finite either, and two types of complement clauses, finite and non-finite complement clauses, should be distinguished.

A non-finite complement clause can also be the subject of a non-verbal clause, and this takes the sentence structure presented in the last section; the predicate precedes the subject and the irrealis marker *tu* occurs between them.

(12.27) *"Uri* *tu* *niae=v=o* *ko* *sailao* *saita,*
good IRR feed=3SG.M.O=NOM 3SG.F food first
'"[It will be] good to feed him some food first,' (26-22-119)

When the predicate of a non-verbal clause is an NP headed with the noun *male* 'match', there is no occurrence of the irrealis marker, and the VP of the complement clause may contain a pronominal proclitic which expresses the subject. In example (12.28), the pronominal enclitic *o* (3SG.M) expresses the subject and this is further expressed by an NP *omadeu maba* 'one man'.

(12.28) *...pui* *[ko=male]* *omadeu* *maba* *o=bori=k=o...*
NEG 3SG.F=match one person 3SG.M=carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
predicate subject
'...[the huge string bag] was not equal to one person's carrying it.' (67-3-30)
(more literally '...one man's carrying it was not a match...')

The noun *male* 'match' obligatorily occurs with a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references the subject. This pronoun does not necessarily have a referent. In (12.28), *ko* does not have any referent. In (12.29a) below, it has a referent.

(12.29-a) *Pui* *[ke=male]* *bori=k=o.*
NEG 3PL=match carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
predicate subject
'They were not equal to carrying [the huge string bag].'
(more literally 'Carrying it wasn't their match.')

The pronoun *ke* here in fact indicates the subject of the nominalised verb. *Ke* can be shifted onto the nominalised verb, and *male* is then bound by *ko* (3SG.F), the default form. Example (12.29a) can be paraphrased as:

(12.29-b) *Pui* *ko=male* *[ke=bori=k=o]*.
NEG 3SG.F=match 3PL=carry=3SG.F.O=NOM
'[The huge string bag] was not equal to their carrying it.'
(more literally 'Their carrying it was not a match.')

12.3.4 Nominalised complement

A nominalised complement in Bilua is an NP headed with a nominalised verb. In the following example, the nominalised verb *saev=o* means 'life'.

(12.30) *...uri=a=ma* *saev=o* *qo=k=o=e.*
good=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM 3DU=3SG.F.O=get=RMP
'...the two had a good life.' (43-6-70)

In the above example, the NP is a basic NP. A nominalised complement may be realised as an indirect type of possessive NP as well (see §7.3.2), and the embedded possessor NP presents the subject or the object of the nominalised verb. In example (12.31), the demonstrative *vo* (3SG.M) forms the possessor NP and this presents the subject of the nominalised verb, while in example (12.32), the noun *meqo* 'bonito' forms the possessor NP and this presents the object of the nominalised verb.

(12.31) *A=q=e=a* *vo=ko* *vouvat=o...*
1SG=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F kill=NOM
'I saw his killing (of someone)...' (12-13-113)

(12.32) *Ko* *ikio* *meqo=ko* *k=ov=o.*
3SG.F FOC.F bonito=3SG.F 3SG.F=get=NOM
'That was [the way to catch bonitos].' (28-5-45)

A nominalised complement may have two arguments. In such a case, the subject is expressed by a possessor NP and the object is expressed by a non-embedded NP. The possessive NP which includes the subject expression always precedes the NP which expresses the object. In example (12.33), a possessor NP *vo* (3SG.M) and an NP *ko=a maba* (3SG.F=LIG person) present the subject and the object respectively. As noted in §6.5.1.4, the object clitic on a nominalised verb cross-references the object. In (12.33), this is 'the person (the woman)'.

(12.33) *Vo=ko* *vouvae=k=o* *ko=a* *maba* *ta*
3SG.M=3SG.F kill=3SG.F.O=NOM 3SG.F=LIG person TOP

matu *ruqe.*
very bad
'His killing (murder) of that person (woman) was very bad.'

A nominalised complement thus, except for when the object is expressed by an independent basic NP, takes the form of a regular NP, and therefore it can contain a modifier phrase as in (12.30), or a determiner as in (12.34), and also it can have any function: they are objects in (12.30) and (12.31), the predicate of a non-verbal clause in (12.32), the subject of a non-verbal clause in (12.33), and the subject of a verbal clause in (12.34) below. Notice that unlike when a finite or non-finite complement clause is the subject of a non-verbal clause, a non-verbal clause in (12.33) is in the basic non-verbal clause structure; the subject, which is marked with a topic marker, precedes the predicate (see §11.1 for the basic non-verbal structure).

(12.34) *...komi=a* *pazokini=o* *ta* *ko* *erei* *siolotlu*
PROX.SG.F=LIG fight=NOM TOP 3SG.F happenRMP eight

paizana *sabere* *keru.*
hundred year TEMP
'this fighting happened in 800.' (9-5-37)

12.3.5 Main verbs

In the last three sections, three different types of complement clauses in Bilua are described. The first two types of complement clause, the finite complement clause and the non-finite complement clause, can be the object but not the subject of a verbal clause. The third type of complement clause, the nominalised complement, can be the subject as well as the object of a verbal clause. When complement clauses are objects, finite and non-finite complement clauses and nominalised complements are in complementary distribution. A nominalised complement can be the object of any Primary verb, as long as this is semantically possible. Primary verbs are 'those directly referring to some activity or state, i.e. verbs which can make up a sentence by themselves with appropriate NPs filling the various semantic roles' (Dixon 1991:88). A finite or non-finite complement clause can be the object of only several Secondary verbs. 'Secondary verbs all provide semantic modification of some other verbs' (Dixon 1991:90). Syntactically, secondary verbs are main verbs but semantically, the complement verb is the central verb. For example, in a sentence, 'he finished eating', semantically 'to eat' is the central verb, but syntactically 'to finish' is the main verb.

Verbs which can take a finite or non-finite complement clauses are:

roveo	'can'
tanito/tanieko	'to begin'
epezo	'to stop'
lupao	'to refuse'
paiko	'to finish'
zario	'to want'
madoeko	'to try'

Some of the verbs above such as *roveo* 'can', *tanito* 'to begin', *epezo* 'to stop', and *lupao* 'to refuse', are morphologically intransitive verbs—they are not bounded by an object clitic, but they can still take an O complement clause. With these verbs the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are always co-referential and the complement clause is realised as a non-finite complement clause.

Roveo 'can' is a unique verb both syntactically and semantically. It is an intransitive verb, but can have an object complement clause, and its meaning, 'can', is a modal one.

(12.35) *...nge=rove=a tu k=o=vo ko takula...*
1PL.EXC=can=PRES IRR 3SG.F.O=get=NOM 3SG.F money
'...we could get money...' (64-2-11)

The fact that *roveo* 'can' is the main verb is demonstrated by the following example in which a relative clause marker goes on this verb, the main verb.

(12.36) *...anga ta pui a=rove=a=ni=lala talio*
1SG TOP NEG 1SG=can=PRES=REL.NONF=1SG walk.fastNOM
ni akaz=o.
and fly=NOM
'...I am not one who can walk fast or fly.' (15-1-6)

Tanito 'begin' and *epezo* 'to stop' are both intransitive verbs and never occur with an O NP but can occur with an O complement clause.

(12.37) *...o=tanit=ake tali=o...*
3SG.M=begin=HIST walk=NOM
'...he started walking...' (26-11-60)

(12.38) *Melai pui o epez=a keru-kerue=k=o...*
but NEG 3SG.M stop=PRES REDUP-think=3SG.F.O=NOM
'But, he didn't stop thinking about her...' (27-23-152)

Lupao 'to refuse' is an intransitive verb but can still take an O NP, though this requires the valency-increasing construction as in example (12.39), while it can take an O complement clause without employing the valency-increasing construction as in example (12.40).[78]

(12.39) *...ko=ta ng=a lupao=vou.*
3SG.F=SIT 2SG.O=VAL refuse=FUT
'...she will refuse you.' (27-4-22)

(12.40) *...a=lupa rae=v=o...*
1SG=refuse marry=3SG.M.O=NOM
'...I refuse to marry him...' (27-7-48)

Paiko 'to finish' is a transitive verb. Similar to the intransitive verbs listed above, with this verb, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are always co-referential and the complement clause is realised as a non-finite complement clause.

(12.41) *Ko=pai=k=a nabul=o.*
3SG.F=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES bake=NOM
'She finished baking.' (67-3-29)

Zario 'to want' is an intransitive verb, but it is always used in the valency-increasing construction and thus this takes two core arguments. *Madoeko* 'to try' is a transitive verb and so it takes two core arguments. *Madoeko* 'to try' and *zario* 'to want' can take either a finite or a non-finite complement clause. With these verbs, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause can be either co-referential or not co-referential. When they are not co-referential, the complement clause can only be finite. For example,

(12.42) *A=madoe=v=ala tu o=studyput=o melai pui*
1SG=try=3SG.M.O=RCP IRR 3SG.M=study=NRFUT but NEG

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[78] *Lupao* 'refuse' with the present tense-marking enclitic, *lupao=va* (refuse=PRES) is often realised as *lupa*.

o=k=a *zari=a.*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES
'I tried to get him to study but he doesn't want to.'[79]
(more literally 'I tried him so that he will study but he doesn't want to.')

(12.43) *A=v=ai* *zari=la* *tu* *o=zio=vou* *Gizo*
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL want=RCP IRR 3SG.M=go=FUT Gizo

ravi *melai* *pui* *o=pa* *ol=ala.*
yesterday but NEG 3SG.M=PROS go=RCP
'I wanted him to go to Gizo yesterday, but he didn't go.'
(more literally 'I wanted him so that he would go to Gizo yesterday, but he didn't go.')

The object clitic on the main verb in (12.42) and the object clitic on the valency-increasing marker preceding the verb *zario* 'to want' in (12.43) both show agreement with the subject of the complement clause. These clitics can be replaced with a default form, *k* (3SG.F.O), agreeing with the complement clause instead. It might be hypothesised that when these object clitics agree with the subject, the speaker is addressing his interest to the person whom he tried or he wanted, while when they agree with the complement clause, the speaker's interest is addressed to the event expressed by the complement clause. More data with appropriate discourse is required to prove this hypothesis.

When two subjects are co-referential, the complement clause can be either finite or non-finite. Below example (12.22) is repeated from §12.3.2.

(12.44) *Nge=madoe=k=a* *tu* *reri=k=o...*
1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=PRES IRR chase=3SG.F.O=NOM
'We try to chase [wild animals] (but unsuccessfully)...' (64-3-19)

(12.45) *...a=v=ai* *zari=a* *bazu-bazut=o* *kala*
1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL want=PRES REDUP-tell=NOM INDEF.SG.M

bazu-bazulao.
REDUP-folktale
'...I want to tell a folktale.' (24-1-1)

(12.22') *Enge* *ta* *nge=madoe=k=a* *tu* *nge=jisil=ou*
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=PRES IRR 1PL.EXC=dive=FUT

ni *nge=q=o=vou* *ko* *niuniu* *ma* *bio...*
and 1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT 3SG.F fish or shell
'try to dive and get fish or shell...' (64-2-12)

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[79] As the translation in the brackets suggests, this is not a causative clause, and thus the verb 'to study' is not causativised.

(12.46) ...*o=k=a* *zari=a* *tu* *o=rae=ng=o*...
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES IRR 3SG.M=marry=2SG.O=NRFUT
'...he wants to marry you...' (27-7-38)

The following table presents a summary of verbs which take finite and non-finite complement clauses.[80]

Table 12.2: Finite and non-finite complement clauses

Verbs	Finite/non-finite	Co-referentiality of subjects
tanito/tanieko 'to begin' *epezo* 'to stop' *lupao* 'to refuse' *roveo* 'can' *paiko* 'to finish'	non–finite	co-referential
madoeko 'to try' *zario* 'to want'		
	finite	co-referential or not co-referential

12.4 Adverbial Clauses

There are four types of adverbial clauses in Bilua: temporal, purposive, imaginative conditional, and absolutive clauses. Adverbial clauses are marked with a relator which takes the form of a subordinator or a postposition. Adverbial clauses can be finite or non-finite. Similar to non-finite complement clauses, non-finite adverbial clauses do not contain tense and aspect markers, and their verbs take the nominal derivational enclitic *o*.

The four types of adverbial clauses can be divided into two groups: those which can be substituted by a single word and those which cannot (Thompson & Longacre 1985: 177). Among Bilua adverbial clauses, only temporal clauses can be substituted by a single word, whereas others cannot. Temporal clauses are also distinguished by their ability to be a focus or a topic. Others do not have such an ability.

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[80] Some speakers also use a complement clause with the verb *inainao* 'to get ready', but some do not accept this. The following example, which contains the verb *inainao* 'to get ready' and its complement clause, was found in the data:

...*qo* *ina-inao=va* *tu* *zio* *kiaro* *kasi*
3DU REDUP-get.ready=PRES IRR goNOM garden at

saila-sailaot=o=le,
REDUP-get.food=NOM=PURP
'... the two got ready in order to go to the garden to get food,' (27-12-72)

This example, however, is not accepted by some speakers. It may be the case that this clause is a result of an influence from English expression, 'get ready to do'.

12.4.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses can be finite or non-finite. Both types precede the main clause. A finite temporal clause is marked with *keru,* which always occurs immediately after the VP. If the clause has constituents other than the VP, they follow *keru. Keru* can also govern an NP (see §10.4.3); that is, it is a postposition.

(12.47) ...*kubo maba madu ke=kail=a keru kiaro kasi*
many person COLL.PL 3PL=go.up=PRES TEMP garden at

se ta ke=rove=a tu barol=o se=ko peuru kale.
3PL TOP 3PL=can=PRES IRR arrive=NOM 3PL=3SG.F village in
'...when many people went up to their gardens, they could return to their village.' (26-8-48)

Example (12.47) occurs in a narrative in which one person went up to his/her garden but never returned to the village, while when more than one person went up to their gardens, they would come back.

Finite temporal clauses may present a situation which immediately precedes a situation described by the main clause, as in (12.47) above, when the verb in the temporal clause is a totally terminative verb or a gradually terminative verb (see §8.4 for a classification of verbs). When this verb is a durative verb, the two situations described by the main clause and the temporal clause are simultaneous, as in example (12.48).

(12.48) *Nio so keru ke=m=e=a keru se=a*
SEQ that TEMP 3PL=3PL.O=see=PRES TEMP 3PL=LIG

reko-reko se lasiverusu ta se=ko kiaro kale.
REDUP-women 3PL boy TOP 3PL=3SG.F garden in
'And, that time, when women saw them, the boys were in their garden.' (22-3-12)

Furthermore, a finite temporal clause may present a situation that is happening when the situation described by the main clause occurs. In such a case, the VP in the temporal clause has an intransitive verb accompanied by the continuity marker *beta,* as in example (12.49). A transitive verb never occurs in such a temporal clause (see below).

(12.49) ...*ke=beta koazat=a keru inio, ni=a*
3PL=CONT get=PRES TEMP FOC.NONF PROX.PL=LIG

kana madu ta ke=ta baro=a.
war COLL.PL TOP 3PL=SIT arrive=PRES
'...while they were getting them, these warriors arrived.' (25-2-19)

A non-finite temporal clause never contains a subject-marking pronominal proclitic, and its VP always consists of the head, an intransitive verb or a transitive verb accompanied with an object clitic, and the nominal derivational enclitic *o.* There are three different subordinators which mark non-finite temporal clauses: *maqa* and *palate* are both translated as 'while' and *puliako* is translated as 'before'.

The subordinator *maqa* 'while' follows the clause it marks. The non-finite temporal clause here obligatorily takes an S NP in preverbal position.

[S NP VP] *maqa* VP ⇒ V(=object clitic)=NOM

(12.50) *So keru vo teku maqa inio kurou ta*
that TEMP 3SG.M lie.downNOM while FOC.NONF pigeon TOP

o atait=ake.
3SG.M count=HIST
'That time, while he is lying down, the pigeon counted.' (15-3-24)

Maqa may mark an NP whose head is *so* 'that', the pronoun which has a clause as an antecedent as in (12.51). That is, *maqa* can be treated as a postposition. However, since *so* 'that' refers to a clause and since *maqa* 'while' can only govern an NP *so* 'that' but no other NPs, *maqa* 'while' is categorised as a subordinator.

(12.51) *Kasa ko=m=ai i=k=a se ke=matu*
sight 3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL put=3SG.F.O=PRES 3PL 3PL=very

mutai=va koi. So maqa inio se ta ke=pa
hide=PRES place that while FOC.NONF 3PL TOP 3PL=PROS

v=ati inot=a vo Sito o ev=a koi
3SG.M.O=VAL look.for=PRES 3SG.M Sito 3SG.M stay=PRES place

Maravari kingu kale.
Maravari forest in
'It showed them$_i$ the place they$_j$ were hidden. While they$_j$ were hidden, they$_i$ went to look for the place where Sito was staying in Maravari forest.'
(12-6-59~61)

The subordinator *palate* 'during' also follows the clause it marks. It may contain an S NP or an adjunctival phrase preverbally.

[(S NP/adjunctival phrase) VP] *palate* VP ⇒ V(=object clitic)=NOM

(12.52) *Australia el=o palate inio a=qe=ve kubo*
Australia stay=NOM while FOC.NONF 1SG=see=RMP many

aza-aza=ma quli.
REDUP-various=3SG.F thing
'While living in Australia, I saw many, various things.'

The subordinator *puliako* 'before' precedes the clause it marks. An optional S NP occurs between *puliako* and the verb, and an optional adjunctival phrase occurs in postverbal position.

puliako [(S NP) VP (adjunctival phrase)] VP ⇒ V(=object clitic)=NOM

(12.53)

...puliako	*nioqa*	*tada=o*	*nio*	*o*	*ol=a*
before	3DU	depart=NOM	FOC.NONF	3SG.M	go=PRES

o=pa	*k=o=a*	*ko*	*kokoro.*
3SG.M=PROS	3SG.F.O=get=PRES	3SG.F	pole

'...before they departed, he went, he went and got a pole.' (59-6-44)
(more literally 'not that the two had departed, and he went, he went and got a pole.')

(12.54)

Puliako	*komi=a*	*lotu*	*saev=o*
before	PROX.SG.F=LIG	Christianity	survive=NOM

barol=o	*koi,*
arrive=NOM	here

'Before Christian life arrived here,' (10-1-1)

It may be hypothesised that *puliako* originated in three morphemes: *puli* (NEG) *a* (LIG), and *ko* (3SG.F), and that this combination is lexicalised as a subordinator. The pronoun *ko* appears to refer to the following non-finite clause, but note that a clause is normally substituted by a pronoun *so* 'that', not *ko* (3SG.F). In (12.53), *ko* (3SG.F) refers to *nioqa tadao* 'they depart'. Thus, *puliako nioqa tadao* literally means 'not that the two had departed'. Their departure had not occurred when the situation expressed by the main clause occurred 'he went, he went and got a pole'; it happened after the situation expressed by the main clause happened. Thus, *puliako* can be interpreted as 'before'. *Puliako* has a homonym 'that's nothing/that's not a big deal/that's Okay'.

There is no semantic difference between *maqa* 'while' and *palate* 'while', but *maqa* can be used only when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are not co-referential. In (12.50), they are not co-referential. *Palate* can be used both when they are co-referential and when they are not co-referential. In (12.52), they are co-referential. *Puliako* can also be used when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are co-referential or not co-referential. In (12.53), they are not co-referential.

Temporal clauses with *maqa/palate* 'while' present a situation as atelic, while those with *puliako* present an unrealised situation with reference to the situation described by the main clause. Atelic and irrealis situations are characteristic of low transitivity as described in Hopper and Thompson (1980). Because of this, these temporal clauses can have only an intransitive verb as noted above. This is also the case when *keru* has the meaning 'while', as in (12.49). On the other hand, when *keru* has the meaning 'when', as in (12.47) and (12.48), the situation is not presented as atelic, as it is a realised one with reference to the situation described by the main clause. Consequently, when *keru* is interpreted as 'when', the verb can be either transitive or intransitive.

Both finite and non-finite temporal clauses may express the meaning 'while' as shown above. There seems to be a semantic difference between them. Example (12.49) in which the finite temporal clause has the meaning 'while' highlights the subject's involvement with the event of getting them, and thus the S argument is always expressed by a pronominal proclitic, and additionally by an S NP. On the other hand, examples (12.50) and (12.52), which are non-finite temporal clauses, do not highlight the subject's involvement with the event. Because of this, the S argument in a non-finite temporal clause may not be expressed as in (12.52).

12.4.2 Purposive clauses

A purposive clause presents a purpose for movement. Consequently, the main verb has to be a motion verb or a verb that implies movement. A purposive clause is always non-finite and is marked with an enclitic *le,* which is attached to the nominal derivational enclitic on the verb. The subject of the main clause and the subject of the purposive clause are always co-referential and the purposive clause never contains a subject marker. An optional O NP occurs in preverbal position while an optional adjunctival phrase occurs in postverbal position. Thus, the structure of a purposive clause is:

(O NP) VP=*le*(adjunctival phrase)

VP ⇒ V(=object clitic)=NOM

A purposive clause follows the main clause.

(12.55)	*Vo*	*ta*	*o=ta*	*ke=ve*	*leba*	*vailizat=o=le*
	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=SIT	go=RMP	labourer	look.for=NOM=PURP

Malaita.
Malaita
'He went to Malaita to look for labourers.' (12-2-14)

(12.56)	*Ke=ta*	*kail=a*	*Koro-koroqanisi*	*kasi*
	3PL=SIT	go.up=PRES	REDUP-Korokoroqanisi	at

pazo-kini=o=le.
hit-RECP=NOM=PURP
'They went up to Korokoroqanisi in order to fight.' (39-14-90)

The subordinator *le* may have originated in the cliticised form of a locative postposition *kale* 'in'. This then means that a purposive clause fills a nominal slot. A purpose can also be expressed by an independent clause introduced by the irrealis marker *tu* (see §13.3). In such a case, the verb can be any kind of verb.

12.4.3 Imaginative conditional clauses

The subordinator *tea* 'if' follows a clause and marks it as an imaginative conditional clause. An imaginative conditional clause presents the speaker's presumption of what might happen. It is always finite but can take no aspectual/modal marker. The main clause follows the imaginative conditional clause and is always in the future tense. The tense of an imaginative conditional clause can be past or future. When it is past, it presents a counterfactual situation, a situation that did not happen. In examples below imaginative conditional clauses are underlined.

(12.57) Counterfactual

Sole	*nge=tuvevopue=k=a*	*ta*	*komi=a*
that's.why	1PL.EXC=believe=3SG.F.O=PRES	TOP	PROX.SG.F=LIG

gospel	*lotu*	*saev=o*	*pui*	*ko=pa*	*kue=vi*
Gospel	Christianity	survive=NOM	NEG	3SG.F=PROS	come=RMP

tea	*komi=a*	*pazo-kini=o*	*ta*	*pui*	*ko=pa*
if	PROX.SG.F=LIG	hit-RECP=NOM	TOP	NEG	3SG.F=PROS

epez=o.
stop=NRFUT

'So, what we believe is that if this Gospel, Christian life had not come, this fighting would not have stopped.' (10-16-137~138)
(more literally 'That is why, we believe and consequently if this Gospel, Christian life had not come, this fighting would not have stopped.)

When it is future, it presents a hypothetical situation, a situation which might happen.

(12.58) Hypothetical

Nge=madoe=k=ou	*tea*	*enge*	*ta*	*nge=roveo=vou*
1PL.EXC=try=3SG.F.O=FUT	if	1PL.EXC	TOP	1PL.EXC=can=FUT

tu	*atie=k=o*	*enge=ko*	*miduku.*
IRR	lead=3SG.F.O=NOM	1PL.EXC=3SG.F	land

'If we tried, we would be able to lead (conquer) our land.' (64-3-22)

Tea 'if' can also follow an imperative clause, and in such a case it is not followed by another clause. This means that 'it was time to do'.[81]

(12.59)

Kailot=omo	*tea.*
go.up=IMP.PL	if

'It was time to go up!'

---

[81] There is also an idiom *sai tea* (there if) meaning 'that's it/that's enough'. For example, when someone is pouring coffee for you, you can say *sai tea* 'that's it/that's enough' to stop her/him.

Conditions can also be expressed by an independent clause followed by a causal coordinator. This is described in §13.2.6. A summary of conditionals in Bilua is also presented in §13.2.6.

12.4.4 Absolutive clauses

According to Thompson and Longacre, 'absolutive' is a cover term for a dependent clause type which has the following properties:

(i) the clause is marked in some way as being [dependent];

(ii) there is no explicit signal of the relationship between the main and subordinate clause; thus

(iii) the interpretation of this relationship is inferred from the pragmatic and linguistic context (Thompson & Longacre 1985:200–201).

There is one type of absolutive clause in Bilua, which means 'no good such and such happens'. An absolutive clause is marked with the postposition *kale* 'in' and thus it fills a nominal slot. Its VP always contains a subject marker, a pronominal enclitic, and an optional NP takes preverbal position. An absolutive clause can either precede or follow the main clause. In the following examples, underlines mark absolutive clauses.

[(NP) VP] *kale* VP ⇒ PRON=V(=object clitic)=NOM

(12.60) ...*meqora* *me=baidae=k=o* *ale* *ko=ta*
child 2PL=finish=3SG.F.O=NOM in 3SG.F=SIT

raneo=vou *inio.*
sleep.overnight=FUT FOC.NONF
'...no good to eat up children, it's going to be dawn.' (47-2-90)
(more literally '...no good to finish children, it will sleep overnight.')

(12.61) ...*ko=ko* *vima* *ta* *pui* *ngo* *el=ou*
3SG.F=3SG.F underneath TOP NEG 2SG stay=FUT

ko=a *duruo* *ko=ng=ai* *raibizi=o* *kale.*
3SG.F=LIG big.bag 3SG.F=2SG.O=VAL pour=NOM in
'...don't stay underneath [the big string bag], [it is] no good for [ngali nuts in] the big string bag to pour on you.' (2-5-31)

Example (12.60) is uttered in a context where people started eating children when they could not find food for a few days because darkness continued over several days, and then finally someone who climbed a tree found that it was going to be dawn and told the people not to eat up children.

12.5 Summary

In the sections above, different types of dependent clauses are described. No dependent clause can contain a constituent marked with a topic or a focus marker. Relative clauses are alway finite. Complement clauses and adverbial clauses can be finite or non-finite. Finite dependent clauses always contain subject and tense markers. They may contain an aspectual/modal marker but this is possible only in certain environments.

In non-finite dependent clauses, the verb is bound by the nominal derivational enclitic *o* instead of a tense marker. That is, the verb is turned into a nominal. In their description of nominals derived from verbs, Comrie and Thompson (1985:359) states that 'action nominals typically have some of the syntactic characteristics of both sentences and non-derived noun phrases ... the extent to which action nominals are verbal or nominal varies considerably from language to language'. In Bilua, non-finite complement and adverbial clauses retain characteristics of sentences more than nominalised complements do. As in independent clauses, an argument of non-finite complement and adverbial clauses can only be expressed by an NP, while an argument of nominalised complements can be expressed by a possessor NP embedded into a possessive NP whose head is a nominalised verb. Furthermore, non-finite complement and adverbial clauses may contain a pronominal proclitic which functions as a subject marker, but nominalised complements cannot. However, none of non-finite dependent clauses, including nominalised complements, can take a tense marker or an aspectual/modal marker.

This concludes a description of dependent clauses. The next chapter presents a description of coordination.

13 *Coordination*

13.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses coordination. Coordination is a mechanism where two or more constituents of the same syntactic status are linked. In Bilua, coordination can be indicated by coordinators or by juxtaposition. Juxtaposition can only indicate coordination of independent clauses. Coordinators, on the other hand, can link various kinds of constituent as described below.

13.2 Coordinators

13.2.1 Introduction

There are six coordinators in Bilua as follows, repeated from §5.11.

conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and'
disjunctive coordinator *ma* 'or'
adversative coordinator *melai* 'but'
sequential coordinator *inio* 'sequentially/and then'
causal coordinator *ta/ti*, 'and then/consequently'
intensifying coordinator *ti*

The adversative coordinator *melai* 'but' can form a complex coordinator with the negation marker *pui* (see §13.2.4).

All coordinators occur between the constituents they link. The intensifying coordinator *ti*, however, is different to the others. It can only link identical phrases or words. Semantically, its function is to intensify the meaning of the linked constituents. *Ti* can link phrases (NPs, PPs, and VPs) and words (the negation marker *pui* and *matu* 'big'). *Ti* is described in §13.2.7 following a description of other coordinators.

Constituents linked by the five other coordinators can be:

nouns
NPs
PPs
non-verbal predicates

independent clauses

dependent clauses

Conjunctive and disjunctive coordinators can link all of these constituents. The adversative coordinator can link all but nouns. Sequential and causal coordinators can link only independent clauses.

Linked constituents can also be constituents of the same syntactic function. In the following example, the linked constituents are a deictic adverb *koi* 'here' and a postpositional phrase *peuru kale* 'in the village'. Both of them function as locational adjuncts. In this section, each of the linked constituents is marked with square brackets, and the coordinator is underlined.

(13.1)	*Ne=a*	*matu*	*peuru*	*ta*	*matu*	*kubo*	*maba*	*madu*
	PROX.SG.M=LIG	big	village	TOP	very	many	person	COLL.PL

	ke	*ev=a*	[*koi*]	*ma*	[*peuru*	*kale*].
	3PL	stay=PRES	here	or	village	in

'As for this big village, many people lived here or in the village.' (26-1-2)

Words and phrases linked by a coordinator are treated as one constituent. In example (13.2), the two linked nouns form one constituent, and this is the head of the possessive NP.

(13.2)	*Ni*	*o=zio=vou*	*ko=a*	*sinaqurusu=ko*	[*mama*]
	and	3SG.M=go=FUT	3SG.F=LIG	girl=3SG.F	father

	ni	[*niania*]	*kidi*	*kasi.*
	and	mother	COLL.DU	at

'He will go to the father and mother of the girl.' (26-1-6)

Mama ni niania kidi in (13.2) could also be analysed as coordination of two NPs, [*mama*] *ni* [*niania kidi*], but this does not fit in the given discourse since it would then mean 'one father and two mothers'.

Conjunctive and disjunctive coordinators share two properties; they can be recursive, and the order of linked phrases can be freely changed without a change of meaning. In example (13.3), there are four NPs linked by the conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and' which occurs between each pair of linked constituents, and their order can be changed without a change of meaning.

(13.3)	*Ke*	*inainae=k=o=a=ma*	*ta*	[*bolo*]	*ni*	[*mania*]
	3PL	get.ready=3SG.F.O=FUT=LIG=REL.F	TOP	pig	and	pudding

	ni	[*mau*]	*ni*	[*meqo*].
	and	taro	and	bonito

'As for things they will get ready, [these] are pigs, puddings, taros, and bonitos.' (21-4-22)

When more than two constituents are linked, a coordinator is obligatory in front of the last linked constituent, but others are optional. In fast speech, it often occurs only once in front of the last constituent, while in slow speech, it often occurs between each constituent. In (13.3), the coordinator *ni* 'and' before *meqo* 'bonito' cannot be omitted, but the others can be omitted.[82]

In slow speech, there may be a pause between linked constituents. When there is a pause, a coordinator forms one intonation unit with either the preceding or following constituent, or it may form an intonation unit by itself; there could be a pause before and after the coordinator. When there is a pause, there is a rising or level intonation on the word which precedes the pause. The end of the sentence, on the other hand, is indicated by falling intonation in Bilua, in a declarative sentence. In the following example, there is a slight pause before a coordinator *ni* 'and', which forms one intonation unit with the clause that follows it. There is a rising intonation on the word *bita* 'string bag'.

(13.4)	[*Qo=sukati=k=a*	*ko*	*bita*],	*ni*	[*nioqa*	*ta*
	3DU=fill=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	string.bag	and	3DU	TOP

qo=vait=a	*peuru*	*kale*].
3DU=return=PRES	village	in

'They filled string bags, and they returned to the village.' (24-2-13)

Coordinators, *ni* 'and', *inio* 'sequentially/and then', and *ti/ta* 'and then/consequently' may also function to indicate the continuation of a story or a sentence. With this function, they may occur clause-initially or between a dependent clause and an independent clause as well as between two independent clauses. This may suggest that coordinators here are treated as a part of a clause. However, as they can form an intonation unit with either the preceding or the following clause and they can also form an intonation unit of their own, they are not treated as a part of the clause.[83] In example (13.5) below, there is an occurrence of *inio* between an adverbial dependent clause and an independent clause. There is a slightly long pause after the adverbial clause, and the speaker places *inio* before he starts the next clause in order to indicate the sentence is continuing.

(13.5)	*Ko=a*	*omolomolo*	*o=viq=a*	*keru,*	*ma*
	3SG.F=LIG	echo	3SG.M=hear=PRES	TEMP	or

ko=a	*kora*	*o=viq=a*	*keru,*	*inio*	*vo*
3SG.F=LIG	sound	3SG.M=hear=PRES	TEMP	SEQ	3SG.M

---

[82] This example can be analysed as either coordination of nouns or NPs: it is possible to consider that linked nouns form the head and this by itself forms an NP, or it is also possible to consider that each noun forms an NP on its own and four NPs are coordinated. Either analysis is possible and there is no factor that determines which approach is more probable here.

[83] It may be said that coordinators here function like linking adverbials (see §10.7), but unlike linking adverbials, which do not necessarily occur in clause-initial position (that is, which may occur clause-internally) coordinators can only occur clause-externally.

ta *o=ta* *matu* *pekao=ke.*
TOP 3SG.M=SIT very dance=HIST
'When he heard the echo or when he heard the sound, he danced hard.'
(26-13-74)

The following is another example.

(13.6) *Eri* *k=i=o=la* | *"o"* *k=i=o=la.*
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

Ti *"o=soloe=k=ou"* *nio*
and.then 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=FUT FOC.NONF

k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'He said something like this. He said "o". And then, I said "He will send it down".'(2-4-24~25)

Each of the six coordinators is described in sections below.

13.2.2 Conjunctive coordinator **ni** *'and'*

The conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and' simply conjoins constituents. The following are some examples of the use of the conjunctive coordinator with different types of constituents. An example of nouns linked by *ni* 'and' is given in the last section. In (13.7), linked NPs form a possessor NP, and this is marked with a possessive marker *ko* (3SG.F).

(13.7) NPs
Omuqa *kidi* *inio* *qo* *ibat=ou* *omuqa*
two COLL.DU FOC.NONF 3DU push=FUT two

rana *[ko=a* *rekorusu]* *ni* *[vo=a* *lasiverusu]=ko*
side 3SG.F=LIG girl and 3SG.M=LIG boy=3SG.F

tu *qo=tibae-kini=ou.*
IRR 3DU=stick-RECP=FUT
'Two people push both sides of the girl and the boy so that they will stick with each other.' (21-11-65)

(13.8) PPs
Vella La Vella *udu* *kale=a=mu* *se* *ta* *ke=ke=ve*
Vella La Vella island in=LIG=3PL 3PL TOP 3PL=go=RMP

[edo-edolo=a=ma *zae* *poso* *kale]* *ni*
REDUP-different=LIG=3SG.F area PL in and

[*edo-edolo=a=ma*	*tou-tou*	*kale*].
REDUP-various=LIG=3SG.F	REDUP-tribe	in

'Vella La Vella people went to different areas and to various tribes.' (12-9-84)

(13.9) Non-verbal predicates

Ne=a	*utupe*	*ta*	[*puli=a=ma*	*seseu*
PROX.SG.M=LIG	coconut crab	TOP	NEG=LIG=3SG.F	finger

sa=la]	*ni*	[*puli=a=ma*	*vo=ko*	*zavu-zavu*]	*ni*
COM=3SG.M	and	NEG=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.M=3SG.F	REDUP-beard	and

[*puli=a=ma*	*vo=ko*	*taka*].
NEG=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.M=3SG.F	claw

'This coconut crab does not have any fingers, beard, or claws.' (26-18-100)
(more literally 'This coconut crab is with no fingers and no beard of his and no claws of his.')

(13.10) Dependent clauses

So	*keru*	[*ke*	*ilusi=v=e*	*keru*]	*ni*
that	TEMP	3PL	worship=3SG.M.O=RMP	TEMP	and

[*ke=lulue=v=e*	*keru*]	*ta*	*ke=roveo=vi*
3PL=follow=3SG.M.O=RMP	TEMP	TOP	3PL=can=RMP

k=el=o	*ko*	*ko=kati=m=e=ma*	*quli*
3SG.F.O=see=NOM	3SG.F	3SG.F=give=3PL.O=PRES=REL.F	thing

ni	*ko*	*ko=m=ai*	*ruali=k=e=ma*
and	3SG.F	3SG.F=3PL.O=VAL	make.it.true=3SG.F.O=RMP=REL.F

quli	*se=ko*	*aza-aza=ma*	*tuvevoput=o*	*poso*	*kale.*
thing	3PL=3SG.F	REDUP-various=3SG.F	believe=NOM	PL	in

'That time, when they worshipped him and when they followed him, they could see the thing it gave them and the thing which made it true to them in their belief.'(10-2-18)

(13.11) Independent clauses

...vo	*ta*	[*o*	*ol=a*	*ju*	*kale*	*sukulu*	*ju*]
3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M	go=PRES	water	in	stream	water

ni	[*o=vaili=k=a*	*ko*	*niuniu*].
and	3SG.M=look.for=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	fish

'...as for him, he went to the big water, the stream (water), and he looked for fish.' (24-2-22)

As noted in the last section, words and phrases linked by a coordinator are treated as one constituent. When linked constituents are clauses, they are treated as one clause. That is, situations described by linked clauses are treated as one situation consisting of subparts which are described by each linked clause. When clauses are linked by *ni*, a change of the order of clauses may result in a change of meaning. In example (13.11), the change of the order results in his looking for fish before he went to the stream.

13.2.3 Disjunctive coordinator **ma** *'or'*

The disjunctive coordinator *ma* 'or' marks two alternatives. The following are some examples of disjunctive coordination with different types of constituents. *Ma* 'or' has a different function when it links two identical NPs, as discussed below. When *ma* 'or' links two NPs which function as core arguments, the pronominal proclitic or the object clitic on the VP agrees with the closer NP. Thus, in example (13.13) below the pronominal proclitic on the VP agrees with the second NP of the linked NPs, the one which is closer to the VP.

(13.12) Nouns

...nge=q=ov=ou	*ko*	[*niuniu*]	*ma*	[*bio*]...
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT	3SG.F	fish	or	shell

'...we will get fish or shell...' (64-2-12)

(13.13) NPs

...[*nioqa=ko*	*niania*]	*ma*	[*nioqa*	*saidi*]	*ta*
3DU=3SG.F	mother	or	3DU	family	TOP

qo=kejue=k=a	*ko=a*	*niuniu,*
3DU=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	fish

'...their mother or two of the family cook the fish,' (24-3-26)

(13.14) PPs

O=ta	*ol=ala*	[*kiaro*	*kasi*]	*ma*	[*siqo*	*kale*].
3SG.M=SIT	go=RCP	garden	at	or	bush	in

'He went to the garden or to the bush.'

(13.15) Non-verbal predicates

Vo	*ta*	[*dokita*]	*ma*	[*nesi*].
3SG.M	TOP	doctor	or	nurse

'He is a doctor or a nurse.'

(13.16) Dependent clauses (repeated from 13.2.1 above)

[*Ko=a*	*omolomolo*	*o=viq=a*	*keru*],	*ma*
3SG.F=LIG	echo	3SG.M=hear=PRES	TEMP	or

[*ko=a*	*kora*	*o=viq=a*	*keru*],	*inio*	*vo*
3SG.F=LIG	sound	3SG.M=hear=PRES	TEMP	and.then	3SG.M

ta	*o=ta*	*matu*	*pekao=ke.*
TOP	3SG.M=SIT	very	danceNOM=HIST

'When he heard the echo or when he heard the sound, he danced hard.' (26-13-74)

(13.17) Independent clauses

Vo=ko	*pekao*	*ta*	"[*Kake*	*ke=l=ati*
3SG.M=3SG.F	dance.NOM	TOP	INDEF.PL	3PL=1SG.O=VAL

pesio]	*ma*	[*kake*	*ke=l=el=o,*]"
speakNRFUT	or	INDEF.PL	3PL=1SG=see=NRFUT

k=i=o=la...
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M.O=PRES

'As for his dance, "Some people will speak to me or some people will see me", he said...' (26-13-71)

When it links two identical nouns *ma* indicates variety/multiplicity.

(13.18)

Ke=ke=ve	[*udu*]	*ma*	[*udu*].
3PL=go=RMP	island	or	island

'They went to an island or an island (various islands).' (10-2-22)

(13.19)

...nge=q=ov=ou	*enge=ko*	*pade=ko*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT	1PL.EXC=3SG.F	house=3SG.F

[*kama*]	*ma*	[*kama*]...
INDEF.SG.F	or	INDEF.SG.F

'...we will get something or something (various things) for our house...' (64-2-9)

Udu ma udu 'island or island (various islands), in (13.18) and *kama ma kama* 'something or something (various things)' in (13.19) are similar to an English expression 'this and that' in 'he wants this and that' meaning 'he wants lots of things'.

13.2.4 Adversative coordinator **melai** *'but'*

The adversative coordinator *melai* 'but' in general marks a contrast. When it links NPs, PPs, non-verbal predicates, or dependent clauses, *melai* always forms a complex coordinator with the negation marker *pui*. Usually, *pui* occurs in front of the first linked constituent and *melai* occurs between linked constituents, as in examples (13.20), (13.22), and (13.23). Linked NPs/PPs may occur discontinuously, and in such a case, both *melai* and *pui* occur in front of the second NP/PP. This is illustrated by example (13.21).

(13.20) NPs

Ni	*se=a*	*kiada*	*maba*	*madu*	*se*	*pui*	[*Sito=ko*
SEQ	3PL=LIG	all	person	COLL.PL	3PL	NEG	Sito=3SG.F

vaki]	*melai*	[*se*]	*ta*	*ke=lupi=k=a*	*se=ko*	*lezu*
troop	but	3PL	TOP	3PL=tie=3SG.F.O=PRES	3PL=3SG.F	head

diri=a=ma *suma* *kale.*
red=LIG=3SG.F cloth in
'And all those people, not Sito's troop, but they (all those people) tied red cloth around their heads.' (12-5-45)

(13.21) PPs
...*vo* *ta* [*o=potu* *kale*] *inio*
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=wound with FOC.NONF

o=k=o=a *ko* *niuniu,* *melai* *pui*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=take=PRES 3SG.F fish but NEG

[*tali* *kale*].
fishing rod with
'...he gets fish with his wound not with a fishing rod.' (24-6-70)

(13.22) Non-verbal predicates
...*vo=a* *botolo* *ta* *maba* *botolo,* *pui*
3SG.M=LIG bottle TOP truly bottle NEG

[*sibi=a=mu=ko* *botolo*] *melai* [*vakamaba=mu=ko*
black=LIG=3PL=3SG.F bottle but white.people=3PL=3SG.F

botolo].
bottle
'...the bottle is truly a bottle, not a black people's bottle but a white people's bottle.' (47-1-5)

(13.23) Dependent clauses
Pui [*ko=barol=ou* *keru*] *melai* [*ko=vait=ou* *keru*]
NEG 3SG.F=arrive=FUT TEMP but 3SG.F=return=FUT TEMP

inio *qe=kati=k=ou.*
FOC.NONF 1DU.INC=give=3SG.F.O=FUT
'Not when she arrives but when she returns, we will give it to her.'

With clauses, it either forms a complex coordinator with the negation marker as in (13.24) or it functions as a coordinator by itself as in (13.25). The negation marker appears in front of the VP.

(13.24) Independent clauses
...[*matu* *raisi-raisi* *ko=ta* *ev=a*], *melai*
very REDUP-evening 3SG.F=SIT become=PRES but

[*nioqa=vo* *mama* *ta* *pui* *o=baro=a*].
3DU=3SG.M father TOP NEG 3SG.M=arrive=PRES
'...even though it became late evening, their father didn't arrive.' (24-4-36)

(13.25) Independent clauses
...[*kubo* *kele-kele* *o=revoe=k=a*] *melai*
many REDUP-point 3SG.M=go.around=3SG.F.O=PRES but

[o=beta	*ol=a]...*
3SG.M=CONT	go=PRES

'...even though he went around many points, he kept going...' (38-1-4)

Melai 'but' may indicate a concessive relationship between clauses and can be translated as 'even though' or 'in spite of the fact that' as in the examples above. *Melai* may also imply a substitutive relationship as in example (13.26) meaning 'but instead'.

(13.26) Independent clauses

...[pui	*o=nokae=v=a]*	*melai*	*[o=ta*	*vait=a],*
NEG	3SG.M=call=3SG.M.O=PRES	but	3SG.M=SIT	return=PRES

'...he (the son) didn't call him, but instead he (the son) returned,' (24-7-71)

A substitutive relationship signals that one expected situation is replaced by another unexpected situation (Thompson & Longacre 1985:199). In (13.26) the son was looking for him (his father) and therefore it was expected that the son would call him when the son found him but contrary to expectation, he didn't call him and just returned.

13.2.5 Sequential coordinator **inio** *'sequentially/and then'*

The sequential coordinator *inio* 'sequentially/and then', glossed as SEQ, can only link independent clauses. It indicates a temporal, sequential relation. *Inio* is often elided into *nio*.

(13.27)

...[vo	*ta*	*o=k=o=a*	*kama*
3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=take=PRES	INDEF.SG.F

keru-keru],	*inio*	*[vo*	*ta*	*eri*
REDUP-think	SEQ	3SG.M	TOP	s.th.like this

k=i=o=la].
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'...he got some thought and then he said something like this.' (24-2-18)

(13.28)

...[o=saqor=a]	*inio*	*[o=lokie=k=a*
3SG.M=go.down=PRES	SEQ	3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES

ko=a	*qusini].*
3SG.F=LIG	rope

'...he went down and then coiled the rope.' (2-9-52)

It may be postulated that the sequential coordinator *inio* 'sequentially/and then' and the focus marker *inio* (see §14.3.2) historically have the same origin. *Inio* 'sequentially/and then', like focus structures, helps to push the communication forward, by indicating that there is something happening next. In fact, when a VP is followed by *inio*, it is sometimes ambiguous whether it is a focus marker or the sequential coordinator *inio*, as in Bilua a VP on its own can form a clause; both the focus marker and the sequential coordinator can follow a VP. This is when *inio* forms one intonation unit with both the preceding VP and a clause which follows. In such a case, *inio* is treated as a sequential coordinator in this work. On the other hand, if *inio* and the preceding VP form one intonation unit of their own, *inio* is regarded as the focus marker, as the focus marker normally forms one intonation unit with the constituent it marks.

13.2.6 Causal coordinator **ti/ta** *'and then/consequently'*

Causal coordinators *ti* and *ta* link only independent clauses and they indicate a causal succession between events described by the linked clauses. It appears that historically they have the same origin as topic markers *ta* and *ti*. This is discussed later below.

The causal coordinator is usually realised as *ti* when linked clauses present realised situations. *Ta* can be used when the situation described by the second of two linked clauses describes an unexpected situation, and this results in a connotation of surprise. This is illustrated by example (13.29). *Ti*, on the other hand, does not have such a connotation. There is no unexpectedness in example (13.30).

(13.29) [*Sainio* *o=lilit=a*] *ta* [*kala* *ziolo*
therefore 3SG.M=look.back=PRES and.then INDEF.SG.M devil

lula=mu *ke=papue=v=e=ni* *jari* *topi*].
before=3PL 3PL=sit=3SG.M.O=RMP=REL.NONF copra.shed top
'Therefore, he looked back and then [he found that] there was a devil which people in the past had sat on the top of the copra shed.' (43-2-18)

(13.30) ...[*ko=ta* *surai=va*] *ti* [*ko=ta*
3SG.M=SIT heal=PRES and.then 3SG.M=SIT

poda=k=a].
come.out=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...it healed and consequently it came off.' (34-1-10)

Ta can also be used when the first of linked clauses contains a perception verb, *mamulo* 'to be suspicious', *nianiio* 'to know', *kerukeruto* 'to think', *paqumuko* 'to understand', or *kelo* 'to see'. In such a case, the second of linked clauses describes what the subject suspects/knows/thinks/understands/sees. The second of linked clauses in examples below are not complement clauses, as they contain constituents marked with a topic/focus marker, whereas no dependent clauses can contain a constituent marked with a topic/focus marker.

(13.31) [*Anga=ko* *keru-keru* *kale* *anga* *ta*
1SG=3SG.F REDUP-thought in 1SG TOP

a=qeru-kerut=a] *ta* [*ko=kue=va=ko* *taku* *ta*
1SG=REDUP-think=PRES and.then 3SG.F=come=PRES=REL.F time TOP

enge *Vella La Vella* *udu* *kale=a=ma* *maba* *poso=ngela*
1PL.EXC Vella La Vella island in=LIG=3SG.F person PL=1PL.EXC

ta	*tapata*	*nge=da*	*el=ou*].
TOP	hard	1PL.EXC=SIT	become=FUT

'In my thinking, I thought, [and as a result I think] in the coming time, we, [the lives of] Vella La Vella people will become hard.' (64-3-16)

(13.32)

Nio	[*sainio*	*nioqa=vo*	*meqora*	*ta*	*o=ta*
SEQ	therefore	3DU=3SG.M	child	TOP	3SG.M=SIT

mamul=a]	*ta*	[*vo*	*ta*	*o=potu*	*kale*
be.suspicious=PRES	and.then	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=wound	with

inio	*o=k=o=a*	*ko*	*niuniu*	*melai*
FOC.NONF	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES	3SG.F	fish	but

pui	*tali*	*kale*].
NEG	fishing.rod	with

'And, therefore, the child of the two, he became suspicious, [and as a result he suspected that] the father caught fish with his wound [on his legs] but not with a fishing rod.' (24-6-70)

The VP in the clause which follows *ti* often contains the continuity marker *beta/be*. The continuity marker here always has the 'sequential' use (see §8.5.4).

(13.33)

...[*ko=bori=v=a*	*vo=a*	*bakisa*]	*ti*
3SG.F=carry=3SG.M.O=PRES	3SG.M=LIG	custom.money	and.then

[*ko=beta*	*ol=a*	*inio*	*matu-peuru*	*kale*],
3SG.F=CONT	go=PRES	FOC.NONF	big-village	in

'...she carried the custom money and she went on to the big village,' (27-5-28)

When linked clauses present unrealised situations, the clausal coordinator is usually realised as *ta*. *Ti* is used when linked clauses present habitual generic situations. Example (13.35) occurs in a story about traditional marriages in which situations described are generic.

(13.34)

...[*me=k=a*	*zario=vou*]	*ta*	[*me=ngavi*	*nio*
2PL=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=FUT	and.then	2PL=EMPH	FOC.NONF

me=koi=k=ou]...
2PL=climb=3SG.F.O=FUT

'...if you want [betelnuts] you yourself will climb [the betelnut tree]...'
(more literally '...you want [betelnuts] and then you yourself will climb [the betel nut tree]...' (59-8-68)

(13.35)

[*Esa*	*ko=a*	*sinaqurusu=ko*	*mama*	*ni*	*niania*	*ta*
maybe	3SG.F=LIG	girl=3SG.F	father	and	mother	TOP

lula	*qo=vou=vou*]	*ti*	[*ko=a*	*sinaqurusu=vo*
already	3DU=die=FUT	and.then	3SG.F=LIG	girl=3SG.M

papa	*kasi*].
uncle	at

'Maybe if the father and mother of the girl are already dead, [they will go to see] her uncle.'
(more literally 'Maybe the father and mother of the girl are already dead, and then [they will go to see] her uncle'.) (21-2-7)

Or *ti* can occur when the clause that follows contains the continuity marker *beta/be*. Again, the continuity marker here has the 'sequential' use.

(13.36)	"...[*qe=zio*]	*ti*	[*qe=beta*	*vait=o*]..."
	1DU.EXC=goNRFUT	and.then	1DU.EXC=CONT	return=NRFUT

'"...we will go and then return..."' (27-17-108)

Notice that in (13.35) a clause that is followed by a causal coordinator has its own topic. The topic NP, *ko=a sinaqurusu=ko mama ni niania* 'the father and mother of the girl', is not the topic of the (contracted) second clause *ko=a sinaiqurusu=vo papa kasi* '[they will go to see] her uncle', and thus this topic is the topic of only the first clause.

Haiman (1978) shows that conditional clauses and topics are marked in an identical way in some languages and he illustrates semantic similarity between conditionals and topics: 'I am arguing that topics, like conditional clauses, are presuppositions of their sentences. But superficially, at least, presupposition means different things in the case of NPs and complement sentences' (Haiman 1978:585). Haiman also states that a conditional construction indicates a 'causal succession' between two clauses.

The morphemes *ta* and *ti* in Bilua function as topic markers (see §14.2), and it may be suggested that *ta* and *ti* described above are in fact topic markers. Indeed, there is some evidence that supports this contention. Topic markers, *ta* and *ti*, however, appeared to have developed as causal coordinators as discussed below.

The following evidence supports the above contention. First, in examples (13.34) and (13.35), *ta* and *ti* clearly mark a clause which presents a condition. Furthermore, as described in §14.2.3, the topic marker *ti* can be used only when the clause presents a habitual/generic situation. This accords with the choice of topic marker for example (13.35).

Second, a pronoun *so* 'that', which refers to a clause, can be marked by a topic marker *ta/ti*, and *so* marked by *ta/ti* may present a condition. *Ta/ti* here cannot be treated as a causal coordinator, as *ta/ti* as a coordinator cannot link an NP to a clause. In the following example, the pronoun *so* 'that', which is marked by *ta* (TOP), refers to a clause 'he does not eat'. Semantically, this clause presents a condition; the situation described by the clause that follows the topic marker *ta* occurs under this condition.

(13.37)	"*Koe*	*ako*	*so*	*ta*	*o=ta*	*vou=vo*	*inio*
	INTJ	INTJ	that	TOP	3SG.M=SIT	die=NRFUT	FOC.NONF

anga=vo	*meqora*	*vuat=o*	*melai*	*pui*
1SG=3SG.M	child	eat=NOM	too	NEG

o=vuat=a *sole",*
3SG.M=eat=PRES that's.why
'"Oh, if it goes on like this he will die, my child, because he doesn't eat either",' (27-5-27)

Thus, it may be said that causal coordinators *ta* and *ti* are indeed topic markers. However, there is some other evidence that suggests that topic markers *ta* and *ti* have developed as coordinators. First, *ti* can be used when the situations described are not habitual/generic ones as in examples (13.30), (13.33), and (13.36). Second, in some of examples above, the topic marker does not necessarily mark a condition. For example, in example (13.29) it is hard to say that the clause marked by *ta* presents a condition. Third, *ti/ta* may also occur in the clause-initial position, indicating the continuation of a story or a sentence (see §13.2.1), and in such a case it seems more reasonable to say that *ti/ta* here is a coordinator rather than a topic marker. In conclusion, one might say that topic markers *ta* and *ti* have developed or at least are in the process of developing as causal coordinators, and in this work *ta* and *ti* are treated as coordinators when they follow a clause[84]

In their classification of conditionals, Thompson and Longacre (1985:190–191) make a distinction between reality conditions and unreality conditions. Unreality conditions are divided into predictive and imaginative conditions. With predictive conditions one predicts what will be (1985:190–191) and this is expressed by a clause followed by a causal coordinator as in the above examples. On the other hand, imaginative conditions are expressed by a clause marked with a subordinator *tea* 'if' (see §12.4.3).

Reality conditions are divided into three kinds: present, habitual/generic, and past. Among these, a habitual/generic condition is expressed by a clause followed by *ti,* as in example (13.35). Present and past conditions are also expressed by a clause followed by *ta* or *ti.* Thompson and Longacre's (1985:190) example for a present condition, 'if it's raining out there, (my car is getting wet)' could be expressed by two independent clauses linked by a causal coordinator *ti* as in example (13.38) below.

(13.38) [*Esa* *nioro* *ko=ta* *ev=a* *sai*] *ti*
maybe rain 3SG.F=SIT become=PRES there and.then

[*anga=ko* *car* *ta* *site-site*].
1SG=3SG.F car TOP REDUP-wet
'It may be raining there, and then my car is wet.'

Ti but not *ta* can be recursive, thus one sentence may contain more than two clauses linked by *ti*. When *ti* is recursive, it indicates a sequence of situations that occur one after another, and *ti* here is better translated as 'and'. This also supports the contention that *ti*, and also *ta*, have developed as a coordinator.

(13.39) [*Ko=ta* *baro=a*] *ti* [*ko* *ta* *ko* *ol=ala* *raro*
3SG.F=SIT arrive=PRES and.then 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F go=RCP pot

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[84] However, there appears to be no relationship between another topic marker *melai* and the adversative coordinator *melai*.

pade asi] ti [ko=zarupat=a]...
house at and.then 3SG.F=sweep=PRES
'She arrived and she went to the kitchen and she swept...' (59-6-52)

A causal coordinator *ti* 'and then/consequently' may link an ablative PP to a locational phrase that presents a goal (see §10.5 for ablative PPs).

(13.40) *So ti so vo=ko saqor=o kale sipole tiania*
that INT that 3SG.M=3SG.F descend=NOM in near middle

o=baro=ke vo=ko peuru kale azo ti saka
3SG.M=arrive=HIST 3SG.M=3SG.F village in ABL and.then seaside

matu peuru kale ta tiania vo ta o=dokol=ake.
big village in TOP middle 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=stop=HIST
'It went on and on in his descent, he reached close to the middle, middle point from his village to the seaside, the big village, (and) he stopped.' (26-12-66)

(13.41) *...ke=ngavi=ko iruiruput=o maba poso ta matu*
3PL=EMPH=3SG.F work=NOM person PL TOP very

ile-ile=a=ma kiti kasi azo ti lezu kasi...
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.F foot at ABL and.then head at
'...her own working people are very beautiful from the foot to the head...' (67-5-49)

On the surface it looks as if *ti* links two phrases in the above two examples. *Ti* here still however can be treated as a causal coordinator, as illustrated by the following example. Example (13.42a) can be analysed as consisting of two clauses, and this presents an extension of area. In the first clause, the VP *ko=tanit=a* (3SG.F=begin=PRES) is omitted, and only the ablative adjunct is left. This is linked by a causal coordinator *ti* to the second clause, which presents a goal.

(13.42-a) *Bilua eria ta Joroveto ju kasi azo ti*
Bilua area TOP Joroveto water at ABL and.then

ko=baro=a Koloa ju kasi.
3SG.F=arrive=PRES Koloa water at
'As for Bilua area, [it starts] from Joroveto river and then it arrives at Koloa river.' (22-1-4)

The predicate of the second clause in (13.42a) can be omitted and this results in (13.42b), showing a similar structure to (13.40) and (13.41). Thus, *ti,* occurring between an ablative PP and a locational PP that presents a goal, can be treated as a causal coordinator.

(13.42-b) *Bilua eria ta Joroveto ju kasi azo ti*
Bilua area TOP Joroveto water at ABL and.then

Koloa ju kasi.
Koloa water at
'Bilua area is from Joroveto river to Koloa river.'

Furthermore, *ti* can also link an ablative PP to a temporal phrase that presents an ending point of an extension of time (see §10.4 for temporal phrases).

(13.43) *A iruruput=ala vikale azo ti raisi-raisi.*
1SG work=RCP morning ABL and.then REDUP-evening
'I worked from morning to evening.'

13.2.7 Intensifying coordinator **ti**

The intensifying coordinator *ti* (INT) links two identical phrases (NPs, PPs, or VPs) or words (the negation marker *pui* or an adjective *matu* 'big' as in examples (13.49) and (13.50) below). NPs, PPs or VPs linked by *ti* always refer to a situation, and *ti* indicates intensity or persistence of the situation. For example, in example (13.44) *ti* links two identical PPs, and it indicates the intensity of the fighting.

(13.44) PP
...*[pazo-kini=o=le] ti [pazo-kini=o=le] ti*
hit-RECP=NOM=in INT hit-RECP=NOM=in and.then

ke=ta ruvur=a, se Kutakabai=mu.
3PL=SIT all.die=PRES 3PL Kutakabai=3PL
'...after the intensive fighting they, Kutakabai people, all died.' (22-7-32)
(more literally '...in the fighting and in the fighting, they *Kutakabai* people all died.)

Phrases linked by *ti* can be treated as clauses, as they refer to situations in the manner that clauses do. Accordingly, linked phrases can be linked to a clause by a coordinator. This is usually done by a causal coordinator *ti,* as in (13.44). In fact, it is plausible that the intensifier coordinator *ti* has originated in the causal coordinator *ti,* but when *ti* links identical phrases, it indicates intensity or persistence of the situation because of the repetition of the same phrase.

Phrases that occur on both sides of the intensifier *ti* can have only minimum constituent(s). The object NP governed by a PP can consist of a noun only. This can only be a nominalised verb, as in (13.44). When the linked phrases are NPs, these can have only their heads. The head of the NP can be a nominalised verb as in example (13.45), or the pronoun *so* 'that', which has a clause as its antecedent as in example (13.46). In both examples, the linked NPs refer to situations.

(13.45) ...*[puze=v=o] ti [puze=v=o] ti*
blow=3SG.M.O=NOM INT blow=3SG.M.O=NOM and.then

diri-diri *o=ta* *ev=a* *vo=a* *taka...*
REDUP-red 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES 3SG.M=LIG claw
'...he blew and blew the fire, and then the claws [of the coconut crab] became red...' (38-3-10)
(more literally '...blowing it and blowing it, the claws became red...')

(13.46) [*So*] *ti* [*so*] *ti* [*so*] *ti* *sopu* *tiania*
that INT that INT that and.then hill middle

o=baro=a.
3SG.M=arrive=PRES
'He chased and chased and chased them, and then he reached the middle of the hill.' (16-6-80)

In (13.46), the antecedent of the pronoun *so* 'that' is a clause 'he chased them', which occurs in the previous discourse.

The minimum constituent of a VP in Bilua is a pronominal proclitic, the head, and a tense/mood marker. VPs linked by *ti* may additionally have the situation-change marker *ta*. The situation-change marker adds dynamicity because of its function of indicating a change of situation. Since a Bilua VP can form a clause on its own, it can be said that coordination of VPs by *ti* is a case of coordination of clauses. However, *ti* cannot link clauses that contain constituents other than VPs.

(13.47) *Ti* [*o=ta* *ol=a*] *ti* [*o=ta* *ol=a*] *ti*
and.then 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES INT 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES INT

[*o=ta* *ol=a*] *ti* [*o=ta* *ol=a*]] *kingu* *ale.*
3SG.M=SIT go=PRES INT 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES forest in
'He went and went and went and went in the forest.' (24-11-91)

(13.48) [*Ke=kail=a*] *ti* [*ke=kail=a*] | *ke=baro=ke*
3PL=go.up=PRES INT 3PL=go.up=PRES 3PL=arrive=HIST

ko=a *zae* *kale,*
3SG.F=LIG area in
'They went up and went up, (and) they arrived at the area,' (26-23-123)

Ti can also link identical words, the negation marker *pui* as in example (13.49) or an adjective *matu* 'big' as in example (13.50) below. The negation marker *pui* linked by *ti* indicates a strong negation. Among all adjectives, only *matu* 'big' can be linked by *ti*.

(13.49) *"...sole* *koi* *nio* *maba* [*pui*] *ti* [*pui*] *ngo*
so here FOC.NONF truly NEG INT NEG 2SG

el=o", *k=i=ko=la,*
stay=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"...so, truly you never stay here", she said,' (24-9-89)

(13.50) *So* *sole* *vo* *ta* *o=lilit=ake* *inio*
that because 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=look back=HIST SEQ

o=v=e=ake	*[matu]*	*ti*	*[matu]=la*
3SG.M=3SG.M.O=see=HIST	big	INT	big=3SG.M

utupe,
coconut.crab
'So, he looked back and he saw a very big coconut crab,' (26-15-85)

Other adjectives than *matu* 'big' cannot occur with the intensifying coordinator *ti.* With other adjectives, intensity can be indicated by a general modifier *matu* 'very' as in example (13.51). The adjective *matu* 'big' cannot be modified by a general modifier *matu* 'very', and intensity can only be indicated by the intensifying coordinator *ti,* as in the above example.

(13.51)	*Sito*	*ta*	*matu*	*piza=ka=la*	*maba.*
	Sito	TOP	very	strong=LIG=3SG.M	person

'Sito is a very strong person.' (12-7-64)

It might be hypothesised that an adjective *matu* 'big' and a general modifier *matu* 'very' are one and the same word. In fact, both can modify nouns. However, as described in §5.3, a general modifier *matu* 'very' modifies nouns without a pronominal enclitic attached, while an adjective *matu* big' requires a pronominal enclitic. Therefore, *matu* 'big' and *matu* 'very' are treated as separate words in this work.

13.3 Juxtaposition

Independent clauses may be linked by juxtaposition. Juxtaposition may link more than two clauses. In a sentence in which clauses are linked by juxtaposition, the boundary between clauses is normally marked with a slight rising intonation at the end of each clause which occurs sentence internally. This is followed by a short pause. The final clause, the end of the sentence, is marked with a falling intonation.

Similarly to coordination of clauses by the conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and', the clauses linked by juxtaposition are regarded as presenting one situation which has subparts. Clauses are normally linked by juxtaposition in fast speech or when the second of linked clauses presents an unrealised situation. Example (13.52) as the whole describes what the two do every morning and this has subparts.

(13.52)	*[Kiada=ma*	*vikale*	*nioqa*	*ta*	*qo*	*ol=a*	*kiaro*	*kasi]*
	all=3SG.F	morning	3DU	TOP	3DU	go=PRES	garden	at

[qo=baro=a	*kiaro*	*kasi],*	*[nioqa*	*ta*	*qo*	*iruruput=a*
3DU=arrive=PRES	garden	at	3DU	TOP	3DU	work=PRES

sai].
there
'Every morning, the two, they went up to the garden, they arrived at the garden, [and] the two, they worked there.' (24-1-10)

When the second of two linked clauses linked by juxtaposition presents an unrealised situation, this clause is preceded by the irrealis marker *tu* and presents a purpose, as in example (13.53), or a result, as in example (13.54). The second clause can also be an imperative clause, as imperative clauses always present an unrealised situation. This is illustrated by example (13.55).

(13.53)

...[*ko*	*ina-inao=va*]	*tu*	[*ko*	*ta*	*ko=vait=ou*
3SG.F	REDUP-get.ready=PRES	IRR	3SG.F	TOP	3SG.F=return=FUT

mata]...
again

'...she got ready in order that she will return again...' (59-7-60)

(13.54)

[*O=kil=o*],	[*o=kil=o*]	*tu*	[*maba*
3SG.M=come=NRFUT	3SG.M=come=NRFUT	IRR	truly

a	*aive=v=o*	*anga*].
1SG	scold=3SG.M.O=NRFUT	1SG

'He will come, he will come, and truly (that will result in that) I will scold him.' (24-8-82)

(13.55)

"[*Pui*	*vanga*	*inio*	*sai*]	*tu*	[*vae=k=a*]	*tu*
NEG	far	FOC.NONF	there	IRR	leave=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG	IRR

[*ko=zio*	*ko=ngavi*]",	*k=i=ko=la,*
3SG.F=goNRFUT	3SG.F=EMPH	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

'"It's not far away, leave it, she will go herself", she said.' (27-22-140)

Tu is not a purposive/resultative subordinator; the second clause of example (13.53) contains a constituent marked with a topic marker, whereas a dependent clause cannot have a constituent marked with a topic marker.[85]

Clauses linked by juxtaposition may express two simultaneous situations when the first clause has the verb *kelo* 'to see' as in example (13.56).

(13.56)

...[*o=k=e=a*	*nioqa*]	[*qo=beta*	*kue=va*],
3SG.M=3DU.O=see=PRES	3DU	3DU=CONT	come=PRES

'...she saw her coming,' (27-11-68)

One might consider that the second clause in (13.56) is in fact a finite complement clause that functions as an object. This however contradicts a description of finite complement clauses presented in §12.3—first, a Bilua finite complement clause contains only a future/near future tense marker; second, a finite complement clause can be the object of only Secondary verbs; and third, a Bilua finite complement clause immediately follows the VP of the main clause. Whereas, in example (13.56), the verb in the second clause has the present tense marker, the verb in the first clause is a Primary verb, and the second clause does not immediately follows the VP of the first clause. Thus, example (13.56) cannot be treated as main plus complement clauses unless we establish another type of finite complement clause, which accommodates the structure of example (13.56). This, however, does not seem to be so motivating or economical, as such a complement clause would occur only with a clause containing *kelo* 'to see'. Furthermore, there is no syntactic/morphological marking of the second clause as a dependent clause. Therefore, example (13.56) is treated as an example of juxtaposed clauses.

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[85] The irrealis marker *tu* is not a coordinator, as it may also occur between an independent clause and a complement dependent clause (see §12.3.2 and §12.3.3). In such a case, the complement clause can only be a finite or non-finite complement clause which takes only a Secondary verb as the main verb. On the other hand, when *tu* occurs between independent clauses, the verb which precedes can only be a Primary verb.

Two clauses are always linked by juxtaposition when the second of the linked clauses is an interrogative clause.

(13.57) ...[*pui* *nge=baqumu=k=a*] [*noi* *nio* *ke=ta*
NEG 1PL.EXC=understand=3SG.F.O=PRES how FOC.NONF 3PL=SIT

ka=va, *ma* *ke=ta* *vouv=a* *inio,* *ma*
do=PRES or 3PL=SIT die=PRES FOC.NONF or

ka *koi* *ke=ta* *ol=a*].
INDEF place 3PL=SIT go=PRES
'...we don't understand how they are doing, or [if] they died or they went somewhere.' (26-4-25)

(13.58) [*Pui* *a=q=a* *nianii=a*] [*esa* *noni=a=ma*
NEG 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL know=PRES maybe how=LIG=3SG.F

saev=o *ikio* *enge* *nge=q=ov=ou*
survive=NOM FOC.F 1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=FUT

kaitu=a=ma *saev=o*].
future=LIG=3SG.F survive=NOM
'I don't know maybe what kind of life we will get, [for] future life.' (64-3-32)

One might consider that the second clauses in the two examples above are interrogative complement clauses, as the English translations suggest this. Notice, however, that the second clause in each example above contains a constituent marked with a focus marker: *noi* 'how' in (13.57) and *noniama saevo* 'what kind of life' in (13.58). This suggests that the second clauses are independent clauses—Bilua dependent clauses cannot contain a constituent marked with a focus marker, while independent clauses may (see §12). One might make an exception to this—a complement clause may contain a constituent marked with a focus marker when this constituent contains an interrogative word. Such an exception, however, is not employed in this work, as again there is no syntactic/morphological marking of interrogative clauses as dependent, and examples above are treated as juxtaposition of two clauses.

Juxtaposition is also the preferred way of indicating coordination when one of the linked clauses has a linking adverbial. This is because a linking adverbial itself marks a successional relationship between two situations. Linking adverbials are described in §10.7.

This concludes the description of coordination. The next chapter deals with discourse organisation in Bilua.

14 *Discourse organisation*

14.1 Introduction

This chapter presents three kinds of constructions that encode discourse organisation: topic structure, focus structure, and constituent order. A topic is what a clause/sentence is about, while a focus is defined by Lambrecht (1994:213) as 'the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition'.

When analysing topic and constituent order, it is important to distinguish different kinds of referent status. Lambrecht (1988 and 1994:74–116) combines two concepts, 'identifiability' and 'activation', previously suggested by Chafe (1976 and 1987) to distinguish referent status. Hence one can label a referent as 'identifiable' if it 'can be retrieved from the context or recalled from memory' or as 'unidentifiable' if a referent is one 'for which a new referential entry or model has to be created in the mind of the hearer before it can be recalled in subsequent discourse' (Lambrecht 1988:144). Furthermore, unidentifiable referents can be divided into two types: unanchored and anchored.

> A discourse entity is Anchored if the NP representing it is LINKED, by means of another NP, or "Anchor," properly contained in it, to some other discourse entity. Thus *a bus* is Unanchored, or simply Brand-new, whereas *a guy I work with*, containing the NP I, is Brand-new Anchored, as the discourse entity the hearer creates for this particular guy will be immediately linked to his/her discourse entity for the speaker. (Prince 1981:236)

If a referent is identifiable, this can be in one of three activation states: active, accessible/semi-active, or inactive.

> An active concept is one "that is currently lit up, a concept in a person's focus of consciousness at a particular moment." An accessible/semi-active concept is one "that is in a person's peripheral consciousness, a concept of which a person has a background awareness, but one that is not being directly focused on." An inactive concept is one "that is currently in a person's long-term memory, neither focally nor peripherally active". (Lambrecht 1994:94)

A referent can be textually, inferentially, or situationally accessible. A referent which has been active earlier in the discourse is textually accessible. Inferentially accessible means that a referent is inferable from some other active referents in the discourse, and situationally accessible means that a referent is accessible due to extra-linguistic context.

Thus, five different types of referent status can be recognised: inactive, accessible, active, anchored, and unanchored, with three subtypes of accessible referents: textually accessible, situationally accessible, and inferentially accessible. This is summarised as follows (based on Lambrecht 1994:109).

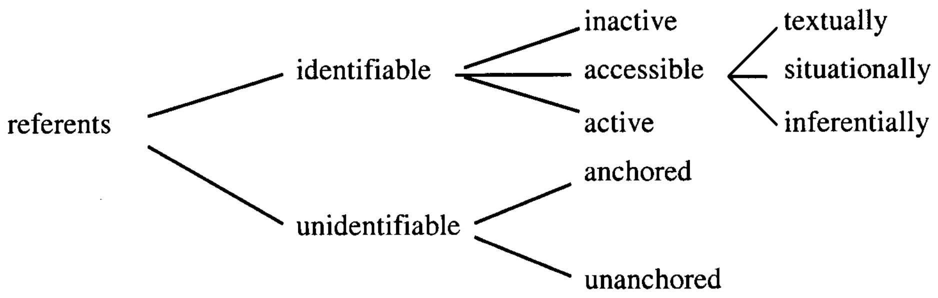

Figure 14.1: Different types of referent status

This chapter is organised as follows. Topic and focus are described in §14.2 and §14.3 respectively. Both topic and focus markers in Bilua may emphasise a contrast. This is described in §14.4. A clause may have both topic and focus constituents. The order of topic and focus constituents within a clause is described in §14.5. Following this, section §14.6 presents functions and order of unmarked constituents in Bilua. Section §14.7 presents a summary.

14.2 Topic

14.2.1 Introduction

A topic is what a given clause/sentence is about, and 'a constituent is a topic expression if the proposition expressed by the clause with which it is associated is pragmatically construed as conveying information about the referent of the constituent' (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:203).

A language may have a topic structure which contains a topic expression and a comment expression, an expression which presents information about this topic. In this section, first the topic structure in Bilua is described in §14.2.2. A topic expression in Bilua consists of a phrase marked with a topic marker. There are three topic markers in Bilua: *ta*, *ti*, and *melai*. Their distribution is described in §14.2.3. In Bilua, only NPs which have an identifiable referent can be marked with a topic marker. See §14.2.4.

14.2.2 Topic structure

In the Bilua topic structure, a topic is expressed by a phrase marked by a topic marker, and this is followed by a comment expression, which minimally contains a verbal predicate and which may additionally contain optional constituents of verbal clauses.[86] This is schematised as:

Topic expression	Comment expression
phrase + topic marker	verbal predicate (+ optional constituents)

Figure 14.2: Topic Structure

In the following, the term 'topic constituent' refers to a phrase marked with a topic marker. Note that the topic structure does not have to be employed in every single sentence in Bilua. The topic structure is employed for a pragmatic reason. This is discussed later in this section.

In example (14.1), an NP *vo* (3SG.M) 'he' presents a topic, and an NP + a VP *qusini=ko varu o=k=o=a* 'he got the bark of *varu* trees' presents a comment about this topic. Then, a new topic is introduced by an NP *anga* 'I', and an NP + a VP *bita=ko ipupu a=q=o=a* 'I got the bark of *ipupu* tree' presents a comment about the new topic.

(14.1) [*Vo* *ta*] [*qusini=ko* *varu* *o=k=o=a*] |
3SG.M TOP rope=3SG.F varu.tree 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
topic expression comment expression

[*anga* *ta*] [*bita=ko* *ipupu* *a=q=o=a*].
1SG TOP string.bag=3SG.F ipupu.tree 1SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES
topic expression comment expression
'As for him, he got [the bark of] *varu* trees, [and] as for me, I got [the bark of] *ipupu* trees.'

Thus, the topic structure consists of a topic expression and a comment expression, which are a topic constituent marked with a topic marker and a verbal predicate with optional constituent(s) respectively. The comment expression can form a clause by itself, as a Bilua verbal predicate can equal a clause. The topic expression is sometimes a part of this clause and at other times it is not. In Bilua, the topic constituent may have a core argument or adjunct status in relation to the predicate in the comment expression but this is not always the case. In the former case, topic and comment expressions are considered to form one clause. That is, the topic expression is an intraclausal element. In example (14.1), each of the topic constituents has a subject status in relation to the predicate, and thus topic and comment expressions form one clause. Similarly, in example (14.2), the topic constituent has a temporal adjunct status in relation to the predicate, and thus the topic and comment expressions form one clause.

(14.2) *Nio* *so* *keru* *ta* *bereti* *kio* *o=bori=k=a*
and.then that TEMP TOP bread FOC.F 3SG.M=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES

---

[86] A topic marker is also an obligatory constituent of a non-verbal clause, marking the subject NP. This is described in §3.3 and §11. It is not obligatory for a verbal clause to contain a topic marker.

vo=a *silo=a=la* *meqora...*
3SG.M=LIG small=LIG=3SG.M child
'And then as for that time [the second time], he carried bread, the small child...' (16-3-35)

When the topic constituent has no relation with the predicate in the comment expression, the topic and comment expressions do not form one clause. The comment expression forms a clause on its own, and the topic expression is an autonomous, extraclausal element. In example (14.3) below, the topic constituent is *vo=ko peka=o* 'his dance', and the comment expression is two coordinated clauses which follow the topic expression. The topic constituent here is not an argument of the verb *pesio* 'to speak' or *kelo* 'to see'. Nor does it function as an adjunct of these clauses. Thus, in (14.3), topic and comment expressions do not form one clause.

(14.3) *Vo=ko* *peka=o* *ta* *"kake* *ke=l=ati*
3SG.M=3SG.F dance=NOM TOP INDEF.PL 3PL=1SG.O=VAL

pesi=o *ma* *kake* *ke=l=el=o,"*
speak=NRFUT or INDEF.PL 3PL=1SG.O=see=NRFUT
'As for his dance, "it makes people speak to me or it makes people see me,"' (26-13-71)
(more literally 'As for his dance, "some people speak to me or some people see me",')

Topic and comment expressions usually form one intonation unit, but the topic expression may form its own intonation unit. In such a case, the topic expression is regarded as an extraclausal element, regardless of whether the topic constituent has any relation with the predicate in the comment expression or not. In example (14.4), the topic expression forms its own intonation unit, and thus it does not form one clause with the comment expression, even though the topic constituent has a subject relation with the predicate in the comment expression. Note that in this example one NP is filled with two NPs in apposition; *rekoama* 'the wife' and *voa sieleko reko* 'the wife of the dog', and this is topicalised.

(14.4) *...reko=a=ma* *vo=a* *siele=ko* *reko* *ta,*
wife=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=LIG dog=3SG.F wife TOP

tuto *ale* *ko* *i=k=a...*
coconut.container in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES
'...as for the wife, the wife of the dog, she put [the food] in a coconut container...' (27-12-75)

Furthermore, a topic constituent may form its own intonation unit, independent of the topic marker. In this case too, the topic expression is treated as an extraclausal element.

(14.5) *...enge=ko* *peuru* *kale,* *ta* *matu* *kubo* *maba*
1PL.EXC=3SG.F village in TOP very many person

madu *ta* *ke=ta* *mumai=va,*
COLL.PL TOP 3PL=SIT get.lost=PRES
'...in our village, a lot of people, they got lost,' (26-18-112)

A topic structure may have more than one topic expression. When there are two topic expressions, one may be an extraclausal element and the other may be an intraclausal element. In such a case, the latter occurs closer to the comment expression. In example (14.6), *se=ko iruruput=o* 'their work' is an extraclausal element; it has no relation with the predicate in the comment expression. On the other hand, *se* 'they' is an intraclausal element; it has a subject status in relation to the predicate in the comment expression. Consequently, *se* 'they' occurs closer to the comment expression.

(14.6) *...se=ko* *iruruput=o* *ta* *se* *ta* *ke* *iruruput=a*
3PL=3SG.F work=NOM TOP 3PL TOP 3PL work=PRES

kiaro *kale.*
garden in
'...as for their work, they, they worked in a garden.' (26-1-4)

When two topic expressions are both intraclausal elements, both syntactically and by intonation, the order depends on the functions of the topic constituents—they take their usual positions in a clause (see §3.2.2). Thus, the one which is a core argument occurs closer to the predicate than the one which is an adjunct. In example (14.7) an argument NP *enge* 'we' and a temporal adverb *erisanga* 'today' are both intraclausal elements. They are a core argument and an adjunct respectively. The former, an argument, occurs closer to the predicate than the latter, an adjunct.

(14.7) *Erisanga* *ta* *enge* *ta* *nge* *ukaka*
today TOP 1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC careless

irurupput=a.
work=PRES
'Today, we work carelessly.' (10-19-164)

In example (14.8) the first topic expression *aniqe ta* (1DU.EXC TOP) 'we' is treated as an extraclausal element, even though the NP *aniqe* has a subject relation with the predicate in the comment expression. This is because this NP and the temporal adjunct *lea* 'tomorrow' do not take their usual positions—the NP precedes the adjunct. If the topic expression, *aniqe ta* 'we', was a part of the clause, it should occur after the other topic expression, *lea ta* 'tomorrow'.

(14.8) *"Aniqe* *ta* *lea* *ta* *qe=pa* *barol=o*
1DU.INC TOP tomorrow TOP 1DU.INC=PROS arrive=NRFUT

anga=ko *mama* *ni* *niania* *kasi* *saita.*
1SG=3SG.F father and mother at first
'"We, as for tomorrow, we will reach my father and mother, first.' (27-17-104)

As described above, a topic structure contains a constituent which presents a topic. In a discourse, the topic structure is employed for three reasons.

First, the speaker may employ the topic structure in order to establish a new topic. In example (14.9), the last clause in sentence [1] is in the topic structure, and *nioqa* (3DU) 'the two' is established as a new topic by this topic structure, and there is no occurrence of the topic structure again until sentence [5], in which a new topic *nea siqoa-maba* 'the bushman' is established. In Bilua, once a new topic is established, it can be expressed by a pronominal proclitic which cross-references the subject. That is, the subject presents the topic without being marked. Thus, in sentences from [2] to [4], the established topic 'the two' is expressed by the pronominal proclitic *qo* (3DU). In [6], although the topic changes from 'he' back to 'the two', the topic structure is not employed in order to re-establish 'the two', which had just been the topic in sentences [1] to [4], as a topic. Thus, it is not necessary to employ the topic structure in order to re-establish an old topic, as long as it is still an active referent, and this can be done by presenting it as the subject instead. Note that in [5], the topic constituent is the subject of a non-verbal clause, but the topic marker still functions to establish a new topic. Accordingly, in the verbal clause which follows this, 'he' is the established topic and is presented as the subject.

(14.9) [1] *So* *sole* *ko=raneo=ke,* *ti*
that that's.why 3SG.F=sleep.overnight=HIST and.then

ke=pitoe=k=e=ni *nioqa* *omuqa* *maba* *kidi,*
3PL=choose=3DU.O=RMP=REL.NONF 3DU two person COLL.DU

nioqa *ta* *qo=ta* *kail=ake* *omadeu* *lekito.*
3DU TOP 3DU=SIT go.up=HIST one early.morning

[2] *Qo=kail=ake* *ti* *qo=kail=ake* *ti* *qo=kail=ake.*
3DU=go.up=HIST INT 3DU=go.up=HIST INT 3DU=go.up=HIST

[3] *Matu-kingu* *kale* *nio* *ne=a* *maba=ko*
big-forest in FOC.NONF PROX.SG.M=LIG person=3SG.F

peuru.
home

[4] *Qo=kail=ake* *qo=kail=ake* *ni* *qo=peati=k=ake*
3DU=go.up=HIST 3DU=go.up-HIST and 3DU=go.over=3SG.F.O=HIST

ko *sopu,* *kadaule* *inio* *qo=baro=ke*
3SG.F hill instantly FOC.NONF 3DU=arrive=HIS

ne=a *siqo=a* *maba=ko* *peuru* *kale.*
PROX.SG.M=LIG bush=LIG person=3SG.F home in

[5] *Ne=a* *siqo=a-maba* *ta* *sai* *o=peuru* *kale*
PROX.SG.M=LIG bush=LIG-person TOP there 3SG.M=home in

sai *nio* *o* *ev=a* *koi,* *sai* *nio*
there FOC.NONF 3SG.M stay=PRES where there FOC.NONF

vo=ko *vinasa.*
3SG.M=3SG.F heritage

[6] *Qo=baro=ke*	*sai*	*ni*	*eri*	*k=i=qo=lake*
3DU=arrive=HIST	there	and	s.th.like.this	3SG.F.O=say=3DU=HIST

"uri=a=ma	*ngadale."*
good=LIG=3SG.F	afternoon

'[1] Because of that, next day, the two people whom they chose, they went up early in the morning. [2] They went up and up and up. [3] This person's home was in a big forest. [4] They went up and up, and they went over a hill and they arrived instantly at this bushman's home. [5] This bushman was there at his home, that was where he lived, that was where his heritage was. [6] The two arrived there and said something like "good afternoon."' (26-7-35~41)

Second, the speaker may employ the topic structure in order to draw attention to an event with a previously established topic referent. In example (14.10) each sentence is in the topic structure: *vo* 'he' is marked with a topic marker. The first topic structure establishes *vo* 'he' as a new topic, and the rest are employed in order to draw attention to events being described.

(14.10)

Ni	*puliako*	*lotu*	*tukeu*	*vo*	*ta*
and	before	Christianity	be.longNOM	3SG.M	TOP

o=ta	*vou=ke.*	*Vo*	*ta*	*o=vae=m=a=ke*
3SG.M=SIT	die=HIST	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=leave=3PL.O=PRES=HIST

duki	*kale*	*o=tou-tou*	*ni*	*o=meqorasaidi.*	*Vo*	*ta*
sadness	in	3SG.M=REDUP-tribe	and	3SG.M=family	3SG.M	TOP

ke=daulae=v=ake	*sai*	*Qao.*
3PL=bury=3SG.M.O=HIS	there	Qao

And, not long after Christianity arrived, he, he died. He left his tribe and family in sadness. They buried him there in Qao.' (23-3-34~36)

Finally, the topic structure may be employed in order to emphasise a contrast. This is described in §14.4 below.

14.2.3 Topic markers ta, ti, *and* melai

There are three topic markers in Bilua: *ta*, *ti*, and *melai*. *Ti* and *ta* simply function as topic markers and have no semantic content. *Ti* occurs in restricted environments. It occurs when the topic expression is an intraclausal element and when the clause presents a habitual/generic situation. Example (14.11) describes what two people (the son and the mother) and the father do every day, and thus the situations described are habitual ones. Therefore, the topic constituents are marked with *ti*, not with *ta*.

(14.11)

...nioqa	*ti*	*qo*	*ol=a*	*kiaro*	*kale,*	*qo=mama*	*ti*
3DU	TOP	3DU	go=PRES	garden	at	3DU=father	TOP

o *ev=a* *pade* *kasi.*
3SG.M stay=PRES house at
'...as for the two, they went to the garden, and as for the father, he stayed at the house.' (24-2-17)

Ti can also occur when the topic constituent has an adjective *kiada* 'all' as in the last example in (14.12).

(14.12) ...*enge ta* *nge=rove=a* *tu* *k=ov=o* *kubo*
1PL.EXC TOP 1PL.EXC=can=PRES IRR 3SG.F.O=get=NOM many

sailao *ivere* *kale,* *enge=ko* *kiaro* *kale=a=ma* *sailao*
food sea in 1PL.EXC=3SG.F garden in=LIG=3SG.F food

melai *kubo* | *siqo* *melai* *uri* | *ore* *melai* *kubo* |
too many bush too good tree too many

kiada=ma qoli ti *ikoana.*
all=3SG.F thing TOP EXT.SG.F
'...as for us, we can get much food in the sea, the food from our garden is plentiful too, the bush is good too, there are also many trees, there is everything.' (64-1-5)

Ta, on the other hand, can be used in any environment, including environments in which *ti* can occur. The first topic constituent in (14.12) is marked with *ta*, even though the topic expression here is an intraclausal element and the clause describes a generic situation. On the other hand, topic expressions in example (14.9) are all intraclausal elements and the clauses do not describe a habitual/generic situation. Therefore, the topic constituents can only be marked with *ta*. In example (14.13) there are two topic expressions; the first one is an extraclausal element, and so the topic constituent can be marked only by *ta*. The second one is an intraclausal element and the topic constituent contains *kiada* 'all', but this is still marked with *ta*. Thus, there is no restriction on environments in which *ta* can occur.

(14.13) *Melai* *vo ta* *kiada keru ta* *pui*
but 3SG.M TOP all TEMP TOP NEG

o=sisu=a=ni *melai* *ko=a* *taku* *kale*
3SG.M=have.fruit=PRES=REL.NONF but 3SG.F=LIG time in

inio *omadeu* *pado* *ikio* *vo=ko* *epa...*
FOC.NONF one MESone FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F fruit
'But, as for [the betelnut tree], all the time, it did not bear any fruit, but that time there was one fruit of [the betelnut tree]...' (59-1-8)

In (14.13) two coordinated clauses present a comment about the topic *vo* (3SG.M) 'it (the betelnut tree)'. In this example, the topic 'it' is talked about with regard to two different temporal references *kiada keru* 'all the time' and *ko=a taku kale* 'in that time'. The first clause has its own topic 'all the time', which is a subtopic within the topic *vo* 'it'.

Kiada keru is not the topic of the second clause. The second clause does not have a subtopic, and the topic is just *vo* 'it'.

The third topic marker *melai* has a semantic content as well as serving as a topic marker: it means 'too' or 'also'. It indicates that the comment includes the same or similar information as the information given by the preceding clause. This is illustrated by example (14.14). In this example the topic changes from the wife of the dog to the mother, but since the mother took the same action as the wife, the change of topic is indicated by the topic markers *melai* 'too'.

(14.14)

...vo=a	*siele=ko*	*reko*	*ta*	*tuto*	*ale*
3SG.M=LIG	dog=3SG.F	wife	TOP	coconut.container	in

ko	*i=k=a*	*ni*	*niania=ka=ma*	*melai*
3SG.F	put=3SG.F.O=PRES	and	mother=LIG=3SG.F	too

tuto	*ale*	*ko*	*i=k=a.*
coconut.container	in	3SG.F	put=3SG.F.O=PRES

...as for the wife of the dog, she put [the food] in a coconut container, and as for the mother, she too put it in a coconut container. (27-12-75)

In Bilua, the subject of a non-verbal clause is marked with a topic marker (see §11). This can be any of *ta*, *ti*, and *melai*. The second, third, fourth, and fifth clauses in example (14.12) are non-verbal clauses, and their subjects are both marked by *melai*. *Melai* is employed here because these clauses present the same information, just as the first clause does, 'many'.

14.2.4 Referent status of topic NPs

Lambrecht discusses the relationship between types of referent status presented in §14.1 and their acceptability as topic. The more identifiable the referent is, the more acceptable it is as a topic. This is summarised by the following diagram (based on Lambrecht 1994:165).

Identifiable–active	Most Acceptable
Identifiable–accessible	↓
Identifiable–inactive	↓
Unidentifiable–anchored	↓
Unidentifiable–unanchored	Least Acceptable

Figure 14.3: The topic acceptability scale

In Bilua only an NP which has an identifiable referent can be a topic constituent. Among identifiable referents, only active and accessible referents can be topic constituents. A less acceptable referent, however, requires more processing effort to interpret the utterance, and so it is quite rare for such a referent to be a topic.

In example (14.15) below the referent of the topic NP *kake tanatana=mu* 'some elders' has not previously occurred in the discourse, but it is a situationally accessible referent. The speaker starts this story with a scene-setting of the village, and in every village there are some elders. In example (14.16) the referent of the topic NP *omuqa kiti* '(his) two legs' marked with a topic marker appears for the first time. This is a body part of the subject of this clause and thus it is an inferentially accessible referent.

(14.15) *Omadeu taku inio, kake tana-tana=mu ta*
one time FOC.NONF INDEF.PL REDUP-elder=3PL TOP

ke=k=ai bazu-bazuek-ini=a komi,
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES PROX.SG.F

ke=k=ai bazu-bazuek-ini=a keru komi,
3PL=3SG.F.O=VAL REDUP-tell-RECP=PRES TEMP PROX.SG.F

lekasa ta o=ta m=a viq=ake.
chief TOP 3SG.M=POSS 3PL.O=VAL hear=HIST
'One day, some elders, they were talking to each other about this, when they were talking to each other about this, the chief heard them.' (26-3-20)

(14.16) *Vo ta o=beta papu=a toupa kale inio,*
3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES lake in SEQ

toupa kale o=beta papu=a. Nio omuqa kiti
lake in 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES SEQ two leg

ta o=soloe=k=a toupa kale. Inio, sai
TOP 3SG.M=dangle=3SG.F.O=PRES lake in SEQ there

nio o=tare=k=a ko niuniu.
FOC.NONF 3SG.M=wait=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F fish
'He was sitting in the lake, he was sitting in the lake. And [his] two legs, he dangled them into the lake. And, there he waited for fish.' (24-5-62~64)

A categorical/generic NP is always identifiable as the hearer can identify the category. A categorical/generic NP can also present a topic marked with a topic marker. In example (14.17), the NP *visi=a=mu* 'younger ones' presents 'younger ones' in general. This example is stated by an older sister whose younger sister married before her, and she is making a general statement about the marriage, not just about her and her younger sister.

(14.17) *"Koe visi=a=mu ta, pui kapiavole*
EXCL younger=LIG=3PL TOP NEG quickly

ke=rorot=a=ni nio | *kaka=ka=mu*
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF older=LIG=3PL

inio kuleto ke=rorot=a=ni,"
FOC.NONF first 3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF
'"Younger ones, they do not quickly marry and it's older ones who marry first,"' (27-18-113)

14.3 Focus

14.3.1 Introduction

Following Lambrecht's (1994:213) definition of focus, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:202) write:

> The 'old' information is the set of assumptions evoked by the utterance that make up the context necessary for understanding the utterance. We will now refer to this set of assumptions as the 'pragmatic presupposition' or just 'presupposition'. The part of the assertion which is not within the pragmatic presupposition we will call the 'focus' or 'focus of the assertion'; it is the part that is unpredictable or unrecoverable from the context.

The relationship between the focus and presupposition can be illustrated by a set of questions and answers given to these questions. For example, the question 'who went to the party?' is built on a pragmatic presupposition 'someone went to the party', and in an answer given to this question 'Steve' or 'it was Steve who went to the party', 'Steve' is the focus. What is informative here is 'not the information in the focus by itself, but the association of that information with the set of assumptions that constitute the pragmatic presupposition' (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:202). That is, in the above example, what is informative is the association between 'Steve' and 'someone went to the party', and this association is expressed by the it-cleft sentence 'it was Steve who went to the party' in which 'Steve' is the focus, which is unrecoverable from the context.

Thus, a focus is that part of an assertion which is not within the presupposition. However, when the discourse evokes no presupposition, focus and assertion coincide. For example, the question 'what happened' does not constitute any presupposition other than that something happened, and an answer to this question, 'he fell off the tree' is the focus and this itself is the informative assertion.

A language may have a focus structure in which the focus is syntactically or morphologically marked. It-cleft sentences in English are an example of this. In Bilua, the constituent which expresses focus, the focus constituent, is marked either syntactically or morphologically; it takes a preverbal position or it is marked by a focus marker. These two ways of marking focus constituents are described below.

14.3.2 Focus structure

There are two different ways to mark the focus constituent in Bilua—the focus constituent can be marked by a preverbal position or marked by a focus marker. That is, the focus structure is a clause in which a constituent is marked as a focus constituent. The focus constituent can be a core argument, an adjunct, or a predicate.[87] Whether this is marked by a focus marker or by a preverbal position depends on the function of the focus constituent.

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[87] Lambrecht (1994:221–234) and Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:206–210) propose three focus types: argument focus (narrow focus by Van Valin and LaPolla), predicate focus, and sentence focus. Bilua focus structures are used for only argument (narrow) and predicate focus, and there is no grammatical structure for sentence focus in Bilua.

In Bilua, O NPs, locational/temporal adjuncts, all adjuncts expressed by a PP, and circumstantial adverbs *mata/mati* 'again' (see §10 for different kinds of adjuncts) can be focus constituents by taking a preverbal position. In example (14.18), the focus constituent is a preverbal object NP 'a big string of fish'.

(14.18)	*...vo*	*ta*	*o=vait=a*	*keru*	*kubo*	*niuniu*
	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=return=PRES	TEMP	many	fish

sate	*matu=ma*	*dere-dere*	*o=k=ati*
COM	big=3SG.F	REDUP-string.of.fish	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

saqor=a.
go.down=PRES

'...when he came back with fish, he came down with a big string of fish.'
(24-3-23)

Example (14.18) occurs in a discourse in which 'he' went fishing. From this discourse, the presupposition 'he will come back with something' is evoked. 'Something' is replaced by the information 'a big string of fish'. The association between this information and the presupposition is expressed by a clause in the focus structure 'he came down with a big string of fish' in which 'a big string of fish' is the focus constituent.

In the second clause of example (14.19) below, a PP *bita=le* 'in a string bag' is a locational adjunct, while *raqauza* 'ember' in the third, *sakareju* 'coconut shell filled with water' in the fourth, and *zouke sakareju* 'three coconut shells filled water' in the fifth clauses are all objects. Each of these is the focus constituent of its clause and takes preverbal position. In the discourse where this example occurs, the son tells his mother to get taro, embers, and coconut shells filled with water to go for a walk. The mother takes the actions described in example (14.19) following his request. The first clause says that the mother got taro ready, and from this, the presupposition 'the mother put taro somewhere X' is evoked. 'Somewhere X' is replaced by 'in a string bag'. Following this, another presupposition 'the mother (also) carried other things' arises. 'Other things' is replaced with more specific referent in the utterance, in the remaining clauses.

(14.19)	*Ti*	*ko*	*ina-inae=k=a*	*ko*	*mau*	|
	and.then	3SG.F	REDUP-get.ready=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F	taro	

bita=le	*ko*	*i=k=a,*	*rangauza*
string.bag=in	3SG.F	put=3SG.F.O=PRES	ember

ko=bori=k=a,	*ti,*	*sakareju*
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES	and.then	coconut.shell.filled with water

ko=bori=k=a	|	*zouke*	*sakareju*
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES		three	coconut.shell.filled with water

ko=bori=k=a.
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES
'Then, she got taro ready, she put them in a string bag, she carried embers, and she carried coconut shells filled with water, she carried three coconut shells filled with water.' (27-13-81)

Object NPs and the aforementioned adjuncts can in addition be marked with a focus marker. This is discussed later in this section.

Unlike the constituents described above, S/A NPs, manner adjuncts, linking adjuncts, and complements of a VP cannot be a focus constituent just by taking a preverbal position. They have to be marked by a focus marker to be a focus constituent. A constituent which is marked with a focus marker always takes a preverbal position. The description of the focus structure so far suggests that the preverbal position is a marked position for an O NP, while it is not for an S/A NP—an O NP can be a focus constituent by taking a marked preverbal position, while for an S/A NP this is the unmarked position and so it requires a special marking in order to be a focus constituent. This is further discussed in §14.6. Since a VP itself occupies the reference position for other constituents, the VP also requires a focus marker to be a focus constituent as well. Note that a VP headed with the verb *kio* 'to say' always takes other constituents preceding itself. Therefore, with this VP, any constituent has to be marked with a focus marker to be a focus constituent.[88] The subject or the predicate of a non-verbal clause can also be a focus constituent, and these are also marked by a focus marker.

There are two focus markers in Bilua: *inio* and *ikio*, and they are often elided into *nio* and *kio* respectively. When a focus marker marks a constituent other than an NP, a focus marker is always realised as *inio*, while when it marks an NP, it can be *inio* or *ikio,* showing agreement with the focus NP. They show the following person/number/gender agreement with the focus NP.

Table 14.1: Focus markers and agreement

Focus marker	Human	Non-human
ikio	third person singular feminine	unspecified number
inio	non–third person singular feminine	singulative

Notice that the distribution of focus markers is different from the distribution of pronominal enclitics as heads of modifier phrases (see §7.2.1.3.1) or demonstratives as possessor markers (see §7.3.2). There, with human referents, the third person singular feminine, dual, and plural were grouped together in opposition to the third person masculine. In contrast, here, third person singular feminine is in opposition to all others. Thus, *inio* (FOC.NONF) rather than *ikio* (3FOC.F) is regarded as the default form, and it is because of this that *inio* (FOC.NONF) is chosen when the marked constituent is not an NP.

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[88] Incidentally, with this verb, the focus argument can only be the object. There is no example in the data in which the subject of this verb is the focus constituent.

There are exceptions to the distribution given in Table 14.1. An NP which consists of *ngavi* 'self' cliticised with a pronominal proclitic, PRON=*ngavi* 'by oneself', or an NP functioning as a complement of a VP is always marked with *inio*. On the other hand, an NP headed with a quantifier is always marked with *ikio*.[89]

In example (14.20), the constituent *anga* 'I' is marked with a focus marker *inio*. This is the subject of a non-verbal clause in the first instance and is the subject of a verbal clause in the second instance. This example occurs in a discourse where three brothers are discussing which of the three should wait at home. From this, the presupposition, 'someone (one of us) waits', is evoked, and 'someone' is replaced with *anga* 'I', and this is expressed by the second instance of the focus structure. Another presupposition 'someone is the older one' is deduced from extralinguistic context. Here everyone wants to be the one who waits, and the senior one has the authority over the choice. That is, the issue becomes 'who is the older one?'

(14.20)	*...qe*	*kiada=qela*	*ta*	*qe=zio=vou*	*anga*	*inio*
	2DU	all=2DU	TOP	2DU=go=FUT	1SG	FOC.NONF

kaka=ka=lala	*anga*	*inio*	*koi*	*a=dare=k=ou.*
elder.sibling=LIG=1SG	1SG	FOC.NONF	here	1SG=wait=3SG.F.O=FUT

'Both of you, you will go, it is me who is older, it is me who will wait here.' (59-4-31)

Example (14.21) occurs in a discourse in which he climbed to the top of a ngali nut tree and sent down ten bags of ngali nuts to his wife waiting at the bottom of the tree. Following this, the presupposition 'next he did X on the tree' arises, and 'did X' is replaced with a specific action '(he) came down'. The complete information 'he came down from the top of the nagli nut tree' is expressed by a clause in the focus structure in which the verbal predicate is the focus constituent.

(14.21)	*O=beta*	*saqor=a*	*inio*	*ko=a*	*nene*	*topi*
	3SG.M=CONT	go.down=PRES	FOC.NONF	3SG.F=LIG	ngali.nut	top

azo...
ABL
'He came down from the top of the ngali nut tree...' (2-8-47)

In example (14.22), the focus constituent is the non-verbal predicate. Here the presupposition is that the subject 'she' is available for a comment. The assertion 'she is pregnant' is given as a reason for the assertion expressed in the following clause 'you will go and get water for her'.[90]

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[89] Note that 'unspecified number' for non-human in Table 14.1 means that it can be any number —it does not mean that it cannot be specified for a number. Thus, there is no contradiction when *ikio* is used for numerals.

(14.22)	*"...ko*	*ta*	*molu=a=ma*	*ikio*	*tu*
	3SG.F	TOP	pregnant=LIG=3SG.F	FOC.F	IRR

ngo=ba	*k=a*	*tobet=e,"*
2SG=PROS	3SG.F.O=VAL	get.water=IMP.SG

'"...she is pregnant and [so] you will go and get water for her,"' (27-22-139)

Thus, one way of marking the focus constituent is by a preverbal position and the other is by a focus marker. Naturally, when the focus constituent is morphologically marked, it is obvious that it is a focus constituent, and when it is not, it is less obvious, as it can be identified as a focus constituent only by the function of this constituent and by its position. Because of this, an object NP and the afore-mentioned adjuncts, which do not require a focus marker to be a focus constituent, can also be marked with a focus marker. In the example below, an instrumental adjunct takes a preverbal position and is marked with a focus marker.

(14.23)	*Nio*	*sainio*	*nioqa=vo*	*meqora*	*ta*	*o=ta*
	SEQ	therefore	3DU=3SG.M	child	TOP	3SG.M=SIT

mamul=a	*ta*	*vo*	*ta*	*o=potu*	*kale*
be.suspicious=PRES	and.then	3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=wound	with

inio	*o=k=o=a*	*ko*	*niuniu*	*melai*	*pui*
FOC.NONF	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES	3SG.F	fish	but	NEG

tali	*kale.*
fishing.rod	with

'And, therefore, the child of the two, he got suspicious, [and he suspected that] the father caught fish with his wound [on his legs] but not with a fishing rod.' (24-6-70)

As illustrated in the examples given above, the presupposition is usually accessible to the hearer. However, this could be inaccessible as well. For example, the last clause in example (14.24) has the focus structure. This is built on the presupposition 'he became something', in which something is replaced by 'snake' in the focus structure, but this presupposition is not accessible to the hearer from the context or through inference. In such a case, the focus structure has an effect of highlighting; it indicates an important part of the story. This effect results from the fact that the speaker is presenting an inaccessible presupposition as if it were an accessible one to the hearer. That is, here there is an implication 'don't you know this, this is what happened?'[91]

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[90] This is one of the subfunction of it-clefts in English proposed by Prince (1978:902); the it-cleft may suggest that one state of affairs is closely tied to another.

(14.24) *O=leinio-lenioe ti o=leinio-leinioe ti o=leinio-leinioe*
3SG.M=REDUP-lick INT 3SG.M=redup-lick INT 3SG.M=REDUP-lick

ti o=ta v=a saivi=k=a ko=a
and.then 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.M.O=VAL heal=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG

potu, ti vo=a maba ta dole inio
wound and.then 3SG.M=LIG person TOP snake FOC.NONF

o=beta ev=a.
3SG.M=CONT become=PRES
'...[the snake] licked him, he licked him, and he licked him, consequently he healed his wound, and consequently, the man, he became a snake.' (24-11-97)

In a Bilua interrogative clause, a constituent that contains an interrogative word is often a focus constituent, as this is the part of the question which is not presupposed.

(14.25) *"...lai nio a=ba tare=k=ou?"*
where FOC.NONF 1SG=PRES wait=3SG.F.O=FUT

k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'"...where shall I go and wait?"' I said. (2-5-30)

(14.26) *Lala=nga inio ngo?*
what=thing FOC.F 3SG.F
'Who are you?' (28-2-23)

However, in a non-verbal interrogative clause in which the question word is *lai* 'where', that is in a non-verbal interrogative clause that questions the location of the subject, *lai* 'where' is never a focus constituent. Instead it is a topic constituent as in example (14.27).

(14.27) *Lai ta ko?*
where TOP 3SG.F
'Where is she?' (27-23-150)

It is rather peculiar that only an interrogative word *lai* 'where' as a non-verbal predicate can be a topic constituent and that it cannot be a focus constituent, and there appears to be no explanation why this is so. There is also an example in which an interrogative word *lai* 'where' takes the predicate position of a non-verbal clause as in example (14.28).

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[91] Remember that two linking adverbials, *soinio* 'consequently and *sainio* 'therefore' which originated in an NP *so* 'that' and an adverb *sai* 'there' respectively and are marked by a focus marker, may be used to point to the highlight of the story (see §10.7).

(14.28)

Bolo	*ta*	*lai?*
pig	TOP	where

'Where is pig?' (43-3-29)

This example appears in the discourse in which the speaker's husband went pig-hunting, and the speaker, his wife, utters this when he came home, apparently empty-handed. What she is asking here is about pigs — whether he brought back any pig or not, and it is not where the pig is. Thus, example (14.28) conveys the sense of 'what about pigs?' It is because of this that here 'pig' occurs as the topic constituent and consequently *lai* 'where' occurs as the predicate.

One clause may have two focus constituents. In example (14.29) below, the subject NP is marked with a focus marker while the object NP takes a preverbal position, and thus both are focus constituents. The presupposition here is 'someone told me something'.

(14.29)

"So	*inio*	*anga=ko*	*kil=o*	*meqora",*
that	FOC.NONF	1SG=3SG.F	come=NOM	child

k=i=ko=ve,	*anga=ko*	*taite,*	*anga=ko*	*niania*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP	1SG=3SG.F	g.parent	1SG=3SG.F	mother

kasi,	*soinio,*	*a=niania*	*ikio*	*komi=a*	*bazu-bazu*
at	consequently	1SG=mother	FOC.F	PROX.SG.F=LIG	REDUP-story

ko=l=ai	*bazue=k=e,*
3SG.F=1SG.O=VAL	tell=3SG.F.O=RMP

'"That was my arrival, child", said my grandmother to my mother, [and] consequently, it was my mother who told this story to me,' (25-9-66)

When there are two focus constituents, the one which is marked with a focus marker precedes the one which is not marked with a focus marker, as in (14.29). Two focus constituents may both be marked with a focus marker, as in the last clause in example (14.13) repeated below. In this example, one of the focus constituents is a non-verbal predicate and the other is an adjunct. The first one occurs closer to the subject NP, since the predicate is the core of the clause.

(14.13')

Melai	*vo*	*ta*	*kiada*	*keru*	*ta*	*pui*
but	3SG.M	TOP	all	TEMP	TOP	NEG

o=sisu=a=ni	*melai*	*ko=a*	*taku*	*kale*
3SG.M=have.fruit=PRES=REL.NONF	but	3SG.F=LIG	time	in

inio	*omadeu*	*pado*	*ikio*	*vo=ko*	*epa...*
FOC.NONF	one	MESone	FOC.F	3SG.M=3SG.F	fruit

'But, as for [the betelnut tree], all the time, it did not bear any fruit, but that time there was one fruit of [the betelnut tree]...' (59-1-8)

14.4 Contrastiveness

In the last two sections, a description of topic and focus structures was presented. Both of these structures may emphasise a contrast. Contrastiveness is 'not a category of grammar but the result of the general cognitive processes' (Lambrecht 1994:291), but a contrast which arises from the discourse can be emphasised by a topic or focus structure.

The topic structure is usually employed in order to establish a new topic or in order to draw the hearer's attention (see §14.2.2). The topic structure may also be employed in order to emphasise a contrast. Example (14.30) occurs in a story about *ngali* nut-collecting. The speaker is telling how she and her husband used to prepare a string bag and a rope and go to collect *ngali* nuts. In the story, the topic keeps changing among 'she (the speaker)', 'her husband', and 'the two (the speaker and her husband)'. As mentioned in §14.2.2, it is not necessary to employ the topic structure in order to re-establish an old topic as the current topic. In (14.30), the topic structure is employed in order to emphasise a contrast between the two: what the husband did and what the speaker did.

(14.30)	*Qe=saqor=a*	*inio,*	*vo*	*ta*	*ju*	*kale*
	1DU.EXC=go.down=PRES	and.then	3SG.M	TOP	water	in

o=vae=k=a,	*ko=a*	*varu*	|	*anga*	*ta*
3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	varu.tree		1SG	TOP

nganiu	*ale*	*a=vae=k=a.*
sun	in	1SG=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES

'We went down, and as for him, he left [the bark of] varu trees in the water, and as for me, I left [the bark of ipupu trees] in the sun.' (2-1-4)

Similarly in examples (14.11) and (14.14) above, the topic structure is employed in order to emphasise a contrast between two active referents.

The contrast emphasised by a topic marker has a sense of parallel—what one does is parallel to what another does. Focus markers also mark a contrast, but here the contrast has a sense of selection.[92]

The function of focus markers is to mark a constituent as presenting focus. This constituent may be one which was selected from a set. In such a case, the focus constituent is presented in contrast with others which were not selected from the set. In (14.20) repeated below *anga* 'I' is chosen from three brothers, who were all candidates for the one who will wait.

(14.20')	*...qe*	*kiada=qela*	*ta*	*qe=zio=vou*	*anga*	*inio*
	2DU	all=2DU	TOP	2DU=go=FUT	1SG	FOC.NONF

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[92] Dik (1989:277–285) defines focus as the most salient information in a given discourse. He distinguishes two types of focus, one of which is the 'contrast' focus. The 'contrast' focus is further divided into different types of contrast, two of which are referred to as 'selecting' and 'parallel' by Dik.

kaka=ka=lala anga inio koi a=dare=k=ou.
elder.sibling=LIG=1SG 1SG FOC.NONF here 1SG=wait=3SG.F.O=FUT
'Both of you, you will go, it is me who is older, it is me who will wait here.'
(59-4-31)

Similarly in (14.29) repeated below *a=niania* 'my mother' was selected from between the grandmother and the mother.

(14.29') *"So inio anga=ko kil=o meqora",*
that FOC.NONF 1SG=3SG.F come=NOM child

k=i=ko=ve, anga=ko taite, anga=ko niania
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP 1SG=3SG.F g.parent 1SG=3SG.F mother

kasi, soinio, a=niania ikio komi=a bazu-bazu
at consequently 1SG=mother FOC.F PROX.SG.F=LIG REDUP-story

ko=l=ai bazue=k=e,
3SG.F=1SG.O=VAL tell=3SG.F.O=RMP
'"That was my arrival, child," said my grandmother to my mother, [and] consequently, it was my mother who told this story to me,' (25-9-66)

In (14.17) repeated below, *kaka=ka=mu* 'older ones' is selected from the 'younger ones' and 'older ones'. In this example, the NPs 'younger ones' and 'older ones' are non-referential, and both present a topic; first and the second clauses are about 'the younger ones' and 'older ones' respectively. Therefore, the NP 'younger ones' is marked with a topic marker, but the NP 'older ones' is not marked with a topic marker. This is because the NP 'older ones' also presents a focus. Here, the presupposition is 'someone marries first', and 'someone' is replaced by 'the older ones'. When one constituent presents both topic and focus, it is marked with a focus marker, not with a topic marker.

(14.17') *"Koe visi=a=mu ta, pui kapiavole*
EXCL younger.sibling=LIG=3PL TOP NEG quickly

ke=rorot=a=ni nio | *kaka=ka=mu*
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF older.sibling=LIG=3PL

inio kuleto ke=rorot=a=ni,"
FOC.NONF first 3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF
'"Younger ones, they do not quickly marry and it's older ones who marry first,"'
(27-18-113)

14.5 Order of a topic and a focus

The means of marking topic and focus constituents in Bilua was described above. Topic and focus constituents may co-occur, and in such a case, the topic constituent normally precedes the focus constituent. This order is plausible since a topic is what the clause/sentence is about. For example,

(14.31) *Sainio ko=a niania=ka=ma ta kora-korail=o*
therefore 3SG.F=LIG mother=LIG=3SG.F TOP REDUP-anger=NOM

sate inio eri k=i=ko=la.
COM FOC.NONF s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'Therefore, the mother, she said something like this in anger.' (24-9-88)

In the preceding discourse of example (14.31), the son told the mother that the father caught fish with the wound on his legs, and so she was waiting for him to come back so that she could scold him. This brings out the presupposition 'she says something (possibly with some emotion)' and 'in anger' replaces 'emotion'. The information 'she said something like this in anger' is about 'the mother', the topic.

When the focus constituent is a locational/temporal adjunct as well, this normally follows the topic constituent. In example (14.32), a locational adjunct 'at the edge of the *buni* tree' follows the topic constituent 'he'. The topic 'he' says that the clause presents information about him, 'he was sitting at the end of the *buni* tree'. This information is built on a presupposition that 'he was sitting somewhere' and the focus 'at the end of the *buni* tree' replaces 'somewhere'.

(14.32) ...*vo ta sai buni=ko vaila inio*
3SG.M TOP there buni.tree=3SG.F edge FOC.NONF

o=beta papu=a.
3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES
'...as for him, it was there at the edge of the buni tree where he was sitting.' (27-1-88)

However, there are several examples in the data in which a temporal adjunct as a focus constituent precedes a topic constituent. For example,

(14.33) *Nio nioqa saqe ta qo=kiada puli=a=ma nioqa=ko*
SEQ 3DU couple TOP 3DU=all NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3DU=3SG.F

meqora. Puliako meqora sa=nga el=o
child before child COM=2SG become=NOM

inio vo lasive=a=la ta o=ta vou=va,
FOC.NONF 3SG.M male=LIG=3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES

reko=a=ma ikio sai.
female=LIG=3SG.F FOC.F there
'And, the couple were by themselves, they had no child. It was before they became to be with a child (they had a child), that he, the husband, died, the wife was [left] there.' (27-2-7)

In this example, the first sentence presents the information 'they had no child'. The temporal adjunct in the second sentence presents the information 'before they had a child'. Both of these have a reference to 'having a child', and the temporal adjunct is placed in the clause-initial position in order to link the second sentence to the first sentence. In other examples in which a temporal adjunct as a focus constituent precedes a topic constituent, the temporal adjunct is expressed by a PP *so keru* (that TEMP) 'that time'. This links the sentence in which this phrase occurs to the sentence which precedes.

There are also examples in which the temporal adjunct *omadeu taku* (one time) 'one day' as the focus constituent precedes the topic constituent.

(14.34)

Omedeu	*taku*	*inio*	*nioqa*	*ta*	*mata*	*qo=ta*
one	time	FOC.NONF	3DU	TOP	again	3DU=SIT

kail=a.
go.up=PRES

'One day, the two went up [to the garden] as usual.'

In (14.34) the temporal adjunct occurs in clause-initial position in order to introduce a change in the story. This example occurs after the speaker said what the two (the mother and son) and their father do every day, and by this temporal adjunct, the speaker is indicating that something, something different, is going to happen.

The focus constituent which precedes the topic constituent is usually marked with a focus marker, but it may not be so marked. A speaker may start a new story by an unmarked temporal adjunct, *vairutu* 'today' as an introduction of a story. In such a case, the presupposition is the entire story which is not accessible to the hearer.

(14.35)

Vairutu	*anga*	*ta*	*a=q=a*	*zari=a*	*bazut=o*
now	1SG	TOP	1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES	tell=NOM

kama	*bazu-bazulao.*
INDSG.F	REDUP-folktale

'Now, I am going to tell a folktale.'

Finally, the temporal adjunct *erisanga* 'at present' may occur clause-initially in order to highlight the change of situation. In example (14.36), *erisanga* 'at present' occurs in order to highlight that 'he', a coconut crab, who has been killing village people, died.

(14.36)

...vo=ko	*taka*	*ta*	*lula*	*puli=a=ma*	*o=seseu*
3SG.M=3SG.F	claw	TOP	already	NEG=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.M=finger

melai	*puli=a=ma*	*o=zavu-zavu*	*melai*	*puli=a=ma.*
too	NEG=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.M=REDUP-beard	too	NEG=LIG=3SG.F

Erisanga	*nei*	*ta*	*o=ta*	*vou=la.*
at.present	PROX.SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=SIT	die=RCP

'...his claws have gone, his fingers too have gone, his beard too has gone. Now, this, he has died.' (26-17-96)

In summary, a temporal adjunct may precede a topic constituent, when it functions to link sentences, as in example (14.33) or when it highlights a change, as in (14.34) and (14.36). It may also precede a topic constituent when it occurs as an introduction of a story, as in (14.35).

14.6 Order of unmarked constituents

This section presents the pragmatic functions of unmarked constituents, unmarked by a topic or a focus marker, in different positions. As introduced in §14.1, there are five types of referent status: active, accessible, inactive, anchored, and unanchored. Accessible referents are subdivided into textually accessible, situationally, and inferentially referents. Both subject and object NPs in Bilua can occur preverbally and postverbally. Subject/object NPs with different kinds of referents have different pragmatic functions depending on the position they take.

There are four different functions of unmarked NPs in Bilua. First, an NP may perform the function of introducing a new participant or reintroducing an already introduced participant into the discourse. Second, an NP may function to clarify the identity of the referent. Third, an NP may be used for emphasis. Fourth, as described in §14.3.2, it may present focus information. Relationships between the syntactic function of an NP, the position of an NP, and the kind of referent status are summarised in the following table.

Table 14.2: Pragmatic functions of unmarked NPs

Syntactic function	Position		Referent status
	Preverbal	Postverbal	
Subject	–	emphasis clarification	active
	reintroduction	clarification	textually accessible
	introduction	–	situationally/inferentially accessible
			unidentifiable (both anchored and unanchored)
Object	focus	emphasis clarification	active
	focus	reintroduction clarification	textually accessible
	focus	introduction	situationally/inferentially accessible
		introduction	unidentifiable (both anchored and unanchored)

Note that the primary function of an unmarked object NP in preverbal position is to present focus information, but when its referent is not active, it results in introducing or reintroducing a participant into the discourse.[93]

In Bilua, all NPs are optional. They are obligatory only when their referent is not retrievable from the discourse, that is when it has not been introduced into the discourse as a participant or when the referent has already been introduced but has ceased to be a participant prior to the current segment of discourse and thus needs to be reintroduced into the current discourse.

The above table shows that an O NP in a preverbal position is a focus constituent. An S/A NP can also occur in a preverbal position but cannot be a focus constituent without being marked by a focus marker (see §14.3.2). This suggests that the preverbal position is a marked position for an O NP, whose unmarked, basic position is postverbal. On the other hand, a preverbal position is the unmarked, basic position for an S/A NP, and because of this it requires a special marking by a focus marker to be a focus constituent. Furthermore, these positions, a preverbal position for an S/A NP and a postverbal position for an O NP, are the position each of them takes in order to reintroduce a participant, without marking any contrastiveness. One might say that this is because these are their unmarked, basic positions. Thus, it can be said that the basic constituent order in Bilua is SV/AVO.

A Bilua clause usually does not have two unmarked NPs, in particular on the same side of the predicate, but there is one example in the data in which both unmarked subject and object NPs occur in preverbal position. This is presented in §14.6.4.

In the following, three pragmatic functions of NPs: (re)introduction, clarification, and emphasis are described. The analysis here excludes NPs which are added as afterthoughts since these NPs are not regarded as parts of clauses.

14.6.1 (Re)introduction of participants

An NP may function to introduce or reintroduce a participant into the discourse. When an NP functions to (re)introduce a participant, it has to be a full NP, since otherwise, its referent would be unclear. A subject (S/A) NP in preverbal position or an object (O) NP in postverbal position which has a referent other than an active or a textually accessible referent functions to introduce a participant into the discourse. Example (14.37) appears at the beginning of a story and thus the subject NP in preverbal position, ‘pigeon and snail’, has unanchored referents. In example (14.38) the object NP ‘their heads’ has an inferentially accessible referent. The referent has not appeared in the discourse but it is a body part of an active participant.

(14.37)	*Omadeu*	*taku*	[*kurou*	*ni*	*kobaka*]$_{S}$	*qe=beta*
	one	time	pigeon	and	snail	3DU=CONT

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[93] Also, when an NP is marked with a topic or a focus marker and when the referent of this NP is not an active referent, it results in introducing or reintroducing the referent into the discourse.

e=ke. *Kurou* *ni* *kobaka* *ta* *uri=a=ma*
stay=HIST pigeon and snail TOP good=LIG=3SG.F

baere-baere *kidi.*
REDUP-friend COLL.DU
'Once upon a time, there lived a pigeon and snail. The pigeon and the snail were good friends.' (15-1-1~2)

(14.38) *...se* *ta* *ke=lupi=k=a* *[se=ko* *lezu]*$_{\text{O}}$
3PL TOP 3PL=tie=3SG.F.O=PRES 3PL=3SG.F head

diri=a=ma *suma* *kale.*
red=LIG=3SG.F cloth in
'...they tied their heads in a red cloth.' (12-5-45)

A subject NP in a preverbal position and an object NP in a postverbal position which has a textually accessible referent reintroduces a participant into the current discourse. The referent of the subject NP in a preverbal position, 'the mother' in example (14.39) below, has previously appeared in the discourse but has ceased to be a participant some time before the current discourse. It is brought back into the discourse by an unmarked subject NP here. The referent is a textually accessible one.

(14.39) *Ko=rere=a* *inio* *ko=pa* *zuzue=v=a,*
3SG.F=run=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=PROS squeeze=3SG.M.O=PRES

ko=v=ai *kiavi=a,* *ko=lume=v=a,*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL be.pleased=PRES 3SG.F=kiss=3SG.M.O=PRES

saitainio *ko=v=ati* *kail=a.* *Nio* *[ko=a*
afterwards 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL go.up=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=LIG

niania=ka=ma]$_{\text{A}}$ *ko=v=e=a* *inio* *ko=ta*
mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES and.then 3SG.F=SIT

matu *zolei=va.*
very be.happy=PRES
'[The wife] ran, and then she went and hugged him, she was pleased with him, she kissed him, and afterwards she took him up. And, the mother saw him and she was very happy.' (27-16-99~100)

In Bilua a new protagonist is brought into a discourse by one of three means: as an O NP in a postverbal position, as in (14.40), as an S NP of the verb *elo* 'to stay', as in (14.37) above, or as the subject NP of an existential clause, as in (14.41) below. It is very rare for a new protagonist to be introduced into the discourse as an A argument.[94]

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[94] This fits with a cross-linguistic tendency that a new participant is introduced as S or O argument as illustrated by Du Bois (1987). In (14.39), the A argument is not a new participant. It is a participant reintroduced into the discourse.

(14.40) *Ko=vijari=v=a* *[kala* *meqora*
3SG.F=give.a.birth=3SG.M.O=PRES INDEF.SG.M child

lasive=a=la]$_{\text{O}}$ *melai* *vo=a* *meqora* *ta* *pui* *maba*
male=LIG=3SG.M but 3SG.M=LIG child TOP NEG person

melai *siele* | *siele* *inio* *vo=a* *meqora* *ti*
but dog dog FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG child and.then

ko *ta* *ko=v=ati* *vail=a* *ko=vo* *meqor*
3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL look=PRES 3SG.F =3SG.M child

sole *ko=v=ati* *vail=a*
that's.why 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL look.after=PRES

ko=niae=v=a *so* *ti* *so* *ti* *o=ta*
3SG.F=feed=3SG.M.O=PRES that INT that and.then 3SG.M=SIT

rapuk=a *vo=a* *siele* *siele-meqora.*
grow.up=PRES 3SG.M=LIG dog dog-child
'...she had a son, but this child, he was not a man but a dog, the son was a dog, and then she looked after him, because it was her child, she looked after him, fed him, it went on and on, and the dog, the dog-child grew up.' (27-2-10~12)

(14.41) *Inisiana* *[kake* *zouke* *saidi]*$_{\text{subject NP}}$ *kama*
EXTpl INDEF.PL three family INDEF.SG.F

matu=ma *peuru=ko* *keta-keta.* *Se=a* *saidi* *ta*
big=3SG.F village=3SG.F REDUP-edge 3PL=LIG family TOP

ke *ev=a* *ke=kiada* *koi.*
3PL stay=PRES 3PL=all here
'There was a family of three on the edge of a big village. The family, they lived here on their own.' (24-1-3~4)

After a new protagonist is introduced by one of the three means described above, it often appears as a topic in the next clause, presented by an NP marked with a topic marker. This topic NP is expressed by a full NP rather than a pronominal NP, even though the same referent has already been presented by a full NP in the preceding clause. In all of (14.37), (14.40), and (14.41), the NP in square brackets is followed by a full NP which presents the same referent, and this is marked with a topic marker.

14.6.2 Clarification

A subject/object NP in a postverbal position may function to clarify the identify of the bound pronominal form on the verb. Because of its function, such an NP can only be a full NP and cannot be a pronominal NP. It can only be an active or a textually accessible referent, both of which have already been introduced into the discourse. In example (14.42) below, the NP 'Sito' is an active referent. This is a third person singular masculine referent, and there is another active referent of third person singular masculine in the discourse. Therefore, if the speaker omits the NP, it may not be clear to the hearer to which one of these the object clitic on the verb refers. Therefore, the speaker positions the NP for clarification. In example (14.43), two underlined subject NPs appear in order to clarify who the pronominal proclitic on the preceding VP refers to. The elder sister has previously appeared in the story but there is a big gap between her last appearance and this appearance; that is, it is a textually accessible referent. On the other hand, in the discourse where (14.43) occurs, there are two female active referents. The NP *kaka=ka=ma* 'the elder sister' thus occurs to clarify that the pronominal proclitic does not refer to one of these referents, but to the older sister. Notice the use of an NP in this example is in a way similar to reintroduction described in the last section since the NP reintroduces a referent into the current discourse.

(14.42) *So keru Jimi vo ta o=v=ai risai=ke*
that TEMP Jimi 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=3SG.M.O=VAL throw=HIST

vo Sito. Nioqa ta qo=ta zuzue-kini=ake ko=a
3SG.M Sito 3DU TOP 3DU=SIT squeeze-RECP=HIST 3SG.F=LIG

loloku kale. Matu taukavole, kubo maba madu ta
gully in very quickly many person COLL.PL TOP

ke=kue=ke ni ke=noqoe=v=a [*vo Sito*]$_{\mathrm{O}}$.
3PL=come=HIST and 3PL=hold=3SG.M.O=PRES 3SG.M Sito
'That time, Jim threw himself to Sito. They held and struggled with each other in the gully. Many people came very quickly and they held Sito.' (12-7-69~72)

(14.43) *...qo=beta ol=a inio qo ol=a lekasa=vo*
3DU=CONT go=PRES FOC.NONF 3DU go=PRES chief=3SG.M

matu peuru kale pade kasi qo ol=a, ko=a
big village in house at 3DU go=PRES 3SG.F=LIG

reko=ko mama ni niania kasi. Nio ko=k=e=a
wife=3SG.F father and mother at SEQ 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=see=PRES

[*ko kaka=ka=ma*]$_{\mathrm{A}}$, | *ko=v=e=a* [*ko*
3SG.F elder.sibling=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES 3SG.F

kaka=ka=ma]$_{\mathrm{A}}$.
elder.sibling=LIG=3SG.F
'...they went and they went to the chief's big village, to the house, to the father and mother of the wife. And the older sister saw her, [and then] the older sister saw him.' (27-18-111~112)

14.6.3 Emphasis

A subject/object full NP of an active referent may occur in a postverbal position. An active referent does not need to be included in a clause, nor does it need to be presented by a full NP, since its identity is clear. Therefore, when it is included, it emphasises that information presented by the NP is important in the discourse. Such an NP can only be one which presents a protagonist. There are very few examples where an NP is used with this pragmatic function, and in most instances, it occurs in the second clause where two clauses of the same information appear one after another, as illustrated by the following two examples. In both examples, the repetition of the VP emphasises the importance of this information in the discourse, but the speaker also wants to indicate that its participant is equally as important as this information, and thus the NP occurs to emphasise this.

(14.44) *...ne=a* *vaiza* *ta* *o=lulue=m=ou*
PROX.SG.M=LIG shark TOP 3SG.M=follow=3PL.O=FUT

o=lulue=m=ou [*vo=a* *vaiza*]$_{A}$.
3SG.M=follow=3PL.O=FUT 3SG.M=LIG shark
'...this shark followed them, the shark followed them.' (34-4-31)

(14.45) *...ne=a* *vaiza* *ta* *kiada* *koi* *ta* *vo=ko*
PROX.SG.M=LIG shark TOP all place TOP 3SG.M=3SG.F

tauvezat=o *o* *ere=k=e,* *melai* *omadeu* *zae*
help=NOM 3SG.M make=3SG.F.O=RMP but one area

kale *inio* *ke=vouvae=v=e.* *Savo,* *Savo* *inio*
in FOC.NONF 3PL=kill=3SG.M.O=RMP Savo Savo FOC.NONF

ke=vouvae=v=e [*ne=a* *vaiza*]$_{O}$.
3PL=kill=3SG.M.O=RMP PROX.SG.M=LIG shark
'...this shark offered his help everywhere, but it was in one area, they killed him. Savo, it was Savo where they killed this shark.' (34-5-34)

In (14.44), the NP in brackets clearly has an active referent; an NP referring to the same referent occurs in the initial position of the same clause. Similarly throughout (14.45), the shark is an active referent.

This use of an NP is also found in a non-verbal clause. In the following example, the focus marker which follows the non-verbal predicate presents the predicate as a focus. The speaker adds an NP which refers to the subject NP in order to emphasise that it is the addressee who is small.

(14.46) *...ngo* *ta* *matu* *silo=a=langa* *inio* *ngo...*
2SG TOP very small=LIG=2SG FOC.NONF 2SG
'...you are very small, you...' (59-4-29)

14.6.4 Two unmarked NPs in preverbal position

As noted in the introduction of this section, there is only one example in the data in which both unmarked subject and object NPs occur in a preverbal position.

(14.47)	*...ngo*	*ta*	*ruqe=a=ma*	*potu*	*kale*
	2SG	TOP	bad=LIG=3SG.F	wound	with

ngo=q=o=a=ko	*niuniu*	*ikio*	*eqe*
2SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES=3SG.F	fish	FOC.F	3DU

ngo=niae=qel=a,	*ruqe=a=ma*	*quli*	*kale,*	*tuinio=ma*	*quli*
2SG=feed=1DU.O=PRES	bad=LIG=3SG.F	thing	with	smell=3SG.F	thing

kale,	*melai*	*eqe=a*	*saidi*	*kiada*	*keru*
with	but	1DU.EXC=LIG	family	all	TEMP

qe=tauve=ng=a,	*ta*	*eqe*	*ta*	*pui*
2DU.EXC=help=2SG.O=PRES	TOP	2DU.EXC	TOP	NEG

ruqe=a=ma	*sailao*	*pui*	*kuna=ka=ma,*	*uri=a=ma*	*sailao*
bad=LIG=3SG.F	food	NEG	dirty=LIG=3SG.F	good=LIG=3SG.F	food

eqe	*qe=k=o=a*	*me=ngavi=ko*	*kiaro*
2DU.EXC	2DU.EXC=3SG.F.O=get=PRES	1PL=EMPH=3SG.F	garden

kale,
in

'As for you, it is the fish you get with a bad wound [you feed us], with a smelly thing, but we family, we always help you, we [don't get] bad food, not dirty food, but we (not like you) get good food in our own garden,' (24-9-89)

It seems that in (14.47), the speaker wanted to make the subject NP *eqe* 'we' a focus as well as the object NP *uri=a=ma sailao* 'good food' after stating the object NP. However, because of its unusual position after the unmarked focus, the *eqe* 'we' is not marked with a focus marker.

14.7 Summary

In the sections above, three constructions, the topic structure, the focus structure, and the order of unmarked constituents were described. Topic and focus structures play important roles in discourse organisation in the Bilua language, and there are frequent occurrences of topic and focus markers in texts.

The topic structure is employed in order to establish a new topic, but it can also be employed in order to draw hearer's attention or to emphasize a contrast. On the other hand, the focus structure is employed in order to provide the hearer with unrecoverable information from the discourse, which is presented as a focus. That is, both topic and focus structures contribute to the development of the communication and push the communication forward.

It was suggested in §13.2.5 that it may be the case that the focus marker *inio* and the sequential coordinator *inio* 'and then' historically have the same origin. On the other hand, it was demonstrated in §13.2.6 that causal coordinators, *ta* and *ti*, have originated in topic markers *ta* and *ti*. These coordinators all link independent clauses. Independent clauses can also be linked by the conjunctive coordinator *ni* 'and', but this simply conjoins two clauses. Clauses in Bilua are, in fact, more frequently connected by sequential and causal coordinators than by the conjunctive coordinator. This appears to be because of their origin as focus and topic markers, which contribute to the development of the communication. If a story were told by clauses joined just by the conjunctive coordinator, it would sound like a report in which events are presented one after another, without any indication of their discourse relationship.

Appendix 1: Verbal morphology

Most Bilua verbs have both intransitive and transitive verbs, sharing an identical string of segments, which can be referred to as 'root', between them. For example, the intransitive *mumazat* 'to loose' and transitive verbs *mumae* 'to loose' share the root *muma*, and the rest, *-zat* and *-e* can be treated as an intransitive and transitive suffix respectively. Thus, it is possible to segment an intransitive and transitive verb into a root and an intransitive and transitive suffix, but it appears that such segmentation does not have synchronic significance. This is because [1] there are various realisations of intransitive and transitive suffixes, and [2] the choice of intransitive suffix is not predictable from the choice of transitive suffix or vice versa.

Reason [1] is illustrated by the following list of intransitive and transitive suffixes.

Table A1.1: Intransitive and transitive suffixes

Intransitive suffixes	*-at, -t, -zat, -kat, -kazat, -an, -uan, -l, -al, -p, -o, -Ø*
Transitive suffixes	*-i, -e, -eki, -ki, -si, -ie, , -u, -Ø*

Reason [2] can be demonstrated by a comparison between the above pair of intransitive and transitive verbs and another pair of intransitive and transitive verbs. A pair of intransitive and transitive verbs, *niumat* 'to spoil' and *niumae* 'to spoil', share the root *niuma* and thus the intransitive and transitive suffixes of this verb are said to be *-t* and *-e* respectively. The transitive suffix on the verb *muma* is also *-e* but the intransitive suffix on the verb *muma* is not *-t* but *-zat*. Thus, the choice of intransitive suffix is not predictable from the choice of transitive suffix. It is not predictable from the root either.

The above illustrates that it is possible to segment an intransitive and transitive verb into a root and an intransitive and transitive suffix respectively, but such segmentation has historical significance only. Therefore, in this work, each combination is treated as a fully lexicalised form, that is, as a unanalysed stem.

Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts are presented below in order to further demonstrate the reason [2]. It is obvious from these examples that there is no criterion for the choice of intransitive and transitive suffixes. Note that some intransitive and transitive counterparts show S=A relationship while some others show S=A relationship. This is also indicated in the table in the column for 'Roots'.

Table A1.2: Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts (1)

Roots	Intransitive stems	Transitive stems
ere 'to make/do' (S=A)	*ere-kat* 'to make'	*ere* 'to make'
ibu 'to be quiet' (S=O)	*ibu-o* 'to become quiet'	*ibu-e* 'to make s.o. quiet'
jailo 'to be tired' (S=O)	*jailo-z* 'to become tired'	*jailo-ki* 'to make s.o. tired'
koiv 'to climb' (S=A)	*koiv* 'to climb'	*koiv-ie* 'to climb'
laini 'to feel' (S=A)	*laini-zat* 'to feel'	*laini* 'to feel'
mina 'to laugh' (S=O)	*mina-o* 'to laugh'	*mina-eki* 'to make s.o. laugh'
muma 'to loose' (S=A)	*muma-zat* 'to loose'	*muma-e* 'to loose'
niuma 'to spoil' (S=A)	*niuma-t* 'to spoil'	*niuma-e* 'to spoil'
pazo 'to hit' (S=A)	*pazo-t* 'to hit'	*pazo* 'to hit'
pi 'to fall' (S=O)	*pi-al* 'to fall'	*pi* 'to drop'
rokas 'to tear' (S=A)	*rokas-at* 'to tear'	*rokas-i* 'to tear'
roqu 'to care' (S=A)	*roqu-an* 'to care'	*roqu-e* 'to care'
suiri 'to point' (S=A)	*suiri-pat* 'to point'	*suiri* 'to point'
tar 'to wait' (S=A)	*tar-uan* 'to wait'	*tar-e* 'to wait'
toilt 'to wake' (S=O)	*toilat* 'to wake up'	*toilat-i* 'to wake s.o. up'
vere 'to be sick' (S=O)	*vere-p* 'to become sick'	*vere-ki* 'to make s.o. sick'
vari 'to increase' (S=O)	*vari-o* 'to increase'	*vari-e* 'to increase'
veu 'to open' (S=A)	*veu-kazat* 'to open'	*veu* 'to open'
zia 'to cry' (S=O)	*zia-l* 'to cry'	*zia-si* 'to make s.o. cry'

The transitive suffix *-u* is found only with a derived stem. For example, *rarom* 'to cook' is a verb stem derived from a noun *raro* 'pot'. Its intransitive and transitive verbs are *rarom-at* 'to cook' and *rarom-u* 'to cook' respectively. These are in an S=A relationship.

Some verb roots provide two intransitive stems. The following are some examples. Except for *vail* 'to look', in these sets of intransitive and transitive verbs, the intransitive verbs on the left column are in a S=O relationship with their transitive counterparts, while the intransitive verbs on the right column are in a S=A relationship with their transitive counterparts. With *vail* 'to look' both intransitive verbs are in an S=A relationship with the transitive counterpart, but the one on the left means 'to look' while the one on the right means 'to look for'.

Table A1.3: Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts (2)

Roots	Intransitive stems	Intransitive stems	Transitive stems
keju 'to cook'	*keju* 'to cook'	*keju-t* 'to cook'	*keju-e* 'to cook'
lojo 'to stand'	*lojo-l* 'to stand'	*lojo-t* 'to stand s.th. up'	*lojo-e* 'to stand s.th. up'
ngadar 'to dry'	*ngadar* 'to dry'	*ngadar-at* 'to dry'	*ngadar-i* 'to dry'
paki 'to survive'	*paki* 'to survive'	*paki-ezat* 'to save'	*pakie* 'to save'
vail 'to look'	*vail* 'to look'	*vail-izat* 'to look for'	*vail-i* 'to look for'

One of intransitive verbs in each of the following two examples does not have any of the suffixes listed above. Instead, it has *-vat* and *-e* respectively. This is the only occurrence of *-vat* and also this is the only occurrence of *-e* as an intransitive suffix found in the data.

Table A1.4: Examples of intransitive and transitive counterparts (3)

Roots	Intransitive stems	Intransitive stems	Transitive stems
vou 'to die/kill'	*vou* 'to die'	*vou-vat* 'to kill'	*vouva-e* 'to kill'
amaq 'to enter'	*amaq-e* 'to enter'	*amaq-at* 'to put in'	*amaq-i* 'to put in'

In addition to the intransitive suffixes listed above, some verbs take another type of intransitive suffixes that could be referred to as reflexive suffixes. They have two forms *-il* and *-zi*. Verbs that have one of these suffixes typically have a reflexive meaning. For example, a combination of the aforementioned root *nana* 'to bite' with *-il* means 'to bite oneself'. However, some combinations of a root with *-il/-zi* do not have a reflexive meaning. For example, a combination of *pisa* 'to break' and *-il* means 'to break by itself', which is said to be semireflexive meaning. Like intransitive and transitive suffixes, it is not predictable from the form of the root which of these suffixes is attached to each root. Thus, it can be said that combinations of a root with a reflexive intransitive suffix are also lexicalised and they are treated as unanalysed stems in this work.

Appendix 2: Realisations of tense/mood markers

There are different realisations for each of the tense/mood markers in Bilua. Generally speaking, realisations of tense/mood markers depend on the last segment of the word they are attached to. With singular imperative mood markers, the realisation also depends on the kind of host, such as whether it is an intransitive verb or an object clitic on a transitive verb. The following table presents a list of tense/mood markers. The right column presents the distribution of different realisations. Note that the combination of verb final *u* and the near future tense marker *o* is realised as *u*. That is, with verbs ending with the vowel *u*, the near future tense marker is realised as zero morpheme. This is also the case with the nominal derivational enclitic *o*.[95]

Bilua does not allow a sequence of Vs (V standing for a vowel or a diphthong). Because of this, if a vowel-initial tense/mood marker attaches to a diphthong, this results in the deletion of the second element of the diphthong. For example, the combination of *besizio* 'to change' with a present tense marker *a* results in *besizi=a* (change=PRES). Or if encliticisation results in a sequence of identical Vs, this is realised as a single V. For example, the combination of *besizio* to change' with a near future tense marker results in *besizio* (changeNRFUT).[96]

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[95] In this work, a verb ending with the vowel *u* with no near future tense marker (NRFUT)/nominal derivational enclitic (NOM) is glossed as 'verbNRFUT/NOM'. For example,

A=da	*papu.*
1SG=SIT	sitNRFUT

'I am going to sit.'

A=q=a	*zari=a*	*papu.*
1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL	want=PRES	sitNOM

'I want to sit.'

[96] In this work, when a tense marker merges with the preceding vowel, this morpheme is not shown, but the gloss of this morpheme is given following the verb, just like the case with verbs ending with *u*. This also applies to the nominal derivational enclitic *o* attached to verbs.

Table A2.1: Tense/mood markers and their distributions

Tense/mood markers		Forms	Distribution
present tense		*a* / *va*	*va* / *ao* or *io* _ *a* elsewhere
near future tense		*o*	Ø/ *u* _ *o* elsewhere
future tense		*ou* / *vou*	*ou* / C _ *vou* / V _
recent past tense		*ala* / *la*	*ala* / C _ *la* / V
remote past tense		*e* / *vi*	*e* / C _ *vi* / V _
historical tense		*ake* / *ke*	*ake* / C _ *ke* / V _
imperative (sg)	on object clitics	*a*	–
	on intransitive verbs	*e* / *vi*	*e* / C _ *vi* / V _
imperative (du)		*oko* / *ko*	*oko* / C _ *ko* / V _
imperative (pl)		*omo* / *mo*	*omo* / C_ *mo* / V _

Table A.2.2 below presents some examples to illustrate the above generalisation. The transitive verb *pazoko* 'to hit' is presented with a default object clitic *k* (3SG.F). Morphemes in the square brackets merge with the preceding vowel and do not appear in the surface structure.

Table A2.2: Verbs with tense/mood markers

	vuat 'to eat'	*pazo* 'to hit'	*pekao* 'to dance'	*talio* 'to travel'
Present	*vuat=a*	*pazo=k=a*	*pekao=va*	*talio=va*
Near future	*vuat=o*	*pazo=k=o*	*pekao[=o]*	*talio[=o]*
Future	*vuat=ou*	*pazo=k=ou*	*pekao=vou*	*talio=vou*
Recent past	*vuat=ala*	*pazo=k=ala*	*pekao=la*	*tali(o)=la*[97]
Remote past	*vuat=e*	*pazo=k=e*	*pekao=vi*	*talio=vi*
Historical	*vuat=ake*	*pazo=k=ake*	*pekao=ke*	*talio=ke*
Imperative (sg)	*vuat=e*	*pazo=k=a*	*pekao=vi*	*talio=vi*
Imperative (du)	*vuat=oko*	*pazo=k=oko*	*pekao=ko*	*talio=ko*
Imperative (pl)	*vuat=oko*	*pazo=k=omo*	*pekao=mo*	*pekao=mo*

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[97] There is variation in the realisation of a combination of a verb ending with *io,* with the recent past tense marker. The verb final *o* sometimes appears and sometimes does not.

There are some irregular verbs to which the above generalisation of tense/mood markers does not apply. Moreover, these verbs have different realisations when they are bound by tense/mood markers. Irregular verbs are *ov* 'to get', *el* 'to see', *u* 'to eat', *i* 'to say', *kal* 'to occur', *el* 'to stay' or 'to become', *zio* 'to go', *zial* 'to cry', *barol* 'to arrive', *pial* 'to fall', and all verbs ending with *il* and *u*. Note that with these verbs, their realisation with the nominal derivational enclitic is regarded as their basic form, as this is used in its citation form. Their realisations with different tense/mood markers are summarised in Tables A2.3–A2.6 below. An illustration for verbs ending with *il* and *u* is given with verbs *pusail* 'to wash' and *papu* 'to sit'. Note that morpheme boundaries here were determined following the forms of tense/mood markers. The blank in the table is either because of the gap in the data or because combinations of certain verbs with imperative mood markers never appear. Verbs, *ov* 'to get', *el* 'to see', *u* 'to eat', and *i* 'to say' are given with the default object clitic *k* (3SG.F) attached. The verb *i* 'to say' never occurs without a pronominal proclitic, which cross-references with the subject, between the verb and a tense/mood marker. This is given in the first person singular form *a* (1SG) here.

Table A2.3: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (1)

	ov 'to get'	*el* 'to see'	*u* 'to eat'	*kal* 'to occur'
Present	*k=o=a*	*k=e=a*	*k=ua[=a]*	*kav=a*
Near future	*k=ov=o*	*k=el=o*	*k=u=o*	*kal=o*
Future	*k=ov=ou*	*k=el=ou*	*k=ua=vou*	*kal=ou*
Recent past	*k=o=ala*	*k=e=ala*	*k=ua=la*	*ka=la*
Remote past	*k=o=e*	*k=ev=e*	*k=i=e*	*ka=e*
Historical	*k=o=ake*	*k=e=ake*	*k=ua=ke*	–
Imperative (sg)	*k=o=a*	*k=e=a*	–	–
Imperative (du)	*k=o=ko*	*k=e=ko*	–	–
Imperative (pl)	*k=o=mo*	*k=e=mo*	–	–

Table A2.4: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (2)

	el 'to stay' or 'to become'	*zio* 'to go'[98]	*kil* 'to come'	*barol* 'to arrive'
Present	*ev=a*	*ol=a*	*kue=va*	*baro=a*
Near future	*el=o*	*zio[=o]*	*kil=o*	*barol=o*
Future	*el=ou*	*zio=vou*	*kil=ou*	*barol=ou*
Recent past	*ev=ala*	*ol=ala*	*kue=la*	*baro=la*
Remote past	*ev=e*	*kev=e*	*kue=vi*	*baroi*
Historical	*e=ke*	*ol=ake*	*ku=ake*	*baori=ke*
Imperative (sg)	–	*ol=a*	*ku=a*	–
Imperative (du)	–	*ola=ko*	*kue=ko*	–
Imperative (pl)	–	*ola=mo*	*kue=mo*	–

Table A2.5: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (3)

	zial 'to cry'	*pial* 'to fall'	*pusail* 'to wash'	*papu* 'to sit'
Present	*zi=a*	*pi=a*	*pusaiv=a*	*papu=a*
Near future	*zial=o*	*pial=o*	*pusail=o*	*papu*
Future	*zial=ou*	*pial=ou*	*pusail=ou*	*papu=vou*
Recent past	*zia=la*	*pia=la*	*pusail=a*	*papu=la*
Remote past	*ziav=e*	*pia=vi*	*pusai*	*papi*
Historical	*zia=ke*	*pi=ke*	*pusai=ke*	*papu=ke*
Imperative (sg)	–	–	*pusai*	*papi*
Imperative (du)	–	*ola=ko*	*pusai=ko*	*papu=ko*
Imperative (pl)	–	*ola=mo*	*pusai=mo*	*papu=mo*

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[98] The verb *zio* 'to go' with present, recent past, and historical tense markers, and dual and plural imperative mood markers could also be analysed as *ola[=a]*, *ola=la*, *ola=ke*, *ola=ko*, and *ola=mo* respectively.

Table A2.6: Irregular verbs with tense/mood markers (4)

	i 'to say'[99]
Present	*k=i=a=la*
Near future	–
Future	*k=i=a=vou*
Recent past	*k=i=a=lala*
Remote past	*k=i=a=ve*
Historical	*k=i=a=lake*
Imperative (sg)	*k=i=ve*
Imperative (du)	–
Imperative (pl)	–

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[99] It may be the case that the verb 'to say' is a discontinuous morpheme *i...l* with which a pronominal proclitic occurs between *i* and *l*, but *l* does not appear when it takes future and remote past tense markers, or a singular imperative mood marker. This verb with present, recent past, and historical tense markers then would be analysed as *k=i=a=l=a*, *k=i=a=l=ala*, and *k=i=a=l=ake* respectively, and here present, recent past, and historical tense markers show regular realisations.

Appendix 3: Texts

Transcripts of two texts are included here: *Dog-child* (text 27) and *Ngali nut collection* (text 2). The first one is a folktale. It was told by one of the informants, who was about 55 years old when it was recorded. He is a tribal chief who realises that Bilua children speak differently from older people and is conscious about maintenance of good, traditional Bilua. When analysing this text, I consulted with other informants. The text was recorded at his home in Sabora village. There was no audience at the time of recording. The second text was told by a woman who was about 90 years old at the time of recording. The story is about how she and her husband used to collect *ngali* nuts[100] after making ropes and string bags from bark of some trees. Although the speaker was quite frail when she told the story, she told it vividly and in a most beautiful way (the first time I asked her to tell a story, she started crying, remembering her husband and could not do it). The text was recorded at her home in the *Maravari* village. Her grandchildren were present at recording.

English translations given here are free translations and are not necessarily the same as those given in chapters of the work. Whilst the English translations in the chapters reflect the clause structure and meaning of the Bilua clause and therefore may not sound like natural English, the English translations given here have been adjusted so that they sound natural in English.

Dog-Child (Text 27)

(1) *Anga ta a=q=a zari=a v=ai*
1SG TOP 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES 3SG.M.O=VAL

bazu-bazut=o kala bazu-bazulao, ni
REDUP-tell=NOM INDEF.SG.M REDUP-folktale and

komi=a bazu-bazulao ta pui matu
PROX.SG.F=LIG REDUP-folktale TOP NEG very

tuvevo=a=ma, melai silo-silo=a=mu ke=m=ai
true=LIG=3SG.F but REDUP-small=LIG=3PL 3PL=3PL.O=VAL

ibue=k=o k=i=ke=ve=ma sole,
make.quiet=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3PL=RMP=3SG.F that's.why

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[100] *Ngali* nuts are of the *Canarium* species.

ko pui ko=pa erei=vo ni pui ko=pa
3SG.F NEG 3SG.F=PROS happen.RMP=REL and NEG 3SG.F=PROS

ka=e=vo melai, ke=kase=k=e ko=a
occur=RMP=REL but 3PL=mention=3SG.F.O=RMP 3SG.F=LIG

bazu-bazulao kale.
REDUP-folktale in
'I want to tell a folktale, and this folktale, it is not very true, but people make children quiet by telling this story. That's what they said, it wasn't something which happened and it wasn't something which occurred but still they tell it in a folktale.'

(2) *Nio vo=a bazu-bazulao*
SEQ 3SG.M=LIG REDUP-folktale

k=i=o=la=ni ta eri nio.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES=REL.NONF TOP s.th.like.this FOC.NONF
'And, what the folktale said is something like this.'

(3) *Kala matu=la peuru ta inevoana kama*
INDEF.SG.M big=3SG.M village TOP EXT.SG.M INDEF.SG.F

zavanga kale, ni vo=a matu=la peuru ale
area in and 3SG.M=LIG big=LIG village in

ta inevoana kala matu=la lekasa ta
TOP EXT.SG.M INDEF.SG.M big=3SG.M chief TOP

inevoana sai.
EXTSG.M there
'There was a very big village in one area, and in that big village, there was a big chief, he was living there.'

(4) *Ni kubo maba madu ta inisiana sai ko=a*
and many person COLL.PL TOP EXT.PL there 3SG.F=LIG

matu=ma peuru ale.
big=3SG.F village in
'And there were many people there in that big village.'

(5) *Ne=a matu=la peuru=ko keta-keta, ta*
PROX.SG.M=LIG big=3SG.M village=3SG.F REDUP-edge TOP

inevoana kala silo=a=la peuru.
EXT.SG.M INDEF.SG.M small=LIG=3SG.M village
'At the edge of this big village, there was a small village.'

(6) *Ko=a silo=a=la peuru ale ta kainioqa*
3SG.F=LIG small=LIG=3SG.M village in TOP INDEF.DU

saqe, nio sai ko=a peuru ale.
couple FOC.NONF there 3SG.F=LIG village in
'In that small village, there was a couple, there in the village.'

(7) *Nio nioqa saqe ta qo=kiada puli=a=ma nioqa=ko*
SEQ 3DU couple TOP 3DU=all NEG=LIG=3SG.F 3DU=3SG.F

meqora, puliako meqora sa=nga el=o
child before child COM=2SG become=NOM

inio, vo, lasive=a=la ta o=ta vou=va,
FOC.NONF 3SG.M husband=LIG=3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=SIT die=PRES

reko=a=ma ikio sai.
wife=LIG=3SG.F FOC.F there
'The couple were living by themselves; they didn't have children. Before they had a child, the husband died and the wife was left there.'

(8) *Ni ko=a reko=a=ma ta, molu=a=ma*
and 3SG.F=LIG wife=LIG=3SG.F TOP be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F

o=vae=k=e, vo=a lasive=a=la.
3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=RMP 3SG.M=LIG husband=LIG=3SG.M
'And as for that wife, he left her pregnant, the husband.'

(9) *Nio so ti ko=beta ev=a sai, ti*
and.then that TOP 3SG.F=CONT stay=PRES there and.then

ko=baro=a ko=ko taku, ti ko ta
3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F time and.then 3SG.F TOP

ko=ta vijar=a.
3SG.F=SIT give.birth=PRES
'And then she kept staying there, and when the time for the birth came, she gave birth.'

(10) *Ko=vijari=v=a kala meqora*
3SG.F=give.birth=3SG.M.O=PRES INDEF.SG.M child

lasive=a=la, melai vo=a meqora ta pui maba
male=LIG=3SG.M but 3SG.M=LIG child TOP NEG person

melai siele.
but dog
'She had a son, but that son was not a human but a dog.'

(11) *Siele inio vo=a meqora.*
dog FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG child
'The son was a dog.'

(12) *Ti, ko ta ko=v=ati vail=a, ko=vo*
and.then 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL look=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.M

meqora	*sole*	*ko=v=ati*	*vail=a*
child	that's.why	3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL	watch=PRES

ko=niae=v=a,	*so*	*ti*	*so*	*ti*	*o=ta*
3SG.F=feed=3SG.M.O=PRES	that	INT	that	and.then	3SG.M=SIT

rapu=k=a	*vo=a*	*siele,*	*siele-meqora.*
grow=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.M=LIG	dog	dog-child

'And she looked after him, because he was her child she looked after him, she fed him, it went on like that, and the dog grew, the dog-child.'

(13)

Ti	*so*	*ti*	*so,*	*nioqa*	*ti*	*sai,*	*niania=ka=ma*
and.then	that	INT	that	3DU	TOP	there	mother=LIG=3SG.F

ko	*ol=a*	*kiaro*	*kasi,*	*vo*	*ta*
3SG.F	go=PRES	garden	at	3SG.M	TOP

o=lulue=k=a	*o=baroa*	*kiaro*	*kale*	*inio*
3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.M=arrive	garden	in	SEQ

vo	*ta*	*o=marong=a*	*juli=ko*	*raki*	*ale.*
3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M=sleep=PRES	banana.tree=3SG.F	root	in

'And it went on like that, the two lived there, the mother went to the garden, he followed her, he arrived at the garden, and then he slept at the base of a banana tree.'

(14)

Niania=ka=ma	*ta*	*ko*	*iruruput=a,*	*ko=papat=a*	*ko*
mother=LIG=3SG.F	TOP	3SG.F	work=PRES	3SG.F=plant=PRES	3SG.F

sisu,	*ko=papat=a*	*ko*	*mau,*	*saitainio*
sweet.potato	3SG.F=plant=PRES	3SG.F	taro	afterwards

ko=baro=a	*ko*	*taku*	*sailao*	*ko=k=o=a*
3SG.F=arrive=PRES	3SG.F	time	food	3SG.F=3SG.F.O=get=PRES

ti	*qo=beta*	*saqor=a*	*inio,*	*nioqa*	*saidi.*
and.then	3DU=CONT	go.down=PRES	FOC.NONF	3DU	family

'The mother worked, she did sweet potato planting, she did taro planting, afterwards, when the time to go home came, she got food, and the family went down.'

(15)

Qo=saqor=a	*pade*	*asi,*	*qo=baro=a*	*sai*	*nio,*
3DU=go.down=PRES	house	at	3DU=arrive=PRES	there	SEQ

niania=ka=ma	*ta*	*sailao*	*ko*	*ere=k=a*
mother=LIG=3SG.F	TOP	food	3SG.F	make=3SG.F.O=PRES

meqora=ka=la	*ta*	*o*	*ol=a*	*veutu*	*tona,*	*nio*
child=LIG=3SG.M	TOP	3SG.M	go=PRES	entrance	beside	and.then

veutu	*tona*	*o=teku=a*	*saitainio*	*o=tana*
entrance	beside	3SG.M=lie=PRES	afterwards	3SG.M=jaw

o=seri=k=a *saitainio*
3SG.M=hang.on=3SG.F.O=PRES afterwards

o=toili-toili=k=a *vo=ko* *niania.*
3SG.M=REDUP-watch=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F mother
'The two went down to the house, they arrived there, and then the mother, she made food, the son, he went next to the entrance, and then he lay beside the entrance, afterwards he put his jaw on something and watched his mother.'

(16) *Kiada=ma* *taku* *ko=baro=a* *sailao=ko* *taku* *mati*
all=3SG.F time 3SG.F=arrive=PRES food=3SG.F time again

ko *ta* *ko=v=a* *risae=k=a*
3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL throw=3SG.F.O=PRES

vo=ko *vo* *meqora* *sai* *nio* *o* *ol=a*
3SG.M=3SG.F 3SG.M child there FOC.NONF 3SG.M go=PRES

inio *o=pa* *k=o=a.*
and.then 3SG.M=PROS 3SG.F.O=get=PRES
'When a meal time came, she always threw his food to him, to the son, and the son went there and got it.'

(17) *Ko=ngavi=ko* *ta* *ko=tukie=k=a* *tuto*
3SG.F=self=3SG.F TOP 3SG.F=keep=3SG.F.O=PRES coconut.shell.container

kale.
in
'As for her own food, she put it in a coconut shell container.'

(18) *So* *ti* *so* *inio* *nioqa=ko* *saev=o* *kiada=ma*
that TOP that FOC.NONF 3DU=3SG.F survive=NOM all=3SG.F

taku.
time
'It went on like that, that was their life all the time.'

(19) *Omadeu* *taku* *inio* *vo=a* *meqora=ka=la* *ta*
one time FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG child=LIG=3SG.M TOP

eri *k=i=o=lake.*
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=HIST
'One day, the son said something like this.'

(20) *"Niania* *anga* *ta* *a=q=a* *zari=a* *rorot=o*
mother 1SG TOP 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES marry=NOM

sole *ngo* *ta* *ngo=zio=vou* *matu-peuru* *ale,*
that's.why 2SG TOP 2SG=go=FUT big-village in

nio *ngo=ba* *bazue=k=ou* *lekasa=ko* *meqora*
SEQ 2SG=PROS tell=3SG.F.O=FUT chief=3SG.F child

vo ta omuqa ikio lekasa=ko meqora sole.
3SG.M TOP two FOC.F chief=3SG.F child that's.why
'"Mother, I want to marry, so you, you will go to the big village, and you go and tell the chief's daughter, because the chief has two daughters.'

(21) *Ka pado ngo=ba l=a bazue=k=ou*
INDEF MESone 2SG=PROS 1SG.O=VAL tell=3SG.F.O=FUT

kaka=ka=ma, tu o=k=ov=o,"[101]
older=LIG=3SG.F IRR 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=NRFUT

k=i=o=la, k=i=o=la vo=a
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG

meqora, siele-meqora.
child dog-child
'You go and tell one, the older one for me so that I can marry her," he said, he said it, the child, the dog-child.'

(22) *Nio "Ki meqora" k=i=ko=la ko*
SEQ INTJ child 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F

niania=ka=ma, "ngo ta pui maba=nga siele=nga
mother=LIG=3SG.F 2SG TOP NEG person=2SG dog=2SG

sole pui ko=pa k=a zario=vou ko=ta
that's.why NEG 3SG.F=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL want=FUT 3SG.F=POSS

ng=a lupao=vou.
2SG=VAL refuse=FUT
'And then, "Child", the mother said, "you are not a human, but a dog, so she will not want, she will refuse you.'

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[101] In this example, *o=k=ov=ou* (3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=FUT) is a direct quotation: what the dog-child said. Here, the subject should be *a* (1SG) 'I' not *o* (3SG.M) as it is the speaker of this quotation, the dog-child, who will get (marry) her. When I asked one of the informants about this, I was told that *o* (3SG.M) 'he' is mistakenly used and it should be replaced with the correct one *a* (1SG) 'I'. There are similar cases in other texts in which a third person pronoun is used where a first/second person pronoun is expected, for example, sentence (25) in the next text. In this example, *o=soloe=k=ou* (3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=FUT) is a direct quotation: it is what the speaker of the story said to the addressee, her husband, and the speaker is telling him what he should do. That is, the subject of this quotation should be 'you' rather than 'he'. This time, one informant told me that the third person pronoun is used in order to show respect, as the addressee is a chief. This explanation does not seem to apply in the first instance, as there seems to be no need to show respect to the dog-child. In fact, it is a dubious claim that the third person may be used in order to show respect, as there is no other instance of this in the data, and this could just be a mistake as well.

(23) *Sole pui a=zio," k=i=ko=la*
that's.why NEG 1SG=go.NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
So, I will not go," she said.'

(24) *So keru inio vo=a meqora=ka=la ta*
that TEMP FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG child=LIG=3SG.M TOP

o=ta kora-korai=va duki o=ta ev=a,
3SG.M=SIT REDUP-be.angry=PRES sad 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES

ti pui o=k=a zari=a vuat=o, pui
and.then NEG 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES eat=NOM NEG

o=k=ati pesi=a o=niania, melai o=ta
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL speak=PRES 3SG.M=mother but 3SG.M=SIT

marong=a kubo nganiu.
sleep=PRES many day
'That time, the son got angry, he became sad, and then he didn't want to eat, he didn't want to speak to his mother, and instead he slept for many days.'

(25) *So ti so ti, niania=ka=ma*
that INT that and.then mother=LIG=3SG.F

ko=v=e=a ta vo ta pui o=vuat=a,
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES and.then 3SG.M TOP NEG 3SG.M=eat=PRES

vuat=o melai o=ta lupao=va, k=ati pesi=o
eat=NOM too 3SG.M=SIT refuse=PRES 3SG.F.O=VAL speak=NOM

melai pui o=k=ati pesi=a vo=a
too NEG 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL speak=PRES 3SG.M=LIG

siele-meqora ta o=ta pesi=a=ni nio
dog-child TOP 3SG.M=SIT speak=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF

sole.
that's.why
'It went on like that, the mother saw him and he did not eat, he refused to eat, he didn't speak to her either, the dog-child, he was one who spoke.'[102]

(26) *Ti ko=roque=v=a.*
and.then 3SG.F=care=3SG.M.O=PRES
'And she cared for him.'

(27) *Ko roque=v=a, inio "Koe ako so ta o=ta*
3SG.F care=3SG.M.O=PRES SEQ INTJ INTJ that TOP 3SG.M=SIT

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[102] The last clause, 'the dog-child, he was one who spoke' is added here to indicate that although dogs do not normally speak, this particular dog does.

vou=vo	*inio*	*anga=vo*	*meqora*	*vuat=o*	*melai*
die=NRFUT	FOC.NONF	1SG=3SG.M	child	eat=NOM	too

pui	*o=vuat=a*	*sole,”*	*k=i=ko=la*
NEG	3SG.M=eat=PRES	that's.why	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

ti,	*ko=pa*	*k=o=a*	*ko=ko*	*vesa*	*nio*
and.then	3SG.F=PROS	3SG.F.O=get=PRES	3SG.F=3SG.F	basket	SEQ

ko=v=o=a	*omadeu*	*bakisa.*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=get=PRES	one	custom.money

‘She cared for him, and then she said, “Oh, if it goes on like this he will die, my child, because he doesn't eat either,” and she went and got her basket and got some custom money.’

(28)

Ti	*ko=bori=v=a*	*vo=a*	*bakisa*
and.then	3SG.F=carry=3SG.M.O=PRES	3SG.M=LIG	custom.money

ti	*ko=beta*	*ol=a*	*inio*	*matu-peuru*	*kale,*	*ko*
and.then	3SG.F=CONT	go=PRES	FOC.NONF	big-village	in	3SG.F

ol=a	*matu-peuru*	*kale*	*so*	*ti*	*so*	*ti,*	*ko=ta*
go=PRES	big-village	in	that	INT	that	and.then	3SG.F=SIT

ol=a	*lekasa=ko*	*pade*	*kasi.*
go=PRES	chief=3SG.F	house	at

‘Then, she carried the custom money and went on towards the big village, she went towards the big village, she went on and on, and she went towards the chief's house.’

(29)

Ko=baro=a	*sai*	*lekasa=ko*	*pade*	*kasi,*	*inio*	*“Koe*	*noi*
3SG.F=arrive=PRES	there	chief=3SG.F	house	at	SEQ	INTJ	how

nio	*k=i=ngo=la*	*ku=a*	*koi*	*amaqe,”*
FOC.NONF	3SG.F.O=say=2SG=PRES	come=IMP.SG	here	enterIMP.SG

k=i=o=la	*vo*	*lekasa.*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES	3SG.M	chief

‘She arrived there at the chief's house, and then, “Oh, what do you want to say, come here, enter,” the chief said.’

(30)

Ko	*ta*	*ko=ko*	*panga=o=le*	*sole*
3SG.F	TOP	3SG.F=3SG.F	respect=NOM=in	that's.why

ko=loqu-loqut=a	*ti,*	*iqe-iqe=o=le*	*inio*
3SG.F=REDUP-bow=PRES	and.then	REDUP-kneel=NOM=in	FOC.NONF

ko	*ol=a*	*lekasa=ko*	*tanama=le*	*inio*	*eri*
3SG.F	go=PRES	chief=3SG.F	front=in	SEQ	s.th.like.this

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘Showing her respect to the chief, she bowed and she went on her knees in front of the chief, and she said something like this.’

(31) *“Koe matu=la lekasa, ako anga ta a=que=va*
INTJ big=3SG.M chief INTJ 1SG TOP 1SG=come=PRES

tu a=ba pase=k=ou ngo=ko sinaqu-meqora,
IRR 1SG=PROS ask=3SG.F.O=FUT 2SG=3SG.F unmarried.woman-child

anga=vo meqora o=k=a zari=a rorot=o.
1SG=3SG.M child 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=PRES want=PRES marry=NOM
‘“Oh, big chief, I came to ask for your daughter, my son wants to marry.’

(32) *Melai vo=a meqora ta pui maba inio*
but 3SG.M=LIG child TOP NEG person FOC.NONF

siele,” k=i=ko=la.
dog 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
‘But, the son is not a human, but a dog,” she said.’

(33) *“Koe matu uri. Nio anga ta komi kio matu*
INTJ very good SEQ 1SG TOP PROX.SG.F FOC.F very

uri” k=i=o=la, vo=a lekasa.
good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG chief
‘“Oh, very good, for me, this is very good,” the chief said.’

(34) *Nio “Anga ta komi kio a=bori=k=ala, tu*
SEQ 1SG TOP PROX.SG.F FOC.F 1SG=carry=3SG.F.O=RCP IRR

a=qati=ng=ou, “uri” k=i=ko=vou ko=a
1SG=give=2SG.O=FUT good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=FUT 3SG.F=LIG

meqora ta” k=i=ko=la ti ko=v=a
child TOP 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES and.then 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL

kase=k=a ko=a bakisa.
show=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money
‘“I carried this, I will give it to you if the daughter says “good”,” she said, and she showed the custom money to him.’

(35) *Ko=v=a kase=k=a ko=a bakisa*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL show=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money

nio “Uri, taruan=e tu a=nokae=k=ou saita”.
SEQ good wait=IMP.SG IRR 1SG=call=3SG.F.O=FUT first
‘She showed him the custom money and then “Good, wait, I will call her first,” [the chief said].’

(36) *Nio o=soloe=m=a vo=ko nabulo poso tu*
SEQ 3SG.M=send=3PL.O=PRES 3SG.M=3SG.F servant PL IRR

ke=pa nokae=k=o vo=ko kaka=ka=ma
3PL=PROS call=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.M=3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F

meqora, sole se ta ke ol=a inio ke=pa
child that's.why 3PL TOP 3PL go=PRES SEQ 3PL=PROS

bazue=k=a nio ko=kue=va ko=kue=va
tell=3SG.F.O=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F=come=PRES

inio.
FOC.NONF
'And then, he sent his servants, in order that they will go and call his elder daughter, that's why they went, they went and told her, and then she came, she came.'

(37) *Eri k=i=o=la vo mama=ka=la.*
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M father=LIG=3SG.M
'The father said something like this.'

(38) *"Ngo ta komi=vo meqora o=k=a*
2SG TOP PROX.SG.F=3SG.M child 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

zari=a tu o=rae=ng=o, melai vo=a
want=PRES IRR 3SG.M=marry=2SG.O=NOM but 3SG.M=LIG

meqora ta pui maba inio siele inio"
child TOP NEG person FOC.NONF dog FOC.NONF

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"You, the child of this woman wants to marry you, but the child is not a human but a dog," he said.'

(39) *Ti "Ki siele sole anga ta pui a=v=a*
and.then INTJ dog that's.why 1SG TOP NEG 1SG=3SG.M.O=VAL

zari=a a=lupa rae=v=o vo siele"
want=PRES 1SG=refuse marry=3SG.M.O=NOM 3SG.M dog

k=i=ko=la ko=a lekasa=ko kaka=ka=ma
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F=LIG chief=3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F

meqora.
child
'And, "Because he is a dog, I don't want him, I refuse to marry him, a dog," said the chief's elder daughter.'

(40) *"Sole maba a=lupa*[103] *pui a=ba lulue=k=ou"*
that's.why person 1SG=refuse NEG 1SG=PROS follow=3SG.F.O=FUT

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"So, I refuse it, I will not follow her," she said.'

(41) *"Koe ako ko=ta lupao=va sole uri tapata*
INTJ INTJ 3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES that's.why good hard

ikio tu a=vaitoe komi=a bakisa k=ati
FOC.F IRR 1SG=return PROX.SG.F=LIG custom.money 3SG.F.O=VAL

vait=e" k=i=o=la vo=a lekasa.
return=IMP.SG 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG chief
'"Well, she refuses it, so, good, a problem, I return this custom money, take it home," the chief said.'

(42) *Ko=bori=k=a ko=a bakisa ti*
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG custom.money and.then

ko=beta vait=a inio.
3SG.F=CONT return=PRES FOC.NONF
'She carried the custom money and returned.'

(43) *Ko=vait=a ti ko=vait=a, kiada keru vo=a*
3SG.F=return=PRES INT 3SG.F=return=PRES all TEMP 3SG.M=LIG

meqora=ka=la=ko iruruput=o ta veutu tona inio
child=LIG=3SG.M=3SG.F work=NOM TOP entrance beside FOC.NONF

o=teku=a saitainio, o=k=ati vail=a
3SG.M=lie=PRES afterwards 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL look=PRES

niania=ko keve koi vasi.
mother=3SG.F way here around
'She was going towards home, as for the son's usual duties, he lay beside the entrance, and he watched the mother's paths nearby.'

(44) *Sai nio o=k=ati vail=a.*
there FOC.NONF 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL watch=PRES
'He watched there.'

(45) *So ti so ti o=ta k=a viq=a*
that INT that and.then 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL sense=PRES

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[103] As mentioned in §12.3.5, the combination of the verb *lupao* 'to refuse' with the present tense-marking enclitic *va*, *lupao=va*, is sometimes realized as *lupao*.

o=niania=ko	*tui,*	*nio*	*eri=a*	*zolae=k=o*
3SG.M=mother=3SG.F	smell	SEQ	as.soon.as=LIG	lift=3SG.F.O=NOM

o	*ev=a*	*o=lezu,*	*ta*	*o=k=e=a*
3SG.M	become=PRES	3SG.M=head	TOP	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES

ko=beta	*kue=va,*	*ko=kiada*	*pado*	*ti*
3SG.F=CONT	come=PRES	3SG.M=all	MESone	and.then

o=teku=a	*ti*	*o=beta*	*imad=a*	*inio.*
3SG.M=lie=PRES	and.then	3SG.M=CONT	shut.eye=PRES	FOC.NONF

'He kept watching, and he sensed his mother's smell, and then, as soon as he lifted his head, he saw her coming, by herself, and he lay and shut his eyes.'

(46)

Ko=kiada	*pado*	*ko=beta*	*kue=va*	*sole*	*vo*	*ta*
3SG.F=all	MESone	3SG.F=CONT	come=PRES	that's.why	3SG.M	TOP

o=ta	*teku=a*	*ti,*	*vo*	*ta*	*duki*	*o=ta*
3SG.M=SIT	lie=PRES	and.then	3SG.M	TOP	sad	3SG.M=SIT

ev=a.
become=PRES

'She was coming by herself and so he lay and became sad.'

(47)

So	*ti,*	*ko=baro=a*	*ko=niania=ka=ma*	*inio,*
that	TOP	3SG.F=arrive=PRES	3SG.F=mother=LIG=3SG.F	FOC.NONF

"Meqora"	*k=i=ko=la*	*"Komi*	*kio*
child	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	PROX.SG.F	FOC.F

a=qase=k=ala=ma."
1SG=show=3SG.F.O=RCP=REL.F

'Then, she arrived, the mother, and "Child," said she, "This is what happened."'

(48)

Ko=ta	*lupao=va*	*"A=lupa*	*rae=v=o*	*vo*	*ta*
3SG.F=SIT	refuse=PRES	1SG=refuse	marry=3SG.M.O=NOM	3SG.M	TOP

siele	*pui*	*maba*	*sole"*	*k=i=ko=la*	*ti*
dog	NEG	person	that's.why	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	and.then

ko=ta	*ng=a*	*lupao=va"*	*k=i=ko=la.*
3SG.F=SIT	2SG=PRES	refuse=PRES	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

'She refused it, she said "I refuse to marry him, because he is a dog not a human," she refused you," the mother said.'

(49)

Ti	*"Uri*	*sole*	*vae=k=a"*
and.then	good	that's.why	leave=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG

k=i=o=la,	*k=i=o=la*	*vo=a*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES	3SG.M=LIG

meqora vo=a siele-meqora.
child 3SG.M=LIG dog-child
'And, "Good, so, leave it," he said, he said, the son, the dog-child.'

(50) *Ti sainio ko=beta ev=a, so ti so*
and.then then 3SG.F=CONT stay=PRES that INT so

ti so kama taku ko=baro=a.
INT that INDEF.SG.F time 3SG.F=arrive=PRES
'And then, it went on like that, on and on, and another time arrived.'

(51) *Nio "Niania-o" k=i=o=la* | *mata "niania"*
SEQ Mother-VOC 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES again mother

k=i=o=la | *"ol=a tu mata pase=k=a*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES go=PRES IRR again ask=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG

lekasa=ko visi=a=ma meqora a=q=a
chief=3SG.F younger=LIG=3SG.F child 1SG=3SG.F.O=PRES

matu zari=a rorot=o sole."
very want=PRES marry=NOM that's.why
'And, "Mother," he said, again "Mother," he said, "go, and ask again, ask for the chief's younger daughter, because I want to marry very much."'

(52) *Nio "Koe meqora" k=i=ko=la.*
SEQ INTJ child 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'And, "Oh, child," she said.'

(53) *"Kaka=ka=ma melai lula ko=ta lupao=la*
older=LIG=3SG.F too already 3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES

sole visi=a=ma melai soinio ko=ta
that's.why younger=LIG=3SG.F too consequently 3SG.F=SIT

lupao=vou.
refuse=FUT
'"The elder daughter already refused so the younger daughter too will refuse.'

(54) *Sole vae=k=a pui ngo=rorot=o melai*
that's.why leave=3SG.F.O=IMP.SG NEG 2SG=marry=NRFUT but

uri" k=i=ko=la.
good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
So, leave it, don't marry, but good," she said.

(55) *So ti o=ta kora-korai=va tu mata omadeu*
that TOP 3SG.M=SIT REDUP-be.angry=PRES IRR again one

wiki tiniavo omuqa wiki pui o=vuat=a, pui
week about two week NEG 3SG.M=eat=PRES NEG

o=k=ati pesi=a, pui o=lulue=k=a
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL speak=PRES NEG 3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES

kiaro kasi, sainio marong=o ti marong=o ti
garden at therefore sleep=NOM INT sleep=NOM INT

marong=o vo=a siele.
sleep=NOM 3SG.M=LIG dog
'Then, he got angry and again for about one week, two weeks, he didn't eat, he didn't speak to her, he didn't follow her to the garden, therefore he just slept and slept and slept, the dog.'

(56) *Ko=v=e=a ta pui o=vuat=a sole*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES and.then NEG 3SG.M=eat=PRES that's why

leku-leku o=ta ev=a, nio "Koe
REDUP-weak 3SG.M=SIT become=PRES SEQ INTJ

o=ta l=a vou=vou vo=a meqora"
3SG.M=POSS 1SG.O=VAL die=FUT 3SG.M=LIG child

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'She saw that he didn't eat and so he became weak, and then "Oh, my son will die on me," she said.'

(57) *Sole ko ta ko ol=a inio ko=pa*
that's.why 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F go=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=PROS

ko=a ko bakisa, nio mata
3SG.F=LIG 3SG.F custom.money SEQ again

ko=bori=k=a ti
3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then

ko=beta ketain=a nio, ko
3SG.F=CONT travel.along.the.coast=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.F

ol=a ti ko ol=a ti ko ol=a lekasa=ko
go=PRES INT 3SG.F go=PRES INT 3SG.F go=PRES chief=3SG.F

pade asi.
house at
'So, she went, she went and got custom money, and then again she carried it, and she went on travelling along the coast, she went and went and went to the chief's house.'

(58) *Ko=baro=a keru sai, ko ta ko ol=a*
3SG.F=arrive=PRES TEMP there 3SG.F TOP 3SG.F go=PRES

lekasa kasi inio ko=pa kase=k=a.
chief at and.then 3SG.F=PROS mention=3SG.F.O=PRES
'When she arrived there, she went to the chief, she went and said.'

(59) *"Anga ta mata a=que=va, tu mata paset=o=le,*
1SG TOP again 1SG=come=PRES IRR again ask=NOM=PURP

ako anga=vo meqora ta o=k=a matu
INTJ 1SG=3SG.M child TOP 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=PRES very

zari=a rorot=o sole.
want=PRES marry=NOM that's.why
'"I came again, to ask again because my son wants to marry very much.'

(60) *Soinio o=soloe=l=a tu mata a=ba*
consequently 3SG.M=send=1SG.O=PRES IRR again 1SG=PROS

pase=k=ou, "a=ba paset=ou" k=i=a=la
ask=3SG.F.O=FUT 1SG=PROS ask=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES

inio" k=i=ko=la.
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'Because of that, he sent me so that again I will ask for your daughter, I said, "I would go and ask,"" she said.'

(61) *"Koe uri=avo, uri=avo sole taruan=e"*
INTJ good=NOM good=NOM that's.why wait=IMP.SG

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Oh Okay, Okay, so, wait," he said.'

(62) *Nio so keru ta pui kapiavole ko=kati=v=a*
and.then that TEMP TOP NEG quickly 3SG.F=give=3SG.M.O=PRES

ko=a bakisa melai ko=taruan=a.
3SG.F=LIG custom.money but 3SG.F=wait=PRES
'And then, that time, she didn't give the custom money to him quickly, but she waited.'

(63) *"Taruan=e" k=i=o=la vo=a lekasa*
wait=IMP.SG 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M=LIG chief

sole ko=taruan=a inio, o odie=k=a
that's.why 3SG.F=wait=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.M fetch=3SG.F.O=PRES

vo=ko visi=a=ma meqora, inio sai
3SG.M=3SG.F younger=LIG=3SG.F child SEQ there

ko=kue=va inio, o=bazue eri
3SG.F=come=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.M=tell s.th.like.this

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Wait," the chief said, and so she waited, he fetched his younger daughter, and there she came, he told her, he said something like this.'

(64) *"Ngo ta komi=vo meqora o=ng=a*
2SG TOP PROX.SG.F=3SG.M child 3SG.M=2SG=VAL

zari=a rae=ng=o sole uri ta
want=PRES marry=2SG=NOM that's.why good TOP

k=i=ngo=vou ngo=lulue=k=ou, nio
3SG.F.O=say=2SG=FUT 2SG=follow=3SG.F.O=FUT SEQ

ngo=rae=v=ou komi=vo meqora melai
2SG=marry=3SG.M.O=FUT PROX.SG.F=3SG.M child but

vo ta pui maba inio, melai siele"
3SG.M TOP NEG person FOC.NONF but dog

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"You, the child of this woman wants to marry you so if you say 'good' you follow her, and then you will marry the son of this woman, but he is not a human, but a dog," he said.'

(65) *"Ki matu uri" k=i=ko=la ko*
INTJ very good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F

visi=a=ma.
younger=LIG=3SG.F
'"Oh, very good," the younger daughter said.'

(66) *"Matu uri, a=lulue=k=o tu*
very good 1SG=follow=3SG.F.O=NRFUT IRR

a=rae=v=o" k=i=ko=la.
1SG=marry=3SG.M.O=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Very good, I will follow her and will marry him," she said.'

(67) *Ti ko=lulue=k=a vo=a siele-meqora=ko*
and.then 3SG.F=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.M=LIG dog-child=3SG.F

niania ti qo=ta vait=a nioqa.
mother and.then 3DU=SIT return=PRES 3DU
'And, she followed the mother of the dog-child, and the two returned.'

(68) *So keru vo=a meqora siele-meqora ta*
that TEMP 3SG.M=LIG child dog-child TOP

o=ta k=a viq=a nioqa=ko tui nio,
3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL sense=PRES 3DU=3SG.F smell SEQ

o=zolae=k=a	*vo=ko*	*lezu*	*ti*
3SG.M=lift=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.M=3SG.F	head	and.then

o=k=e=a	*nioqa*	*qo=beta*	*kue=va,*	*nio*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES	3DU	3DU=CONT	come=PRES	SEQ

o=sipuku	*o=viri-virie=k=a*	*vo=ko*	*sipuku*
3SG.M=tail	3SG.M=REDUP-swing=3SG.F.O=PRES	3SG.M=3SG.F	tail

sapela	*topi.*
floor	on.top

‘That time, the child, the dog-child, he sensed their smell, and then he lifted his head, and he saw the two coming, and then he wagged his tail on the floor.’

(69)

Siele=ko	*kavani,*	*o=ta*	*zolei=va*	*sole.*
dog=3SG.F	way	3SG.M=SIT	be.happy=PRES	that’s.why

‘That’s the dog’s way, he did it because he was happy.’

(70)

So	*ti*	*qo=baro=a*	*sai,*	*ti*	*o=k=ai*
that	TOP	3DU=arrive=PRES	there	and.then	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

soka-sokait=a	*siele=ko*	*kavani*	*o=k=ai*
REDUP-jump=PRES	dog=3SG.F	way	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

loilabao=va	*o=k=a*	*soka-sokait=a,*	*inio*
circle=PRES	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL	REDUP-jump=PRES	SEQ

eri	*k=i=ko=la*	*ko*	*niania=ka=ma.*
s.th.like this	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	3SG.F	mother=LIG=3SG.F

‘And, the two arrived there, and he jumped around her, the dog’s way, he circled around her, he jumped around her, and then the mother said something like this.’

(71)

“Vo	*inio*	*anga=ko*	*meqora”*	*k=i=ko=la.*
3SG.M	FOC.NONF	1SG=3SG.F	child	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

‘“That’s him, my son,” said she.’

(72)

“Kio”	*k=i=ko=la*	*ko=a*	*lekasa=ko*	*meqora*
INTJ	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	3SG.F=LIG	chief=3SG.F	child

ti	*nioqa*	*vo=ko*	*niania*	*ni*	*ko*	*ta,*
and.then	3DU	3SG.M=3SG.F	mother	and	3SG.F	TOP

qo	*inainao=va*	*tu*	*zio*	*kiaro*	*kasi*
3DU	get.ready=PRES	IRR	goNOM	garden	at

saila=sailaot=o=le,	*vo=a*	*siele-meqora*	*ta*
REDUP=get.food=NOM=PURP	3SG.M=LIG	dog-child	TOP

o=lulue=k=a *nioqa.*
3SG.M=follow=3DU=PRES 3DU
'"Really," said the daughter of the chief, and the two, his mother and she, the two got ready to go to the garden in order to get food, and the child followed the two.'

(73) *O=baro=a* *sai* *ti* *nioqa* *ta* *sailao* *qo=ta*
3SG.M=arrive=PRES there and.then 3DU TOP food 3DU=SIT

koazat=a, *vo* *ta* *juli* *raki* *ale* *o=ta*
get=PRES 3SG.M TOP banana.tree root on 3SG.M=SIT

marong=a.
sleep=PRES
'He arrived there and the two got food, and he slept at the base of a banana tree.'

(74) *Qo=pai=k=a* *saila-sailaot=o* *ti* *ke=ta*
3DU=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES REDUP-get.food=NOM and.then 3PL=SIT

saqor=a.
go.down=PRES
'The two finished getting food and they went down.'

(75) *Ke=ta* *saqor=a* *ti* *qo=kejue=k=a* *ko*
3PL=SIT go.down=PRES and.then 3DU=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F

sailao, *ko=keju=a* *nio* *vo=ko* *ta*
food 3SG.F=cook=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=3SG.F TOP

qo=v=a *risae=k=a,* *ko,* *reko=a=ma*
3DU=3SG.M.O=PRES throw=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F wife=LIG=3SG.F

vo=a *siele=ko* *reko* *ta,* *tuto* *ale*
3SG.M=LIG dog=3SG.F wife TOP coconut.shell.container in

ko *i=k=a* *niania=ka=ma* *melai*
3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES mother=LIG=3SG.F too

tuto *ale* *ko* *i=k=a.*
coconut.shell.container in 3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES
'They went down and the two cooked food, the food got cooked, and as for his food, they threw it to him, she, the wife, the wife of the dog, she put her food in a coconut shell container, the mother too put her food in a coconut shell container.'

(76) *Ko* *ipuk=a* *ti* *nioqa* *saqe* *ta* *kala*
3SG.F become.night=PRES and.then 3DU couple TOP INDEF.SG.M

rana, *vo=a* *siele* *ni* *ko=a* *sinaqurusu,* *ko* *ta*
side 3SG.M=LIG dog and 3SG.F=LIG girl 3SG.F TOP

kama rana, so inio se=ko saev=o,
INDEF.SG.F side that FOC.NONF 3PL=3SG.F survive=NOM

ko=rane=a mati ke=kiaruz=a ko
3SG.F=be.overnight=PRES again 3PL=do.gardening=PRES 3SG.F

ipuk=a mati ke=vait=a, so inio
become.night=PRES again 3PL=return=PRES that FOC.NONF

se=ko saev=o kiada keru.
3PL=3SG.F survive=NOM all TEMP
'The night came and the couple slept one side, the dog and the girl, the mother slept on another side, that was their life, next day again they did gardening, the night came, and again they returned, that was their life all the time.'

(77) *Omadeu taku inio "niania" k=i=o=la*
one time FOC.NONF Mother 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

vo=a meqora.
3SG.M=LIG child
'One day, "Mother," the son said.'

(78) *"Niania ngo ta ngo inainae=k=ou ko mau*
mother 2SG TOP 2SG get.ready=3SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F taro

ni uza ni ju sakare, sakareju
and fire and water coconut.shell.with water coconut.shell.with.water

ngo=bori=k=ou nio.
2SG=carry=3SG.F.O=FUT FOC.NONF
'"Mother, you, you get ready taros, fire, and water, coconut shells filled with water, you carry coconut shells filled with water.'

(79) *Tu me=ba ta lipi-lipit=ou anime*
IRR 1PL.INC=PROS SIT REDUP-walk=FUT 1PL.INC

uki vanga keta=le" k=i=o=la.
somewhere.there far.away edge=in 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'So that we will go for a walk, we go, there, far away, along the coast", he said.'

(80) *Nio "uri" k=i=ko=la ko niania=ka=ma.*
SEQ good 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F mother=LIG=3SG.F
'And then, "good," the mother said.'

(81) *Ti ko inainae=k=a ko mau bita=le*
and.then 3SG.F get.ready=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro string.bag=in

ko i=k=a, raqauza ko=bori=k=a,
3SG.F put=3SG.F.O=PRES ember 3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES

ti, sakareju ko=bori=k=a zouke
and.then coconut.shell.with water 3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES three

sakareju *ko=bori=k=a.*
coconut.shell.with.water 3SG.F=carry=3SG.F.O=PRES
'She got taros ready, she put them in a string bag, she carried an ember, she carried coconut shells filled with water, she carried three coconut shells filled with water.'

(82) *Ti* *ke=beta* *tali=a=ni* *nio,* *ti*
and.then 3PL=CONT travel=PRES=REL.NONF FOC.NONF and.then

ke *ol=a* *ti* *ke* *ol=a,* *ti* *se* *ta*
3PL go=PRES INT 3PL go=PRES and.then 3PL TOP

ke=lulue=k=a, *ka* *koi* *ke=baro=a,* *"Koi*
3PL=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES INDEF here 3PL=arrive=PRES here

nio" *k=i=ko=la* *"Koi* *pui"*
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES here NEG

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'They were travellers, and they went and went, and they followed the coast line, they arrived somewhere, "Here," she said, "Not here," he said.'

(83) *Ke=beta* *ol=a* | *kala* *kele-kele*
3PL=CONT go=PRES INDEF.SG.M REDUP-point

ke=revoe=v=a, *ke=baro=a* *sai* *"Koi* *nio"*
3PL=go.around=3SG.M.O=PRES 3PL=arrive=PRES there here FOC.NONF

k=i=ko=la *ko* *niania=ka=ma* *ta* *"Pui"*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F mother=LIG=3SG.F and.then NEG

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'They went on, they went around one point, they arrived at the other side of the point "Here," the mother said, "No," he said.'

(84) *Zouke=a=la* *kele-kele* *ke=revoe=v=a*
three=LIG=3SG.M REDUP-point 3PL=go.around=3SG.M=PRES

nio, *vo=a* *kele-kele* *ka* *rana* *inio,*
FOC.NONF 3SG.M=LIG REDUP-point INDEF side FOC.NONF

kala *buni* *ta* *inevoana.*
INDEF.SG.M buni.tree TOP EXT.SG.M
'They went around the third point, and at one side of the point, there was a buni tree.'

(85) *Nio* *"Koi* *nio* *me=nabul=ou* *ko* *mau.*
SEQ here FOC.NONF 1PL.INC=bake=FUT 3SG.F taro
'And then, "Here, we will bake taros.'

(86) *Sole qe ta uza bainae=k=oko nio*
that's.why 2DU TOP fire light=3SG.F.O=IMPdu SEQ

qe=nabul=ou anga ta komi=a buni topi
2DU=bake=FUT 1SG TOP PROX.SG.F=LIG buni.tree on.top

a=qoit=ou tu a=ba k=el=o kama
1SG=climb=FUT IRR 1SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=see=NRFUT INDEF.SG.F

niuniu sai ko alokat=a=ko" k=i=o=la.
fish there 3SG.F pass=PRES=REL.F 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'So, you, light a fire and bake, I will climb to top of this tree and will look at fish which pass," he said.'

(87) *Nioqa=ko keru-keru ale ta "Vo ta niuniu*
3DU=3SG.F REDUP-thought in TOP 3SG.M TOP fish

ikio o=k=ov=ou" k=i=qo=la.
FOC.F 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES
'In their thinking, "He will get fish," the two said.'

(88) *Sole "Uri" k=i=qo=la nioqa ta*
that's.why good 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES 3DU TOP

qo=bainat=a buni=ko raki kasi, uza qo=bainae
3DU=light=PRES buni.tree=3SG.F root at fire 3DU=light

ti mau qo=nabul=a, so ti vo ta sai
and.then taro 3DU=bake=PRES that TOP 3SG.M TOP there

buni=ko vaila inio o=beta papu=a.
buni.tree=3SG.F end FOC.NONF 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES
'So, they said "Good," the two lit a fire at the root of the buni tree, they lit a fire, and they baked taros, and he was sitting there at the tip of the branch of the buni tree.'

(89) *Melai vo=a buni ta o=koi=vi ti*
but 3SG.M=LIG buni.tree TOP 3SG.M=go.up=RMP and.then

o=ke=ve ti o=ke=ve ti kolo tiania
3SG.M=go=RMP INT 3SG.M=go=RMP and.then ocean middle

nio vo=ko vaila.
FOC.NONF 3SG.M=3SG.F end
'But, the buni tree went up, it went and went, and its end was in the middle of the ocean.'

(90) *Nio sai o=beta papu=a inio o=k=ati*
SEQ there 3SG.M=CONT sit=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

vail=a | *nioqa ta mau qo=beta peit=a.*
look=PRES 3DU TOP taro 3DU=CONT peel=PRES
'And there he sat and he looked at fish, and the two were peeling taros.'

(91) *Qo=pei=k=a ko mau nio vo ta*
3DU=peel=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F taro SEQ 3SG.M TOP

o=k=e=a ta "Koe sipole ko=ta
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES and.then INTJ soon 3SG.F=SIT

keju=a" k=i=o=la.
cook=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'They peeled taros, and then he saw taros, and "Oh, soon, the taros will be cooked," he said.'

(92) *So ti so ti o=k=e=a* | *ko=a mau*
that INT that and.then 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES 3SG.F=LIG taro

ta ko=ta keju=a.
TOP 3SG.F=SIT cook=PRES
'It went on, and he saw taros, taros had cooked.'

(93) *Qo=kejue=k=a ko qo=pei=k=a mati*
3DU=cook=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F 3DU=peel=3SG.F.O=PRES again

sai qo=vae=k=a.
there 3DU=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES
'The two cooked the taros, they peeled them, again they left them there.'

(94) *O=k=e=a nio o=ta joupar=a*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=see=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=SIT jump.off=PRES

ko=a buni topi azo.
3SG.F=LIG buni.tree on.top ABL
'He saw them cooked and then he jumped off the buni tree.'

(95) *O=joupar=a ti ivere kolo tiania po o*
3SG.M=jump.off=PRES and.then sea ocean middle po 3SG.M

ev=a ti sa-vasi o=sisiliput=a
become=PRES and.then there-around 3SG.M=dive=PRES

o=measisiliput=a sa-vasi.
3SG.M=dive.deep=PRES there-around
'He jumped off, and he hit the sea, the ocean, making the sound *po!*, and he dived around there, he dived deep in the sea, around there.'

(96) *Saikazo o=sisiliput=a, o=sisiliput=a ti*
following.that 3SG.M=dive=PRES 3SG.M=dive=PRES and.then

o=vareri=k=a ko=a siele-tupu ta
3SG.M=go.on.shore=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG dog-skin TOP

sa-vasi o=ngamu=k=a,
there-around 3SG.M=throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES

o=vareri=k=a ta kala matu
3SG.M=go.on.shore=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then INDEF.SG.M very

ile-ile=a=la lasiverusu.
REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.M boy
'He dived, he dived, he went on the shore, he threw the dog-skin away around there, he went on the shore, and he became a very beautiful boy.'

(97) *Nio o=purat=a.*
SEQ 3SG.M=come.out=PRES
'He came out.'

(98) *Nio "Koe lula ko=keju=la ko sailao"*
SEQ INTJ already 3SG.F=cook=RCP 3SG.F food

k=i=o=la nio, eri=a lilit=o
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES FOC.NONF as.soon.as=LIG look.back=NOM

ko ev=a ko vo=ko reko, ta
3SG.F become=PRES 3SG.F 3SG.M=3SG.F wife and.then

ko=v=e=a matu ile-ile=a=la lasiverusu.
3SG.F=3SG.M=see=PRES very REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.M boy
'And then, "Oh, the food has already cooked," he said, and as soon as his wife looked back, she saw a very beautiful boy.'

(99) *Ko=rere=a inio ko=pa zuzue=v=a,*
3SG.F=run=PRES SEQ 3SG.F=PROS hug=3SG.M.O=PRES

ko=v=ai kiavi=a, ko=lume=v=a,
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL be.pleased=PRES 3SG.F=kiss=3SG.M.O=PRES

saitainio ko=v=ati kail=a.
afterwards 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=VAL go.up=PRES
'She ran, and then she went and hugged him, she was pleased with him, she kissed him, and afterwards she took him up.'

(100) *Nio ko=a niania=ka=ma ko=v=e=a*
SEQ 3SG.F=LIG mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES

inio ko=ta matu zolei=va.
SEQ 3SG.F=SIT very be.happy=PRES
'And then, the mother saw him and she became very happy.'

(101) *Ko=a siele-tupu ta o=pa ngamu=k=e*
3SG.F=LIG dog-skin TOP 3SG.M=PROS throw.away=3SG.F.O=RMP

sa-vasi, melai kala matu ile-ile=a=la
there-around but INDEF.SG.M very REDUP-beautiful=LIG=3SG.M

lasiverusu inio, o=ta kue=va.
boy FOC.NONF 3SG.M=SIT come=PRES
'The dog skin, he threw away around there, and instead a very beautiful boy came.'

(102) *So ti sai nio ke=beta ev=a se=a*
that TOP there FOC.NONF 3PL=CONT stay=PRES 3PL=LIG

zouke nioqa=ko peuru ale.
three 3DU=3SG.F village in
'Then, the three kept staying there in their village.'

(103) *Sai ke=beta ev=a so ti so omadeu taku*
there 3PL=CONT stay=PRES that INT that one time

inio, eri k=i=ko=la ko
FOF.NONF s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F

meqora=ka=ma lekasa=ko meqora.
child=LIG=3SG.F chief=3SG.F child
'There, they stayed, it went on like that, and one day, she said something like this, the daughter, the chief's daughter.'

(104) *"Aniqe ta lea ta qe=pa barol=o*
1DU.INC TOP tomorrow TOP 1DU.INC=PROS arrive=NRFUT

anga=ko mama ni niania kasi saita.
1SG=3SG.F father and mother at first
'"We, tomorrow, we will go and reach my father and mother, first.'

(105) *Saitainio qe=vait=ou" k=i=ko=la.*
Afterwards 1DU.INC=return=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'Afterwards, we will return," she said.'

(106) *"Sole ngo=bazue=k=ou ngo=niania"*
that's.why 2SG=tell=3SG.F.O=FUT 2SG=mother

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"So, you will tell your mother," she said.'

(107) *Nio ko=a ipu inio o=bazue=k=a*
and.then 3SG.F=LIG night FOC.NONF 3SG.M=tell=3SG.F.O=PRES

vo=ko niania, "Niania-o" k=i=o=la.
3SG.M=3SG.F mother Mother-VOC 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'And then, that night, he told his mother, "Mother," he said.'

(108) *"Eqe ta lea ta qe=pa opio=vou*
1DU.EXC TOP tomorrow TOP 1DU.EXC=PROS visit=FUT

komi	*ko=mama*	*ni*	*niania*	*kidi*	*qe=pa*
PROX.SG.F	3SG.F=father	and	mother	COLL.DU	1DU.EXC=PROS

opie=k=ou	*sole,*	*qe=zio=vou*	*ti*
visit=3SG.F.O=FUT	that's.why	1DU.EXC=go=FUT	and.then

qe=beta	*vait=ou"*
1DU.EXC=CONT	return=FUT

k=i=o=la,	*ta*	*"Koe*	*pui"*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES	and.then	INTJ	NEG

k=i=ko=la	*ko*	*niania=ka=ma*	*pui*
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	3SG.F	mother=LIG=3SG.F	NEG

ko=zarie=k=a.
3SG.F=want=3SG.F.O=PRES
'"We, tomorrow, we will go and visit her father and mother, we will go and visit them, so we will go and come back," he said, and then "No," she said, the mother, she didn't want them to go.'

(109)

"Melai	*uri*	*"pui*	*qe=pa*	*raneo=vo*
but	good	NEG	1DU.EXC=PROS	be.overnight=FUT

qe=zio	*ti*	*qe=beta*	*vait=o"*
1DU.EXC=goNRFUT	and.then	2DU.EXC=CONT	return=NRFUT

nio	*k=i=ko=la"*	*k=i=o=la*
FOC.NONF	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

vo	*meqora.*
3SG.M	child

'"But it's OK, my wife said, "we would not stay overnight, we would go and return"", the son said.'

(110)

"Koe	*qe=matu*	*balao=vou*	*sole*	*uri*	*qe=k=a*
INTJ	2DU=very	be.careful=FUT	that's.why	good	2DU=3SG.F.O=VAL

zari=a	*sole*	*qe=zio=vou,*	*melai*	*qe=matu*
want=PRES	that's.why	2DU=go=FUT	but	2DU=very

balao=vou	*pui*	*qe=raneo=vou*	*sai,*	*ti,*	*keve*
be.careful=FUT	NEG	2DU=be.overnight=FUT	there	and.then	way

ma	*keve*	*melai*	*pui*	*qe*	*utu*	*rurukao=vou"*
or	way	too	NEG	2DU	idle	relax=FUT

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Oh, you will be very careful, and so OK you want to do so you will go, but you will be very careful, you will not stay overnight, and on the way too, you will not relax unthinkingly," she said.'

(111)

"Uri"	*k=i=qo=la,*	*ko=rane=a,*
good	3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES	3SG.F=be.overnight=PRES

ti	*qo=beta*	*ol=a*	*inio*	*qo*	*ol=a*	*lekasa=vo*
and.then	3DU=CONT	go=PRES	and.then	3DU	go=PRES	chief=3SG.M

matu-peuru	*kale*	*pade*	*kasi*	*qo*	*ol=a,*	*ko=a*
big-village	in	house	at	3DU	go=PRES	3SG.F=LIG

reko=ko	*mama*	*ni*	*niania*	*kasi.*
wife=3SG.F	father	and	mother	at

'"Good," he said, and next day, they went and they went to the chief's big village, they went to the father and mother of the wife.'

(112)

Nio	*ko=k=e=a*	*ko*	*kaka=ka=ma,*
SEQ	3SG.F=3DU.O=see=PRES	3SG.F	older=LIG=3SG.F

ko=v=e=a	*ko*	*kaka=ka=ma,*	*ko,*
3SG.F=3SG.M.O=see=PRES	3SG.F	older=LIG=3SG.F	3SG.F

ko=ta	*v=a*	*lupao=vi=ma,*	*ti*	*ko=ta*
3SG.F=POSS	3SG.M.O=VAL	refuse=RMP=REL.F	and.then	3SG.F=SIT

kora-korai=va.
REDUP-be.angry=PRES

'And then, the elder daughter saw the two, she saw him, the elder daughter, the one who refused him, and she got angry.'

(113)

"Koe	*visi=a=mu*	*ta,*	*pui*	*kapiavole*
INTJ	younger.sibling=LIG=3PL	TOP	NEG	quickly

ke=rorot=a=ni	*nio*	*kaka=ka=mu*
3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF	FOC.NONF	older.sibling=LIG=3PL

nio	*kuleto*	*ke=rorot=a=ni"*
FOC.NONF	first	3PL=marry=PRES=REL.NONF

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES

'"Younger ones, they are not ones who quickly marry, it is the older ones who marry first," she said.'

(114)

Nio	*"Nei*	*ta*	*ngo=ta*	*v=a*
SEQ	PROX.SG.M	TOP	2SG=SIT	3SG.M.O=VAL

lupao=vi=ni,	*"a=da*	*v=a*	*lupao=va*	*vo*
refuse=RMP=REL.NONF	1SG=POSS	3SG.M=VAL	refuse=PRES	3SG.M

siele"	*v=a*	*k=i=ngo=ve=ni*	*nio,*
dog	3SG.M=VAL	3SG.F.O=say=2SG=RMP=REL.NONF	FOC.NONF

k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'She said, "This is the one you refused, you said, 'I refuse a dog,' the one you talked about him."'

(115) *So ti "Uri sole qe=raneo=vou koi"*
that TOP good that's.why 2DU=be.overnight=FUT here

k=i=ko=la ko kaka=ka=ma.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F
'And then, "Good, so you will stay overnight here," the elder daughter said.'

(116) *Melai "Pui pui qe=pa raneo=vou "pui*
but NEG NEG 1DU.EXC=PROS be.overnight=FUT NEG

qe=raneo=vou" k=i=ko=lala sole
2DU=be.overnight=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RCP that's.why

nei=ko niania" k=i=ko=lake.
PROX.SG.M=3SG.F mother 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=HIST
'But, "No, no, we are not going to stay overnight, because his mother said, 'no you will not stay overnight,'" she said.'

(117) *Raisi-raisi ko ev=a ti qo=ta*
REDUP-evening 3SG.F become=PRES and.then 3DU=SIT

vait=a.
return=PRES
'The evening came, and the two returned.'

(118) *Qo=ta vait=a ti qo=ta matu*
3DU=SIT return=PRES and.then 3DU=SIT very

tali-talit=a qo=ta matu tali-talit=a.
REDUP-travel=PRES 3DU=SIT very REDUP-travel=PRES
'The two returned, and they walked hard, they walked hard.'

(119) *Ti kapiavole qo=baro=a.*
and.then quickly 3DU=arrive=PRES
'They reached home quickly.'

(120) *Melai sai qo=ke=ve keru ta, ko=ko mama*
but there 3DU=go=RMP TEMP TOP 3SG.F=3SG.F father

ni niania kasi qo=ke=ve keru ta, ko=a
and mother at 3DU=go=RMP TEMP TOP 3SG.F=LIG

reko=ko niania ta ko=bazue=k=e, tu
wife=3SG.F mother TOP 3SG.F=tell=3SG.F.O=RMP IRR

"Kama taku qe=kil=ou nio qe=pa
INDEF.SG.F time 2DU=come=FUT SEQ 2DU=PROS

tauve=l=ou *papat=o=ko* *mabasisu".*
help=1SG.O=FUT plant=NOM=3SG.F yam
'But, when they went there, when they went to her father and mother, the mother of the wife said to the daughter, "Sometime, you will come and help me to plant yams."'

(121) *Matu kubo ko=ko mabasisu ko=k=a zari=a*
very many 3SG.F=3SG.F yam 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES

papat=o sole.
plant=NOM that's.why
'Because she wanted to plant lots of yams.'

(122) *"Qe=kil=ou nio qe=tauve=l=ou"*
2DU=come=FUT and.then 2DU=help=1SG.O=FUT

k=i=ko=ve ko=ko meqora kasi.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=RMP 3SG.F=3SG.F child at
'"You will come and help me," she said to her daughter. '

(123) *Nio komi kio ko=bazue=v=a, tu "Kama*
SEQ PROX.SG.F FOC.F 3SG.F=tell=3SG.M.O=PRES IRR INDEF.SG.F

taku inio qe=tauve=l=ou, jokurat=o mabasisu=ko
time FOC.NONF 2DU=help=1SG=FUT dig=NOM yam=3SG.F

uma-uma, kubo mabasisu pui ko=papa=k=a
REDUP-bed many yam NEG 3SG.F=plant=3SG.F.O=PRES

sole" k=i=ko=la.
that's.why 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'And, she told him this, she said "The mother told us to help her sometime digging beds for yams, because she hasn't planted lots of yams."'

(124) *Ti ko=bazue=v=a ta "Uri"*
and.then 3SG.F=tell=3SG.M.O=PRES TOP good

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'And when she told him, he said, "Good."'

(125) *"Uri qe=zio=vou qe=pa tauve=k=ou"*
good 1DU.INC=go=FUT 1DU.INC=PROS help=3SG.F.O=FUT

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Good, we will go, we will go and help her," he said.'

(126) *Nio ko=baro=a ko=a taku ti qo=zio*
SEQ 3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F=LIG time and.then 3DU=goNRFUT

qo=pa tauve=k=o ko=a reko=ko niania,
3DU=PROS help=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.F=LIG wife=3SG.F mother

tu mabasisu ko=papat=o k=i=qo=la keru,
IRR yam 3SG.F=plant=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3DU=PRES TEMP

ta, vo=a siele-meqora=ko reko ta, lula
TOP 3SG.M=LIG dog-child=3SG.F wife TOP already

molu=a=ma.
be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F
'And the time arrived and when they said that they would go and help the mother so that she could plant yams, the wife of the dog-child was already pregnant.'

(127) *Melai o=ta ol=a o=bazue=k=a*
but 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES 3SG.M=tell=3SG.F.O=PRES

vo=ko niania o=bazue "Eqe ta qe=ta
3SG.M=3SG.F mother 3SG.M=tell 1DU.EXC TOP 1DU.EXC=SIT

zio=vou, komi=ko niania=ko mabasisu
go=FUT PROX.SG.F=3SG.F mother=3SG.F yam

qe=pa tauve=k=o papat=o sole
1DU.EXC=PROS help=3SG.F.O=NRFUT plant=NOM that's.why

qe=ta zio=vou matu-peuru ale"
1DU.EXC=SIT go=FUT big-village in

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'But, he went, he told his mother, he told her, "We will go, we will go and help her mother to plant her yams, so, we will go to the big village," he said.'

(128) *Ta "Koe pui qe=zio=vou" k=i=ko=la ko*
and.then INTJ NEG 2DU=go=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F

niania=ka=ma, vo=a siele-meqora=ko niania.
mother=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.M=LIG dog-child=3SG.F mother
'"No, you will not go," said the mother, the mother of the dog-child.'

(129) *Melai "Uri niania pui qe=pa ubait=ou"*
but good Mother NEG 1DU.EXC=PROS be.long=FUT

k=i=o=la, k=i=o=la vo meqora.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M child
'But, "Good, Mother, we will not be long," said he, the son said.'

(130) *"Pui qe=pa ubait=o=a=qela nio.*
NEG 2DU=PROS be.long=FUT=LIG=2DU FOC.NONF
'"You are not going to be long.'

(131) *Sole maba pui qe=raneo=vou pui qe=rurukao=vou*
that's.why truly NEG 2DU=be.overnight=FUT NEG 2DU=relax=FUT

maba madu kasi" k=i=ko=la.
person COLL.PL at 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'So, truly, you will not stay overnight, you will not relax with people," she said.'

(132) *Nio ko=baro=a ko=a taku ti nioqa ta*
SEQ 3SG.F=arrive=PRES 3SG.F=LIG time and.then 3DU TOP

qo=ta ol=a.
3DU=SIT go=PRES
'And, when the time arrived, the two went.'

(133) *Qo ol=a ti qo ol=a ti qo=pa*
3DU go=PRES INT 3DU go=PRES and.then 3DU=PROS

odie=k=a lekasa=ko reko ti ke=ta
fetch=3SG.F.O=PRES chief=3SG.F wife and.then 3PL=SIT

kail=a kiaro kasi ti ke=pa papat=a.
go.up=PRES garden at and.then 3PL=PROS plant=PRES
'They went and went, and they went and fetched the chief's wife, and they went up to the garden, and they planted.'

(134) *Ke=papat=a so ti so ti nganiu*
3PL=plant=PRES that INT that and.then sun

okate ko=ta ev=a inio ju ko=kavel=a
high 3SG.F=SIT become=PRES SEQ water 3SG.F=want.food=PRES

ko=a siele-meqora=ko reko molu=a=ma sole
3SG.F=LIG dog-child=3SG.F wife be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F that's.why

ju ko=kavel=a.
water 3SG.F=want.food=PRES
'They planted, they kept planting, and the sun became high, and then she wanted water, the wife of the dog-child, because she was pregnant, she wanted water.'

(135) *"Niania ju a=q=a zari=a tu kala*
Mother water 1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL want=PRES IRR INDEF.SG.M

o=pa l=a tobet=o" k=i=ko=la.
3SG.M=PROS 1SG.O=VAL get.water=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Mother, I want water, so someone should go and get water for me," she said.

(136) *Nio "Kaka=ka=ma.*
SEQ older=LIG=3SG.F
'Then, "Elder daughter.'

(137) *Ol=a ngo=visi pa k=a tobet=e*
go=PRES 2SG=younger.sibling PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL get.water=IMP.SG

ko ju" k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F water 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'Go, go and get water for your younger sister," she said.'

(138) *"Ki ko=ngavi ko=zio" k=i=ko=la ko*
INTJ 3SG.F=self 3SG.F=goNRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES 3SG.F

kaka=ka=ma.
older=LIG=3SG.F
'"No, she herself should go," the elder daughter said.'

(139) *"Koe pui so k=a k=i=o ko=ta*
INTJ NEG that 3SG.F.O=VAL 3SG.F.O=say=NRFUT 3SG.F=SIT

molu=a=ma ikio tu ngo=ba k=a
be.pregnant=LIG=3SG.F FOC.F IRR 2SG=PROS 3SG.F.O=VAL

tobet=e" k=i=ko=la.
get.water=IMP.SG 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Don't say that, she is pregnant so you go and get water for her," she said.'

(140) *"Pui vanga inio sai tu vae=k=a tu*
NEG far.away FOC.NONF there IRR leave=3SG.F.O=PRES IRR

ko=zio ko=ngavi" k=i=ko=la.
3SG.F=goNRFUT 3SG.F=self 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"It's not far away, leave it, she will go herself," she said.'

(141) *Ti, ko=ta lupao=va ko kaka=ka=ma sole,*
and.then 3SG.F=SIT refuse=PRES 3SG.F older=LIG=3SG.F that's.why

ko=ngavi nio ko=ta ol=a.
3SG.F=self FOC.NONF 3SG.F=SIT go=PRES
'Because the elder daughter refused, she went herself.'

(142) *Ko=ngavi ko=ta ol=a ti so ti so*
3SG.F=self 3SG.F=SIT go=PRES and.then that INT that

ti ko=baro=a sai ju kasi, nio
and.then 3SG.F=arrive=PRES there water at SEQ

ko=k=o=a ko siakona tu
3SG.F=3SG.F.O=get=PRES 3SG.F rope IRR

"a=dobe=k=o" k=i=ko=la inio.
1SG=get.water=3SG.F.O=NRFUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES FOC.NONF
'She herself went, she went and went, and she arrived there at the water, and then she got a rope, and "I will get water," she said.'

(143) *Eri=a loqun=o ko=be ev=a ko=ko*
as.soon.as=LIG bend=NOM 3SG.F=IMPL become=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F

kaka ta ko=rere=a ti ko=rere=a
elder.sibling and.then 3SG.F=run=PRES INT 3SG.F=run=PRES

ti ko=pa baro=a sai ju=ko keta-keta.
and.then 3SG.F=PROS arrive=PRES there water=3SG.F REDUP-edge
'As soon as the younger sister bent, her elder sister ran and ran, and she arrived there at the edge of the water.'

(144) *Ti "ju a=dobe=k=o"*
and.then water 1SG=get.water=3SG.F.O=NRFUT

k=i=ko=la keru inio ko
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES TEMP FOC.NONF 3SG.F

ibae=k=e ti ko=ta jour=e sa-vasi.
push=3SG.F.O=RMP and.then 3SG.F=SIT fall=RMP there-around
'And when she said, "I will get water," she pushed her and she fell down somewhere around there.'

(145) *Ko=ta jour=a sa-vasi ti ko=ta*
3SG.F=SIT fall=PRES there-around and.then 3SG.F=SIT

vou=vi nio ko=kiada inio ko=vait=a ko
die=RMP SEQ 3SG.F=all FOC.NONF 3SG.F=return=PRES 3SG.F

kaka=ka=ma ko=kiada inio ko=vait=a.
older=LIG=3SG.F 3SG.F=all FOC.NONF 3SG.F=return=PRES
'She fell down somewhere around there, and she died, and then the elder sister returned by herself, she returned by herself.'

(146) *Ko=vait=a inio "Lai ta ko anga=ko reko*
3SG.F=return=PRES SEQ where TOP 3SG.F 1SG=3SG.F wife

k=i=o=la?" vo.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES 3SG.M
'She returned and then "Where is she, my wife?" he asked.'

(147) *Ti "ju kale ikoana ko=ta siusiut=a*
and.then water in EXTSG.F 3SG.F=SIT swim=PRES

mainio ko=pa kil=ou" k=i=ko=la.
later 3SG.F=PROS come=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"She is in the water, she is swimming, later she will come," she said.

(148) *"Kio" k=i=o=la sainio ke=ta iruriuput=a*
INTJ 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES therefore 3PL=SIT work=PRES

so ti so raisi-raisi ko=ta baro=a.
that INT that REDUP-evening 3SG.F=SIT arrive=PRES
'"Okay," he said, and they worked, they worked and worked, and the evening arrived.'

(149) *Melai pui ko=vait=a.*
but NEG 3SG.F=return=PRES
'But she didn't return.'

(150) *"Lai ta ko? | noi nio pui kapiavole*
where TOP 3SG.F how FOC.NONF NEG quickly

ko=kue=va?" k=i=o=la.
3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Where is she? How come she hasn't come back quickly?" he questioned.'

(151) *"Ki esa inio ko=beta siusiut=a inio,*
INTJ maybe FOC.NONF 3SG.F=CONT swim=PRES FOC.NONF

soinio pui ko=kue=va" k=i=ko=la.
accordingly NEG 3SG.F=come=PRES 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.F=PRES
'"Maybe, she is still swimming, and so, she hasn't come," she said.'

(152) *Melai pui o epez=a keru-kerue=k=o*
but NEG 3SG.M stop=PRES REDUP-think=3SG.F.O=NOM

sole o=ta ol=a, o ol=a ti o
that's.why 3SG.M=SIT go=PRES 3SG.M go=PRES INT 3SG.M

ol=a ti o=lulue=k=a ko keve ti
go=PRES and.then 3SG.M=follow=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F path and.then

o ol=a ti o ol=a ti o ol=a
3SG.M go=PRES INT 3SG.M go=PRES INT 3SG.M go=PRES

ti o=baro=a sai ko=a soqili kasi nio
and.then 3SG.M=arrive=PRES there 3SG.F=LIG well at SEQ

o=pa soip=a ta ko=beta teku=a
3SG.M=PROS look.into=PRES and.then 3SG.F=CONT lie=PRES

sa-vasi lula ko=ta vou=vi.
there-around already 3SG.F=SIT die=RMP
'But, he didn't stop thinking about her and so he went, he went and went, and he followed the path, and he went and went and went and he arrived there, at the well, and then, he went and looked into the well, and he found that she was lying down somewhere around there, she had already died.'

(153) *Nio "aki a=sinaqu" k=i=o=la*
SEQ INTJ 1SG=unmarried.woman 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

ti	*o=ngavi*	*melai*	*o=ta*	*jour=a*	*sa-vasi*
and.then	3SG.M=self	too	3SG.M=SIT	fall=PRES	there-around

ti	*o=ta*	*vou=vi*	*ti*	*nioqa*	*saqe*	*ta*
and.then	3SG.M=SIT	die=RMP	and.then	3DU	couple	TOP

ko=a	*soqili*	*ale*	*qo=ta*	*vou=vi.*
3SG.F=LIG	well	in	3DU=SIT	die=RMP

'"Oh, my girl," he said, and he himself too, he jumped down around there, and he died, and the couple died in the well.'

(154)

Siele-meqora=ko	*niania*	*ta*	*sai*	*ko=ta*
dog-child=3SG.F	mother	TOP	there	3SG.F=SIT

ev=e	*vo=a*	*lekasa=ko*	*meqora-saidi*	*se*	*ta*
stay=RMP	3SG.M=LIG	chief=3SG.F	child-family	3PL	TOP

mata	*sai*	*ke=ta*	*ev=e.*
again	there	3PL=SIT	stay=RMP

'The mother of the dog-child, she stayed there, and the chief's family, they stayed there as before.'

(155)

Ti	*kio*	*ti*	*ko*	*paka.*
and.then	sayNOM	TOP	3SG.F	end

'And, that is the end.'

Ngali Nut Collection (Text 2)

(1)

Komi	*kio*	*ko=a*	*taku*	*qusini*	*o=k=a*
PROX.SG.F	FOC.F	3SG.F=LIG	time	rope	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL

ere=k=a=ko	*vo=a*	*qole*	*Qidiou*	*Tolapitu.*
make=3SG.F.O=PRES=REL.F	3SG.M=LIG	old	Qidiou	Tolapitu

'This is about the time when Qidiou Tolapitu made a rope.'

(2)

"Noi	*ta*	*qe=kail=a*	*varu-varut=o=le,*	*ni*
how	TOP	1DU.INC=go.up=PRES	REDUP-get.varu=NOM=PURP	and

ipupu."
ipupu

'"How about going up to get bark of *varu* trees, and *ipupu* trees?" [he said.]'

(3)

Vo	*ta*	*qusini=ko*	*varu*	*o=k=o=a*	|	*anga*	*ta*
3SG.M	TOP	rope=3SG.F	varu	3SG.M=3SG.F.O=get=PRES		1SG	TOP

bita=ko	*ipupu*	*a=q=o=a.*
string.bag=3SG.F	ipupu	1SG=3SG.F.O=get=PRES

'He got the bark of *varu* trees to make a rope, and I got the bark of *ipupu* trees to make a string bag.'

(4) *Qe=saqor=a* *inio,* *vo* *ta* *ju* *kale*
1DU.EXC=go.down=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.M TOP water in

o=vae=k=a, *ko=a* *varu* | *anga* *ta*
3SG.M=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG varu 1SG TOP

nganiu *ale* *a=vae=k=a.*
sun in 1SG=leave=3SG.F.O=PRES
'We went down and he left the bark of the *varu* trees in water, and I left the bark of the *ipupu* trees in the sun.'

(5) *Nio* *ko=ta* *tabar=a* *nio* *anga* *ta*
SEQ 3SG.F=SIT dry=PRES SEQ 1SG TOP

a=qailoe=k=a *ko=a* *ipupu,* *nio*
1SG=take.out=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG ipupu SEQ

a=lavae=k=a.
1SG=separate=3SG.F.O=PRES
'And when the bark of the *ipupu* trees had dried, I took it out of the sun, and I separated it into strips.'

(6) *Vo* *ta* *sike* *ko=teku=a* *ko=a* *varu* *nio*
3SG.F TOP five 3SG.F=lie=PRES 3SG.F=LIG varu SEQ

o=pa *kailoe=k=a.*
3SG.M=PROS take.out=3SG.F.O=PRES
'As for him, after leaving the bark of the *varu* trees in water for five days, he went and took it out of water.'

(7) *Sainio* *o=lavae=k=a.*
then 3SG.M=separate=3SG.F.O=PRES
'Then, he separated it.'

(8) *Ko* *tupu* *o=ta* *k=a* *ngamu=k=a,*
3SG.F skin 3SG.M=POSS 3SG.F.O=VAL throw.away=3SG.F.O=PRES

ko=a *varu.*
3SG.F=LIG *varu*
'He threw away the outer skin of the *varu* bark.'

(9) *sainio* *o=k=ati* *kue=va* *pade* *kasi* *nio,* *ore*
then 3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL come=PRES house at SEQ tree

o=k=a *pake=k=a* *nio*
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL hang=3SG.F.O=PRES SEQ

o=ngadari=k=a, nganiu ale.
3SG.M=dry.in.sun=3SG.F.O=PRES sun in
'Then, he brought the inner skin of the *varu* bark to the house, he hung it between trees, and he dried it in the sun.'

(10) *Ko=ta tabar=a ko=a varu inio vo ta*
3SG.F=SIT dry=PRES 3SG.F=LIG *varu* and.then 3SG.M TOP

o=lavat=a.
3SG.M=separate=PRES
'When the inner skin of the *varu* bark had dried, he separated it into strings.'

(11) *Anga melai a=lavat=a ko ipupu, bita=ko.*
1SG too 1SG=separate=PRES 3SG.F *ipupu* string.bag=3SG.F
'Me, too, I separated the bark of *ipupu* trees, to make a string bag.'

(12) *O=pai=k=a lavat=o vo* | *anga ta*
3SG.M=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES separate=NOM 3SG.M 1SG TOP

a=bai=k=a nio vo ta o=qusiniput=a.
1SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES SEQ 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=make.rope=PRES
'He finished separating it, and I finished separating it and he made a rope.'

(13) *O erekat=a ko qusini.*
3SG.M make=PRES 3SG.F rope
'He did rope making.'

(14) *Anga ta a=vuaroput=a ko bita.*
1SG TOP 1SG=knit=PRES 3SG.F string.bag
'I did string bag knitting.'

(15) *O erekat=a anga melai a erekat=a*
3SG.M make=PRES 1SG too 1SG make=PRES

qe=pai=k=a ko=a qusini ni bita,
1DU.EXC=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG rope and string.bag

nio ko=baro=a nene=ko koit=o=ko taku.
SEQ 3SG.F=arrive=PRES *ngali*.nut=3SG.F climb=NOM=3SG.F time
'He did rope making, me too, I did string bag knitting, we finished making the rope and string bag, and the time to climb *ngali* nut trees arrived.'

(16) *Nio qe=ta kail=a koit=o=le, ko nene.*
SEQ 1DU.EXC=SIT go.up=PRES climb=NOM=PURP 3SG.F *ngali*.nut
'And we went up there in order to climb *ngali* nut trees.'

(17) *Vo inio o=koit=a.*
3SG.M FOC.NONF 3SG.M=climb=PRES
'It was he who climbed.'

(18) *Anga ta koqu a ere=k=a nene=ko.*
1SG TOP enclosure 1SG make=3SG.F.O=PRES *ngali*.nut=3SG.F
'As for me, I made an enclosure, for *ngali* nuts.'

(19) *Sainio vo ta o=koit=a ti o=koit=a*
then 3SG.M TOP 3SG.M=climb=PRES INT 3SG.M=climb=PRES

pui o=pesi=a, o=koit=a, o=kajor=a
NEG 3SG.M=speak=PRES 3SG.M=climb=PRES 3SG.M=harvest=PRES

ti, anga ta sai nio a=daruan=a.
and.then 1SG TOP there FOC.NONF 1SG=wait=PRES
'Then he climbed and climbed, he didn't speak, he climbed, he harvested *ngali* nuts, and, as for me, I waited there.'

(20) *Vo ta ko=a tini-tini ta koi nio*
3SG.M TOP 3SG.F=LIG REDUP-bag TOP here FOC.NONF

o=qona-qona=le.
3SG.M=REDUP-neck=in
'As for him, the bag is here, hanging from his neck.'

(21) *Duruo ta o=seri=k=a ko=ko kata*
big.string.bag TOP 3SG.M=hang=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=3SG.F branch

topi.
top
'As for a big string bag, he hung it on the branch of the tree.'

(22) *Nio ko=a tini-tini ta ko=k=ai*
SEQ 3SG.F=LIG REDUP-bag TOP 3SG.F=3SG.F.O=VAL

sukat=a ko nene nio mati o=pa
be.filled=PRES 3SG.F *ngali*.nut SEQ again 3SG.M=PROS

raibi=k=a ko=a duruo kale.
pour=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F=LIG big.string.bag in
'And, when the bag was filled with *ngali* nuts, he poured them into the big string bag as always.'

(23) *Ko=sukat=a keru ko=a duruo so keru*
3SG.F=be.filled=PRES TEMP 3SG.F=LIG big.string.bag that TEMP

nio o=pesio=vou.
FOC.NONF 3SG.M=speak=FUT
'When it was filled, then, he would speak.'

(24) *Eri k=i=o=la* | *"o"*
s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES o

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘He said something like this, he said “o.”’

(25) *Ti* *“o=sole=k=ou”* *nio*
and.then 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=FUT FOC.NONF

k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
‘And I said “You send it down.”’

(26) *“O=solot=ou”* *nio* *k=i=a=la.*
3SG.M=send=FUT FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
‘I said “You send it down.”’

(27) *O=solot=a* *“o”* *k=i=o=la.*
3SG.M=send=PRES o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘He sent it down, and “o,” he said.’

(28) *“Anga* *ta* *koi* *tu* *sai* *soloe=k=ou”*
1SG TOP here IRR there send=3SG.F=FUT

k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
‘“I am here, send it down here,” I said.’

(29) *“O”* *k=i=o=la.*
o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
‘“O,” he said.’

(30) *“Uri* *lai* *nio* *koi,* *lai* *nio* *a=ba*
good where FOC.NONF place where FOC.NONF 1SG=PROS

tare=k=ou” *k=i=a=la.*
wait=3SG.F.O=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
‘“Good, where is the place to wait, where shall I go and wait for it?” I said.’

(31) *“Uki* *nio* *ngo=ba* *tare=k=ou* *melai*
somewhere.there FOC.NONF 2SG=PROS wait=3SG.F.O=FUT but

ko=ng=ai *pia* *kale* *sole* *ko=ko*
3SG.F=2SG.O=VAL fall in that’s.why 3SG.F=3SG.F

vima *ta* *pui* *ngo* *el=ou* *ko* *duruo* |
underneath TOP NEG 2SG stay=FUT 3SG.F big.string.bag

ko=ng=ai *raibizi=o* *kale* *sole”*
3SG.F=2SG.O=VAL pour.itself=NOM in that’s.why

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

'"There, you will go and wait for it but because it is not good if it falls on you, don't stay under the big string bag, lest the ngali nuts pour down on to you," he said.'

(32)

Sai	*nio*	*o=soloe=k=a*	*ti*
there	FOC.NONF	3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=PRES	INT

o=soloe=k=a	*ti*	*"Mainio*	*anga*
3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=PRES	and.then	later	1SG

a=qil=ou	*saita"*	*k=i=a=la.*
1SG=come=FUT	first	3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES

'There, he sent it down, he sent it down, and "Wait, I will come first," I said.'

(33)

"Miduku	*kale*	*ko=papu=vou*	*ti*	*anga*	*ta*	*pui*
ground	in	3SG.F=sit=FUT	TOP	1SG	TOP	NEG

a=ba	*roveo=vou*	*zolat=o,*	*melai*	*ko=a*	*okale*
1SG=PROS	can=FUT	lift=NOM	but	3SG.F=LIG	in.the.air

nio	*anga*	*ta*	*koi*	*lezu*	*ale*	*a*	*i=k=a*
FOC.NONF	1SG	TOP	here	head	in	1SG	put=3SG.F.O=PRES

ko=a	*duruo*	*matu=ma*	*duruo."*
3SG.F=LIG	big.string.bag	bit=3SG.F	big.string.bag

'"If it sits on the ground, I won't be able to lift it, but if it stays in the air, I can put the big string bag, here on my head, a very big string bag."'

(34)

Sainio	*eri=a*	*tatae=k=o*	*a*	*ev=a*
then	as.soon.as=LIG	pull=3SG.F.O=NOM	1SG	become=PRES

ko=ko	*siakona*	*ako*	*ko=a*	*qusini*
3SG.F=3SG.F	string	INTJ	3SG.F=LIG	rope

nio	*a=biju=k=a.*
SEQ	1SG=take.off=3SG.F.O=PRES

'And as soon as I pulled the string, no the rope, I took the big string bag off the rope.'

(35)

So	*keru*	*nio*	*a=q=ati*	*ol=a*	*koqu*
that	TEMP	FOC.NONF	1SG=3SG.F.O=VAL	go=PRES	enclosure

ale,	*koqu*	*kasi*	*nio*	*a=raibi=k=a.*
in	enclosure	at	SEQ	1SG=pour=3SG.F.O=PRES

'That time, I took it to the enclosure, and I poured the *ngali* nuts into it.'

(36)

Nio	*"Titie*	*ko*	*bita"*	*k=i=o=la.*
SEQ	tie	3SG.F	string.bag	3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES

'And, "Tie the string bag," he said.'

(37) *Nio a=ditie=k=a ko bita nio "Koivie"*
SEQ 1SG=tie=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F string.bag SEQ take.up

k=i=a=la.
3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'And I tied the string bag, and "Take it up," I said.'

(38) *Nio o=koivie=k=a.*
SEQ 3SG.M=take.up=3SG.F.O=PRES
'And he took it up.'

(39) *Nio mata o=koit=a vo* | *mata kama*
SEQ again 3SG.M=climb=PRES 3SG.M again INDEF.SG.F

o=sukati=k=a ko duruo.
3SG.M=fill=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F big.string.bag
'And again, he climbed, again he filled a string bag.'

(40) *Mata "o" k=i=o=la.*
again o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'Again "o," he said.'

(41) *"Ou o=solot=ou" nio k=i=a=la.*
Oh 3SG.M=send=FUT FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'"Oh, he will send it down," I said.'

(42) *Ti mata "o-o-o-o ko ko ko ko"*
and.then again o-o-o-o ko ko ko ko'

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'Again, "o-o-o-o, ko ko ko ko ko," he said.'

(43) *Nio mata a ol=a nio a=ba*
SEQ again 1SG go=PRES SEQ 1SG=PROS

piju=k=a.
take.off=3SG.F.O=PRES
'And then again, I went and took the bag off the rope.'

(44) *So ti so ti so ti o=paizie=k=a ko*
that INT that INT that and.then 3SG.M=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES 3SG.F

nene.
ngali.nut
'It went on and on and on and on like that, and he finished one *ngali* nut tree.'

(45) *O=koi=k=a.*
3SG.M=climb=3SG.F.O=PRES
'He climbed it.'

(46) *Toni bita kio o=soloe=k=a, ti*
ten string.bag FOC.F 3SG.M=send=3SG.F.O=PRES and.then

o=ta saqor=a inio.
3SG.M=SIT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF
'He sent down ten string bags, and he came down.'

(47) *O=ta saqor=a inio ko=a nene topi*
3SG.M=SIT go.down=PRES FOC.NONF 3SG.F=LIG *ngali*.nut top

azo nio vo ta eri k=i=o=la.
from SEQ 3SG.M TOP s.th.like.this 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'He came down from the top of the *ngali* nut tree, and then he said something like this.'

(48) *"O-o-o-o-o" k=i=o=la.*
o-o-o-o-o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"O-o-o-o," he said.'

(49) *"O-o-o-o-o" k=i=o=la.*
o-o-o-o-o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"O-o-o-o-o," he said.'

(50) *"Ngo=baizie=k=a sole ngo=da saqor=ou"*
2SG=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES that's.why 2SG=SIT go.down=FUT

nio k=i=a=la.
FOC.NONF 3SG.F.O=say=1SG=PRES
'"You finished and so come down," I said.'

(51) *"Ee" k=i=o=la.*
yes 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Yes," he said.'

(52) *O=saqor=a ti ko=a qusini ta sa-vasi*
3SG.M=go.down=PRES and.then 3SG.F=LIG rope TOP there-around

okate, o=saqor=a inio o=lokie=k=a
high.up 3SG.M=go.down=PRES SEQ 3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES

ko=a qusini.
3SG.F=LIG rope
'He came down and as for the rope, it was hanging from high up there, he came down and he coiled the rope.'

(53) *O=lokie=k=a ti o=lokie=k=a,*
3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES INT 3SG.M=coil=3SG.F.O=PRES

o=pai=k=a lokie=k=o nio
3SG.M=finish=3SG.F.O=PRES coil=3SG.F.O=NOM SEQ

o=k=ati kue=va.
3SG.M=3SG.F.O=VAL come=PRES
'He coiled and coiled it, he finished coiling it and he came with it.'

(54) *O=ta kue=va anga kasi.*
3SG.M=SIT come=PRES 1SG at
'He came to me.'

(55) *"Qe=ta saqor=ou nio lea nio mata*
1DU.INC=SIT go.down=FUT SEQ tomorrow FOC.NONF again

vo=a ore a=ba koiv=ou" k=i=o=la.
3SG.M=LIG tree 1SG=PROS climb=FUT 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"We will go down, and tomorrow, again I will climb that tree," he said.'

(56) *So inio ko=kav=a=ni ko=a*
that FOC.NONF 3SG.F=happen=PRES=REL.NONF 3SG.F=LIG

nene.
ngali.nut
'That is the way to go with *ngali* nuts.'

(57) *Ko ta vo=ko ikokoput=o ta ko ta*
3SG.F TOP 3SG.M=3SG.F show.bravey=NOM TOP 3SG.F TOP

koiparaoput=o.
say."o"=NOM
'That's how he showed his bravery, that's when he said "o."'

(58) *O=koiparaoput=a nio | "o" k=i=o=la.*
3SG.M=say.'o'=PRES FOC.NONF o 3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'He said "o". "O," said he.'

(59) *Ta o ikokoput=a keru inio "o"*
and.then 3SG.M show.bravery=PRES TEMP FOC.NONF o

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'When he showed bravery, he said "o."'

(60) *"So inio ko=ka=va=ni sole"*
that FOC.NONF 3SG.F=happen=PRES=REL.NONF that's.why

k=i=o=la.
3SG.F.O=say=3SG.M=PRES
'"Because that's how it goes," he said.'

(61) *Nene=ko taku.*
ngali.nut=3SG.F time
'Time for *ngali* nuts.'

(62)	*So*	*tinia*	*ma.*
	that	about	or
	'That's about it?'		

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